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OR A VIEW OF THE

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AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1760.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

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For the YEAR 1799.

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PREFACE.

In presenting the History of the Year 1799 to the Public, the Compiler of it has but little which it is necessary for him previously to remark. The same principles which have guided him in his former labours have been steadily adhered to in the present, and equal pains have been taken to draw information from the most authentic sources.

The events which occurred in France during the period narrated in this Volume, with the exception of the one great change which introduced Bonaparte to the first stage of Sovereign Power, possess a very minor interest when compared with the mighty convulsions by which that unhappy Country had been agitated for the ten preceding years. In treating of military details, it is scarcely possible not to be dull, and it is not easy always to be intelligible to unprofessional readers; but the novelty of the scene, and the magnificence of the scale on which the contending armies

encountered in Italy and Swisserland, in some measure relieve the heaviness of the story of a Campaign. The expedition to Holland is a matter of painful national record; but even under its unsuccessful issue, it furnishes many proud displays of bravery: and the vigorous and triumphant prosecution of our Indian warfare, and the chivalric defence of St. Jean d'Acre, are among the brightest memorials of British policy and heroism. The history of the first of these events has been composed with the utmost care from the great mass of papers connected with Tippoo Sultaun's designs, which have appeared from time to time, since the overthrow of his dynasty. The account of the second, depends jointly upon the reluctant admissions of the conquered, and the plain unpretending narrative of the victor.

The domestic History of Britain embraces the progress of that great internal Union, which incorporated Ireland with ourselves. The proceedings in the Sister Country which completed this important Legislative enactment, are purposely reserved until our next Volume.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

FOR THE YEAR 1799.

THE

HISTORY OF EUROPE.

CHAPTER I.

Foreign Policy of France after the Revolution of the 4th of September 1797. Unpopularity of the Directory. Increased Strength of the Jacobins. Election of the New Third. Arts of the Directory to influence the Elections. Scissions. Annulment of several Returns. Causes of Discontent. Treilhard succeeds Francois de Neufchateau in the Directory. Measures of Finance. Confiscation of English Merchandize. Rejection of the Tax on Salt. Plunder of Foreign States. Insulting Overtures to the American Plenipotentiaries. The Americans arm. State of the Provinces. Of the Capital. Fire at the Odeon. Attributed by the several Factions to Political Agency. Probable Causes of it. Reports of Plots. Domiciliary Visits. Approach of the Elections. Adverse course of the War. Sieyès appointed to succeed Reubel in the Directory. His Intrigues to procure a Change among his Colleagues. Inquiry into the State of the Republic. Addresses from the Departments. Message to the Directory from the Councils demanding Information. Sittings of the Councils declared permanent. The Directory declare their Sitting also permanent. Expulsion of Treilhard from the Directory, and Election of Gohier. Answer of Merlin and Lepaux to the Message. Their Deposition. Indifference of the Nation to the fresh Revolution. Characters of the New Directors. Designs of Sieyès. Contests with the Jacobins. Royalist Insurrections. Law of Hostages. Its Consequences. Successes of the Royalists. State of the Campaign in Egypt. Bonaparte embarks for France. His Arrival and Reception. Transfer of the Councils to St. Cloud. The Oath of Fidelity renewed. Abdication and Arrest of the Directors. Appearance of Bonaparte in the

Council of Five Hundred. His rescue. The Council dispersed by the Troops. Reassembly of the Friends of Bonaparte in the Five Hundred. Project of a New Constitution. Bonaparte, Sieyès and Ducos appointed Consuls.

THE foreign policy of the French Directors after the Revolution of the 4th September, 1797, has been already detailed at large. The absence of any extensive hostile league had enabled the armies of the Republic to overwhelm in succession each of the minor states which excited its cupidity or provoked its vengeance, and the governments of Rome, of Piedmont, of Naples, and of Swisserland had been swept away before the arms of the Conquerors. England alone successfully opposed the progress of revolutionary devastation; and her triumph at the Nile, and her suppression of the troubles in Ireland, gave the first impulse to the new and yet mightier coalition which was soon to arise. The resentments of Austria were dissembled, but she had suffered too deeply not to feel an anxious desire for revenge; and the deliberations of the Plenipotentiaries assembled in congress at Rastadt slow in themselves and perpetually embarassed and controlled by the still more tedious formalities of the Germanic Diet of Ratisbon, afforded her a breathing time for recovery, during which she had a reasonable pretext for forbearing to disarm.

But during this period of external conquest on the one hand and of repose on the other, France internally still continued a prey to faction and anarchy. The convulsion which freed the Directory from its open enemies increased ten thousand fold those who were secretly hostile to it. The grand object of the oligarchy in power was to connect the deported with royalist principles; and to hold up the expatriation of their colleagues and of the deputies who were leagued with them as the only means by which France could have been saved from a restoration of Monarchy. Relying upon the hatred which the nation had repeatedly sworn against Kings, the Directory forgot that at the same time it had sworn to sacrifice every thing for Liberty, and they could but ill reply to the question which naturally suggested itself, How can Liberty be said to be preserved by a daring infraction of the Constitution? The decree which, without trial, banished a croud of representatives to burning deserts, accorded but little with the loud boasts of freedom which had hitherto under all its forms been the watch words of Republicanism; and the care which had been taken to proscribe every partizan of royalty necessarily strengthened a faction not more opposed to the ancient dynasty than to the worse tyranny which had been erected upon its ruins. The Jacobins recovered an influence which they had not enjoyed since the fall of Robespierre: and it was upon the existing despots of the Luxembourgh that they sought and trusted to heap all the bitterness of revenge, which seemed only delayed that it might become more mature.

The approach of the elections

in the spring of 1798 was a point to which the Directors could not look without anxiety. Addresses and proclamations were multiplied to distract the timid with rumours of fresh conspiracies; and in such departments as were suspected to be under the influence of their opponents a desperate remedy was applied to prevent their return. The creatures of the Directory were instructed to form separate assemblies for the purpose of nomination, and the choice of these *Scissions*, as they were termed, were invariably confirmed, without enquiry whether those who composed them formed a majority or minority of electors. Even all these arts however, intimidation, corruption, and open violence, in the end were ineffectual. The mutual hatred of Jacobins and Royalists was suspended by the stronger feeling of detestation against a faction which equally persecuted both. A large portion of the Electors refused to offer their suffrages in the existing state of government; and the elections on the whole were by no means favourable to the Directors. One mode only occurred for the preservation of their power. A committee was appointed to revise the returns. Some were declared partially, others wholly illegal; and substitutes were always found among those who avowedly were supporters of the Directory.

Nevertheless it was not possible to prevent an increase of opposition in the councils. Among those returned, in many instances, were deputies untried in politics, or such as had purposedly affected moderation for a season. The first for the most part, were soon estranged by repeated violations of the constitution, or joined the prevailing cry; the second having gained their purpose, threw aside the cloak by which it had been won, and boldly avowed hostility. The public feeling of discontent was not likely to be diminished by the protraction of war with England; and negotiations twice attempted, and twice broken, at a time when the interruption of commerce and the pressure of exhausted revenue appeared clamorously to demand peace, were not unjustly added to the charges of mal-administration.

The lot of exclusion at the termination of the year of service had fallen to Francois de Neufchateau. His talents found more room for employment in the Ministry of the Interior; and it is to him that France is indebted for many projects, which in happier times might have produced effects more commensurate to the sagacity which designed them. His place in the Directory was filled by Treilhard, at that time a member of Legation in the Congress at Rastadt. His habits as an advocate tended to increase the indecision which marked the Councils of the Luxemburgh.

Attempts had been made to remove the financial difficulties of the Republic by decrees, which without diminishing the public burthens, increased the popular distaste for their rulers. The confiscation of English merchandize inflicted a blow upon the manufactures of the enemy only for the moment, but it introduced a train of inquisitors into the commerce of France, who enriched themselves doubly, first at the expence of their employers whom they be-

trayed, and then at that of the merchants whom they rendered tributary by threats of information, or encouraged in illegal traffic on the condition of partnership. The expences of the current year had been fixed soon after the 4th of September at 116,000,000. Even this was a sum which appeared inordinate to the Council of Ancients; what then was their surprize when ways and means were proposed for raising no less a sum than 600,000,000. for the year ensuing, in which as a year of peace they had been taught to look for a diminution of expenditure. Among the projected imposts was one which revived all the most odious recollections of Monarchy, and a fresh *gabelle* was computed as likely to produce thirty of the required millions. The Council rejected the tax, and a series of stormy discussions followed, in which the rapacity and prodigality of the executive were loudly denounced; while the Directors in return protested their inability to govern without supplies, and disclaimed all responsibility unless they were supported by the Legislative. The dispute ended in a compromise, by which the necessary sums were provided through another less revolting tax; and the doors and windows of the Republic furnished the supplies which were not to be obtained from salt.

The monies produced by these domestic levies were insufficient however to feed the joint avarice and extravagance of the government. The plunder of Swisserland found its way into their treasury. Rome and Holland were committed to the gripe of commissaries, and threats of revolutionary invasion drained the coffers of the submissive Portuguese and the unoffending burghers of the Hans Towns. The inhabitants of the United States might have been supposed too remote from the seat of European warfare to provoke hostility. Yet a pretext was not long wanting for complaint, and, on the ground of a treaty of alliance and neutrality concluded with England, privateers were commissioned to attack the American trade. The Plenipotentiaries who were sent with remonstrances by the Transatlantic government were scornfully refused an audience; but overtures were made to them indirectly, by which they were given to understand that by a liberal disbursement, both to the Directors individually, and to the public treasury, negotiation would not be hopeless. The good will of the former, including Talleyrand, was estimated at a donation of 60,000*l*. The price of peace with the Republic at a loan of 3,500,000*l*. more. The Americans unhesitatingly resisted this flagitious attempt at extortion. They armed, issued orders for reprisals, and again called the veteran Washington from his retirement to defend the nation which he had created.

Many of the provinces were in open insurrection. The name of Royalist was either adopted by banditti, who assumed it as a veil for their excesses, or it was imputed to them by the government, which sought to cover the partizans of the exiled family with additional odium. Brigands under the titles of *Chauffeurs* and *Garotteurs* ravaged Liege, and the frequency of assassination and the

defects of criminal justice were perpetual themes of discussion in the Councils. In the capital almost every occurrence was referred to some political cause; and those accidents to which a crowded population and an extensive city are always exposed, were sedulously assigned by the several factions to the agency of their opponents. Thus the Directors themselves affected to consider the fire, which consumed the Odeon, as immediately addressed against their colleague Barras, whose apartments in the right wing of the Luxembourg nearly adjoined the Theatre. The minute details of a formidable conspiracy were elaborately reported. As the flames gained rapidly on the palace, the Jacobins, it was said, were to break through the attendant guards, under the plea of bringing help. If the Director escaped their daggers, his papers, at least, would be their prize, and the contents of these would doubtless be sufficient to compromise him with the nation. Again the Jacobins, on their part, unable to include the Directory in the charge of guilt, endeavoured to stigmatize the Royalists as the perpetrators of it. The ostensible object was affirmed to be the destruction of a building within whose walls the proscription of the 4th of September had been planned and executed. The obscurity, which for the most part attaches to all accidents by fire, and the natural love of the Many for that which is marvellous, assisted in the propagation of these several rumours; and there were indeed circumstances connected with the event itself which gave increased facility to the establishment of the belief that it was not casual. An unsuccessful comedy had been represented on the evening of the calamity, and when the friends of the author clamoured for its second performance, voices from the pit were said to have answered, 'that shall never be here!' an expression sufficiently ambiguous to allow a licence of application either to the failure of the piece, or to the projected burning of the theatre. When the watchman went his customary round at midnight, every part of the house was pronounced to be in safety. One individual was found in the boxes, who appeared much pleased at the visit of the patrol, as it saved him from passing a solitary night within the walls. He stated that he had fallen asleep during the representation; and the account which he offered, appeared so natural, that he was permitted to depart without inquiry or suspicion, and with so little attention that his person could neither be described nor recognized on the morrow. It was between six and seven on the following morning that the flames burst out, and the vast crowd attracted by the sight, was indiscriminately permitted, in the first moment of alarm, to pour within the building. In the confusion it was impossible to ascertain whether incendiaries were mixed with those who in vain attempted to resist the fury of the conflagration. But it was asserted that combustibles were discovered under the seats of the lower boxes; and in a lobby into which the flames had not yet penetrated, but in which the doors were fastened at each end, was

found the dead body of a woman, killed either by fear or suffocation. This victim of crime or of accident was never claimed; the cautious silence observed as to her disappearance, corroborated the belief, which on all sides was eagerly embraced from different motives, and the unhappy sufferer was accused of Jacobinism or Royalism, according to the bias of the party which preferred the accusation.

We have dwelt the longer upon this comparatively unimportant event, because it appears strongly to illustrate the tone of Parisian feeling at the time. Without adopting either of the suppositions which the hatred of conflicting factions endeavoured to establish to the detriment of their opponents, we may readily believe that the fire was not accidental. Among the rabble of a corrupt metropolis miscreants are always to be found, without any regular mode of subsistence, who traffic in crime, and support themselves upon the calamities of the public. The feverish changes of a revolution, by unsettling principles and disturbing property, increase this class; and the pillage of a theatre, and the opportunities for still more extensive robbery, which the confusion, attendant upon its destruction would readily afford, may be accepted as sufficient motives for the attempt, without having recourse to political hatred. The repeated fires which desolated Paris, in different quarters, in the course of a few months, may be referred to the same cause. It is not likely that all should be the work of chance: and in none but that of the Odeon were there attendant circumstances which could be tortured so as to implicate any party in the state.

The Directors still thought to preserve their power by perpetually agitating the public mind through disclosures of fantastic conspiracies; and the reign of Charles II. in our own annals was not more fertile in pretended plots, than the summer of 1798, and the spring which succeeded it, in the history of the Luxemburgh. Repeated messages to the Councils demanded aid to enable the executive to discover the enemies of the Republic; and the streets of Paris were nightly filled by agents of the police, employed on the most odious missions of suspicious tyranny, domiciliary visits. Meantime the elections were rapidly approaching, and upon the third of the legislative body which was to be renewed by them, were suspended the hopes and fears of the opposing parties. War had already commenced, and its tide was unfavourable to France. The demand for 200,000 conscripts had met with resistance, and the armies, both on the Danube and in Italy, required reinforcements, which the Directors found themselves unable to spare from France, without the hazard of their own existence. They detained their troops in the interior till the elections were concluded; and this policy, which saved them for the moment, heightened the popular discontent, by increasing the disasters of the Republic in the field, and in the end, no doubt, accelerated the fall of the government. The obstinacy of faction on both sides frustrated its own object. The electors, for the most part, carefully abstained from re-

turning representatives who were distinguished by any decided political bias; and unless that they did not gain additional strength by the change (which in the decline of power may be accepted as a prognostic of fall,) the executive had no reason to complain of the preponderant influence of their rivals, in the regenerated part of the Council.

In May, 1799, the lot of exclusion from the Directory fell to Reubell,—the most inflexible, the most daring and the most unpopular of the oligarchy; a character which he fully sustained, in each several particular, upon taking the seat to which he had been elected in the Council of Ancients after his secession from the Directory. Here, daily exposed to the taunts and accusations which pointed him out as a shameless and corrupt plunderer, he defended himself with unmoved pertinacity and calmness of demeanour. His vacancy in the executive was an object of no small solicitude to his late colleagues, and the whole extent of their influence was uselessly exerted to prevent the appointment of the dangerous individual upon whom the Five hundred had fixed their choice. Sieyès nevertheless was approved by the Ancients, and was recalled from his embassy at Berlin to assume the reins of government.

The talents of Sieyès were too commanding, his intrigues too subtle, and his views of policy too much opposed to those of the remainder of the Directory, to permit a moment's doubt as to their speedy fall when his acceptance of office was publicly known. The preparatory steps for the change which was projected, and of which the new Director was the great organ and mover, consisted in a series of resolutions for inquiry into the state of the Republic. The disasters of the army afforded a fair pretext for the denouncement of Scherer the ex-minister of war; and the several causes of public discontent and complaint were carefully enumerated in addresses presented from the departments. The Directors affected to disregard these addresses; but the Councils referred them to Committees. The chief leaders of the opposition, who had now declared themselves in open hostility to the Luxemburgh, were Lucien Bonaparte, Boulay de la Meurthe, and François de Nantes. Secure of the co-operation of Sieyès in the cabinet, they had little to dread from the political influence of their opponents, and they had long since established themselves in confidential intercourse with the garrison of Paris and the troops, whom the Directors had stationed as their guard around it. But the nation was wearied with revolution effected by force and sealed in blood; and it was desirable to complete the present change by a semblance of legal proceedings. On the 5th of June Boulay de la Meurthe moved, in the Council of five hundred, that a message should be sent to the executive, declaratory of the danger of the Republic, and demanding such information as the Directory, from the sources of knowledge which it possessed, must be able to furnish, and which, as guardian of the state, it was bound to produce when called upon. Ten

days of silence elapsed. The Council then expressed its indignation at the neglect of the executive, and, having declared its sittings permanent, voted a special commission of eleven members, in whom it vested high and extraordinary powers.

The Directors in return required three days to deliberate upon their answer; and, having thus betrayed their fears, concluded with an empty boast that they also had declared their sittings to be permanent. It was late on the night of the 16th of June, that this answer was received, and it provoked an immediate dismemberment of the executive. By one article of the constitutional code, it had been determined that no person could be eligible to a seat in the Directory during his continuance in, or within twelve months after he had ceased to perform any legislative function. Treilhard plainly had been elected in infraction of this law. He had occupied a seat in the Five hundred within the forbidden time; but his consequent incompetency for the executive, had been hitherto disregarded or undetected. It was now reported by a committee; the annulment of his election followed on the report. The Five hundred proceeded to the instant nomination of a successor, and Gohier, the late minister of justice, was presented to and approved by the Ancients.

The Councils had now secured a majority in the Luxemburgh. Sieyès was the conductor of the conspiracy, Gohier was its creation, and Barras had been tampered with and won to the betrayal of his colleagues. In the mean time, on June 17th, Merlin and Lepaux framed an answer to the message of the Councils, in which they endeavoured to fix the blame of public disasters upon the legislative, which had denied the requisite supplies. The accusation was met with bitter retorts in the Councils, and the two Directors were stigmatised by name as the authors of national calamity. Their expulsion was moved by Boulay de la Meurthe, and a resolution passed both Councils, that every authority or individual making attempts against the safety or liberty of the legislative body, or any of its members, either by giving or executing orders should be put out of the law. Thus without the slightest popular movement, or one open act of violence, the Councils deposed their rivals, and transferred the power of the executive into their own hands.

One difficulty alone remained. No provision had been made by the constitution for the expulsion of a Director, unless by his public arraignment and trial. This was an extremity to which, on every account, the Councils were unwilling to proceed. It would have been ill policy to excite among the people that feeling of pity which is soon consequent upon the punishment of fallen greatness; and it was to be wished that the extinction of the old government should not be marked with any breach of tranquillity. Their first application to the Directors for voluntary secession were firmly rejected. Merlin and Lepaux saw themselves stripped of virtual power; but they clung for personal safety to the protection of their nominal title. It was not

until after repeated solicitations, and a positive assurance that no criminal charge should be directed against them, that they consented to abdicate their offices and retire to privacy.

Thus quietly was effected the revolution of the 18th of June. It was conducted with greater facility, and produced less sensation, than any change of similar importance which had occurred since the overthrow of the French monarchy. The people had taken little share in it. Fatigued by a rapid succession of novelties in government, and indifferent as to the choice of masters, they looked on more with the curiosity of a spectator who awaits the catastrophe of a drama, than with the feelings of an actor who takes a lively interest in its representation; and the two Councils possessed all the merit of destroying a tyranny which had been as much dreaded, and had endured much longer than the terrorism of Robespierre. Of the five members who constituted the new Directory Sieyès was the grand projector of the change. Hostile to an unmixed democracy, and anxious to fix a modified Republicanism on a basis more secure than any constitution yet framed had hitherto afforded, he plotted the removal of the former executive, and had influence enough to procure his own election with that of four colleagues, who were little calculated to thwart his prospective designs by character, energy or ability. Barras, the only remaining member of the old Directory, had lost all ascendancy which personal courage might have given him by political cowardice. The letter of resignation which he addressed to the Councils on the fall of his brethren, preserved him in his nominal functions, but effectually destroyed his real power. Of the three new associates all were jacobins; Moulins a general officer; Gohier formerly minister of justice, and President of the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine; and Roger Ducos who after voting for the death of the king in the Convention, had been President of the Jacobin club during the reign of terror, and who latterly held the office of President of the Council of elders.

These discordant materials were not likely to produce a government of much stability or vigour. There was little fear lest they should revive the dictatorship of the expelled Directors; but the anarchy into which their weakness appeared about to plunge their country, too much agitated to be left in safety without the strong arm of coercion, threatened evils by no means inferior to those from which she had recently escaped. The views of Sieyès were extended far beyond the few steps which he had hitherto trodden. Disappointed in his hope of connecting Talleyrand and Cambaceres with himself in power, he looked upon the present only as a resting place in his march. It is probable that at this moment his hopes were directed to the young, brave, and popular Joubert, and through him he might have sought to introduce a government which under the title of a republic, should have combined some of the elements of aristocracy and monarchy, with a vigorous executive and a single head. The field of Novi put an end to these projects,

and the wily Abbè was soon after destined to labour for the aggrandizement of another chief whose subtilty was more profound even than his own.

Of the external state of France on the accession of the new Directory, the situations of the hostile armies will present the clearest picture. The tide of war in Swisserland was beginning to change, and the Austrians in turn were to experience defeat; in Italy it was far otherwise; and the supplies of men and treasure which both theatres demanded, were greatly beyond those which a country exhausted by a long continued drain, and torn by civil dissension was either able or willing to contribute.

At home the first struggle which appeared likely to take place was with the Jacobins. The meetings of this terrific club were revived in the heart of Paris, and the hall of the *Manége* was chosen as the place of assembly. Little changed from the principles which it had avowed in the commencement of the revolution this detestable faction again snuffed the scent of blood in the weakness of the executive; and the machinery of debates, denunciations, and national songs seemed to threaten a renewal of massacre. The Council of Five hundred was tainted by the contagion—many of its members assisted in the Jacobin orgies, and openly looked up to the wild ravings of the Manége as the sole means of public safety at this season of peril. But the populace did not afford materials so easily to be worked upon as in the first maniacal paroxysm of the revolution; they doubted the promises of the Jacobins and despised their threats, and the apathy with which both were received was the greatest security against these agitators. Sieyès openly opposed their projects, and his profound and mysterious policy, the disdain with which he spoke of all constitutions which had hitherto been tried, and the uncertain expectation of some new system which it was believed he would propose, all contributed to increase his authority. As President of the Directory he took occasion, whenever he delivered himself in the name of the government, to propound his own opinions, and without bringing forward any direct measure against the anarchists, he contrived to have it supposed that he had one always at hand.

A proposition which emanated from the Jacobins, and was seconded by a deluge of addresses to the councils, for the punishment of the Ex-directors, was thrown out after renewed discussions. Courtois then denounced the political society of the Manége, and his denunciation was referred to a secret committee. But the most effectual blow was struck by Fouchè. Appointed minister of police his first step was to suppress the club itself at his own hazard. The announcement of this strong measure was indignantly received by the Council of Five hundred; but it was one which could not easily be rescinded, and the confidence and courage with which Fouchè had risqued the execution of it, gave him a semblance of greater power than he in reality possessed to defend it when done.

But there were enemies to the existing government far more

formidable than the Jacobins; and the measures which were blindly adopted against the danger to which it was exposed, increased it tenfold. To meet the exigencies of the public treasury a forced loan of a hundred millions was decreed; the expedient completely failed; a small portion only of the sum was collected, and popular discontent and distress was materially aggravated by the attempt. Another law of equal violence and injustice was resorted to against the Royalists, who in a widely extended league had spread their ravages over the west. La Vendée presented a face of ruin, but amid these ruins were still glowing the smothered embers of hatred to the revolution, and they again burnt up as the flame kindled in other quarters. Some few of their chiefs survived, revering the memory and emulous of the glory of La Roche-Jacquelin and Charette; and although no longer able to organize an army which could meet the republican forces in the open field, there were enough partizans for petty warfare, and rapid *coups de main*. Scattered widely over the country, pursuing agricultural employments, and not to be distinguished from the mass of population, the peasants were secretly leagued among each other. They met at the first summons, they dispersed at the first appearance of an armed force, and the blow which in the interval had been successfully aimed, appeared as dealt by an invisible hand. By means of trusty agents, some of whom penetrated even to the capital, the exact period for the transmission of public monies from the provinces was discovered, and convoys of arms or treasure were plundered with impunity. Whole villages were surprised, and a ransom was demanded from the obnoxious inhabitants as the price of their lives; every wood and valley was a rallying spot for nightly excursion, and courage, fidelity and energy supplied the want of numbers and of discipline.

These appearances of internal disturbance were more or less exhibited in parts of Normandy, and in the whole of Brittany, Anjou, Maine and Poitou. Touraine and Languedoc were not without agitation, and nothing but leaders of eminence were wanting to direct the general impulse. The injudicious policy of the Directory afforded these also; and forced into avowed opposition, by sense of injury, rage and despair, those whom fear, or the hopes of tranquillity had hitherto kept aloof from the federation. Within a month after the establishment of the new Directory, a decree issued from the councils (July 12th) known by the name of the law of hostages. It enacted that in all departments which should be declared in a state of insurrection, the resident connexions of emigrants or insurgents should be personally responsible for any disorders committed by their relatives. Hostages were to be demanded from these persons on the first appearance of a tumultuary spirit; heavy fines were to be levied; and in not a few instances banishment was to be inflicted upon these unoffending and involuntary securities.

The promulgation of this law was the signal for general revolt

in the disaffected communes, and its ill judged severity drove many who would have smothered their discontent in silence, to the only hope which remained to them in arms. Many of the ancient nobles who had refused to join in the former system of petty *brigandage*, and who preferred repose to hopeless activity, now resumed their stations as leaders. Puisaye after repeated ineffectual efforts to produce the appearance of a regular force, and a futile negotiation with the Comte d'Artois, had retired in despair and disgust to Canada, but Lewis Frotté, his successor in the command of Brittany, though less qualified for diplomacy, was a chief more calculated to rouse the enthusiasm of his followers by his daring courage. D'Autichamp headed 8000 men in Poitou, he succeeded in surprising many towns on the banks of the Loire, and, by his rapid movements, at once diverted to himself, and eluded, the main body of the republican levy. Chatillon in the Nether Loire with a much inferior force, scarcely more than 2000 of all arms, obtained possession of Nantes, a city which five years before had successfully resisted the most numerous and best appointed army which La Vendèe had produced. Port Brieux was another of his splendid prizes; nor did he retreat without bearing with him the plunder of the public treasure, and a train of distinguished prisoners. In the province of Mayne, Bourmont was every where successful; Mans a place of considerable strength fell easily into his hands, and its pillage gratified that desire of revenge which the scene of former disaster could not fail to excite. No longer bent on minor enterprises and obscure triumphs, the insurgents avowedly defied the whole power of the republic. Scarcely less than 100,000 men were spread over twenty departments in open revolt, and five grand divisions of a royal and catholic army maintained a line which stretched from the Bay of Biscay to within a few leagues of the capital. Wherever they penetrated reprisals were immediately executed, and the public functionaries, with their families, were detained as pledges for the safety of the hostages, which had been torn from themselves. Provisions, ammunition, and money were plentifully captured; and the English, as masters of a great extent of coast, were able to throw in copious supplies without molestation. New revolts were announced every hour to the astonished and affrighted councils; and the manifestoes issued by the royalists, breathed nothing less than the restoration of monarchy without limitations.

Such for four months after the revolution of the 18th of June, was the distracted state of France. A government more unpopular, on account of its weakness, than that which it had succeeded in overthrowing, had been on account of its overweening power; and a people in one part silently smarting under military and financial burdens, and in another goaded into rebellion by the most oppressive cruelty, afforded ample materials for the mighty change which was about to be effected by the singular daring of a

bold, dexterous, and fortunate individual.

Whatever might be the object which first induced the revolutionary government to project the expedition to Egypt, there was little in the circumstances of that country, as situated at the existing moment, to satisfy the ambition of an enterprising leader. The overthrow of the Sultan of Mysore placed an effectual barrier before any attempt upon India; a conquest to which there can be little doubt that the hopes both of the Directory and of Bonaparte himself were ultimately directed. The defence of a military station, if Egypt was now to be considered as nothing more, was a duty little calculated for the restless activity of spirit which characterized this general; and it was much indeed to be doubted, whether he could permanently maintain the country which had been won by him with so much glory. Disease and battle had reduced the ranks of his army to less than half its original numbers; and while it was in want of arms, clothing, and military resources of every kind, it was exposed to the attacks of a new enemy. It had no longer to combat and to overthrow a few hordes of dispirited Mamelukes, but to withstand the united efforts of the Porte, England, and Russia. Bonaparte saw the tempest which was rapidly gathering round him. His reverse at Acre, while it first taught him that he was not wholly invincible, sensibly mortified his pride, and the subsequent victory which he gained at Aboukir, enabled him to quit the field with the reputation of parting success. Of what nature his correspondence with Europe might be, how far he was in communication with Sieyès and others, or whether his own sagacity led him to discover the political importance of his return, it is not yet easy to discover; but it may be asserted on his own authority that the step was dictated by intelligence from France. The prominence of his brother Lucien in the council gave him full insight into the state of parties and the weakness of the government; and for the rest we have an easy key in the gigantic ambition, and the powerful energies of his own character, which only waited for opportunity fully to develope themselves.

Berthier alone was the confidant of his design. The remainder of the suite which he designed to accompany him, including the Generals Lannes, Murat, Marmont, Andreossi and Bessieres, were assembled, under sealed orders at Aboukir, on the 22nd of August. The orders when opened enjoined their immediate embarkation. Two frigates and as many sloops had been secretly prepared for their reception, and after having been detained by contrary winds for 48 hours, the little squadron cleared the road.

A short address to his army, and a longer letter of instructions to Kleber, upon whom the chief command devolved, were the first notifications which his comrades in arms received of their General's departure. The Mediterranean swarmed with cruizers of all the powers hostile to France; but the frigates arrived unobserved in Corsica, on the 30th of September. Here again adverse winds

delayed them for six days. On nearing Toulon an English squadron of eight sail hove in sight, but the die was cast and it was too late to recede—all hope of safety now remained in persisting to advance. Throwing himself upon his fortune, Bonaparte peremptorily ordered the captain to press all sail to the eastward. The night assisted his escape, and on the afternoon of the following day, October 9, he anchored in the port of Frejus, on the coast of Provence.

The announcement of Bonaparte's disembarkation was received with one universal cry of joy. The local magistrates of Frejus waited upon him with an address, and the Directory framed a congratulatory message. His progress to Paris was a series of triumphs; every town through which he passed was illuminated, crowds flocked around his carriage, and to have seen the person of the General was prized as a distinction of honour. At Lyons a dramatic piece, 'The Hero's return,' was got up at the moment; the theatre shook with applause, and the audience, when he quitted it, escorted him to his hotel. But it was in the capital that popular enthusiasm appeared to be at its height, and, if public demonstrations might be trusted, he was already fixed in the seat of undivided power.

It is not difficult to understand the causes from which these vehement expressions of attachment arose; the fame of Bonaparte's victories in Italy was still green in remembrance; the hope of a fresh conquest of that country was kindled by a recital of his late triumphs in the east; and the people, dazzled by the splendour of military glory, looked to the most renowned of their captains, as an assured deliverer from the European league, from civil war, and from the hateful choice which seemed proposed to them by their present government, between oppression and anarchy. Such was the feeling of the great mass of the republic. The Councils, however, jealous of their own authority, and alarmed at the emotion which had been manifested, were too conscious of weakness to oppose the force of the tide. Among the Directors, Sieyès and Roger Ducos, his shadow, were willing to unite themselves to the popular favourite against the concealed hatred of the Jacobins, whom they still feared; and the Abbè transferred to Bonaparte, as a more fitting agent, the projects which he had framed for Joubert. Barras, a luxurious sensualist, was content with that degree of power which would permit him an undisturbed enjoyment of his pleasures, and flattered himself with the hope of obtaining a secondary authority by quietly yielding the first. Moulins, as a soldier, acknowledged the ascendancy of Bonaparte's military genius, and Gohier was a cypher in the administration.

The conduct of Bonaparte on his arrival at Paris, was that of one who knew that the destinies of his country were at his control, and who feeling secure of all parties, resolved to court none. Whatever secret intelligence might previously subsist between Sieyès and himself, three days elapsed before they had a personal interview. The overtures of Barras

were dismissed with contempt; the civilities of the other Directors were received with indifference. Without assuming the badge or title of any political faction, he insensibly assembled and united round him, the chief names who had signalized themselves by moderation in the progress of the revolution; and claiming their services, rather than conciliating their alliance, he directed his courtesies and attentions to none but the army, and the generals who composed his cortege.

Moreau among these was his most probable rival, and no arts were spared by Bonaparte to secure the friendship of this distinguished soldier. Little inferior in military reputation, perhaps, fully equal in military talent, Moreau was too frank for intrigue, and too gentle for ambition. It was not difficult therefore to gain him; and in the outset Bonaparte took especial pains to associate him on equal terms with himself, on all occasions in which public respect was to be demonstrated. A magnificent banquet was to be given by the Councils and the Directory to the Conqueror of Egypt, in the church of St. Sulpice, changed by revolutionary impiety into the Temple of Victory. At Bonaparte's desire, Moreau was made a joint object of the festival. On the 6th of November 750 guests sat down to a splendid entertainment. The preparations were of the most costly nature, and every grace which art could bestow was profusely lavished on the occasion. Bonaparte pledged the company to the 'union of all Frenchmen'—a sentiment which, doubtless, accorded with the opinion of the leading members, but which met with little sympathy from many of the partizans of discordant factions, who were necessarily present. The repast was gloomy and silent, and, Bonaparte himself having retired after an unusually short stay, the guests dispersed almost as soon as he had quitted them.

It could be little doubted that some great movement was at hand, but the eyes most accustomed to revolutionary mysteries, were hitherto unable to penetrate its secret: and the uncertainty of the blow, which was suspended over the existing government, prevented any attempt on their part to avert it. The project though ripe for execution had been imparted but to few. On the evening after the banquet, about thirty members of both Councils assembled at the house of Lucien Bonaparte. Arrangements were here made to summon such of their friends, whose sentiments were known to be in unison with their own, to an extraordinary meeting of the Council of Ancients on the ninth. They met at the unusual hour of eight in the morning. Carnot and Regnier successively mounted the tribune. They enlarged upon the dangers of the country; they spoke of plots and conspiracies, the explosion of which, nothing but the most energetic measures, taken at that very moment, could prevent; and, in conclusion, they referred to an article, which had been framed by Sieyès himself, in the constitution of the year III, which enabled the Ancients to appoint any new place they might chuse to name for the assembly of the legislative bodies.

This was represented by them as the sole step which promised any hope of deliverance from immediate peril. It was then formally moved that the sittings of the Councils should, on the following day, be transferred to St. Cloud; that Bonaparte should be intrusted with the execution of the decree; and, as a security for the safety of the representatives, that he should be invested with the chief command of all the forces in Paris. The motion was carried by acclamation: Bonaparte surrounded by a numerous retinue of officers, was summoned to the bar of the assembly. He took an oath of fidelity; and after a few animated words expressive of his fixed resolution to establish a constitution on the basis of civil liberty, he hastened to distribute proclamations, and to station his troops, who received him with shouts of the most lively joy.

Strong detachments of cavalry had already invested the hall of the Council of Five hundred, and the members, in repairing to their sitting, were obliged to traverse the ranks of an armed force. A message from the Ancients announcing the new decree, increased their surprize. Fear and astonishment kept the deputies silent, and after a few slight murmurs of opposition, they adjourned till the next day without deliberation. The streets of Paris were covered with placards addressed to the legislators, the soldiers, and the citizens; and the people at large, though wholly unacquainted with any measures which were in agitation for a new system, tranquilly looked on, in the hope that the old government must be destroyed, and that any form which was destined to succeed it must be less odious.

Meantime, two of the Directors, Sieyès and Ducos (who was then first admitted into the secret) had presented themselves before the confidential committee of the Ancients, and, having first surrendered their offices, assisted in the measures of the Council. Barras at an early hour received an account of the transactions of the morning, and a demand from Bonaparte of his resignation. After a short delay he complied, and immediately quitted Paris for his country seat, under the protection of an escort, which the General granted at his request. Moulins and Gohier feebly attempted to exercise their functions in the council-room of the Directory. They sent orders to Lefevre to surround the house of Bonaparte with the Directorial guard: but the Directorial guard and Lefevre were both, at that moment, acting under the command of Bonaparte himself. Moulins, finding all his efforts ineffectual, made his escape through a window of the palace, and Gohier obstinately refusing to resign, was arrested and placed under sentinels.

On the morning of the 10th the village and the chateau of St. Cloud were in the occupation of troops. The members of the two Councils repaired to their separate halls of assembly: the Ancients to the gallery; and the Five Hundred to the orangery. The doors were thrown open to the partizans of every faction. No attempt was made at exclusion; and the Jacobins, intoxicated with the fanaticism of democracy, thronged to the assembly; prepared individu-

ally for the most vehement opposition, but without previous arrangement or mutual combination.

The Ancients opened their sitting with a general tone of indecision and languor, but when Bonaparte appeared at the bar the debate assumed a vivacity which his friends apprehended might lead to premature disclosures. Hurried on by his impetuosity he inveighed against the Constitution, avowed the necessity of its termination, denounced conspiracies against the republic, and when pressed to name the authors of them, even permitted himself to mention Barras and Moulins. Having finished his speech he left the Council in deliberation and hastened to the Orangery. An extraordinary scene had occurred in this assembly, Goudin had addressed it on the dangers of the country, and his demand of a committee to consider them was received with indignant murmurs, and repeated shouts of 'the Constitution or Death.' Amid a variety of indistinct and discordant propositions, it was at length determined that the oath of fidelity to the Constitution should be renewed, and two hours were consumed in this mock ceremonial of perjury, each party solemnly engaging to support that system, the immediate destruction of which one of them had planned and the other foresaw. A pause of indecision succeeded the administration of this oath, till the silence was broken by a letter from Barras, announcing his resignation. On this the tumult was renewed—many voices demanded whether the Directory still existed; others called for the election of a successor to the vacant Directorship. The agitation continually increased: and the indistinct murmurs of the irritated assembly were changed into loud and ferocious menaces when Bonaparte advanced into the Hall, accompanied by a few unarmed grenadiers. He motioned to address the meeting. Shouts of 'down with the tyrant! outlaw the dictator!' overpowered his utterance. The Deputies gathered round him with violent and savage gestures, some even drew poignards from beneath their robes, and it seemed as if their thirst of vengeance could be satisfied only with his blood. Thomè one of the soldiers who entered with him, was wounded by a blow aimed at his General, and it has been asserted that a second stroke was blunted by a corslet of chain armour which Bonaparte always wore concealed under his uniform. The guards at length succeeded in extricating him from farther danger, and bore him back to their comrades.

On the retirement of Bonaparte the indignation of the Council was transferred to the President Lucien. He was called upon to annul the decree of the Ancients, to adjourn the meeting to Paris, to dispossess his brother of his command, and even to pass a sentence of outlawry upon him. Having obtained one short moment of silence, he descended from his seat, and approaching the table he placed upon it his scarf and mantle of office, declaring that he renounced the title and the distinction of President, since he was no longer permitted to maintain its dignity, nor to execute its functions.

The rage of the Jacobins seemed

now at its height, and the entrance of a file of soldiers probably saved Lucien from the last violence. He quitted the Hall, and mounting on horseback hastily repaired to the Palace Court. Here Bonaparte already had informed his troops of the attack upon his person, and had magnified the sudden fury of the Council into a deliberate project of assassination. The soldiers listened with profound interest, but they were restrained as yet from active demonstrations by their involuntary respect for civil institutes and legalized authority. The presence of Lucien removed these scruples. In a few passionate words he described the outrage upon their commander, he assured them that the real majority of the Council was friendly to his brother, though unhappily at that moment, it was overawed, and at the mercy of a few terrorists and assassins. He called upon the military to be the avengers of violated rights and asserters of the law—not to become accomplices in a conspiracy, but suppressors of a rebellion; to protect their General, to reduce anarchy to order, and to vindicate France. The emotion of the troops increased with every word, all doubts as to the legality of their interference died away, and they eagerly demanded orders to dissolve the assembly under the sanction of the President. Bonaparte dexterously employed this critical moment and gave the word. The drums sounded in the Hall as the grenadiers advanced. The members listened in motionless astonishment to the voices which commanded them to withdraw—the injunction was repeated, but they still maintained their seats. The drums again beat a charge, 'Forward Grenadiers,' was the order, and as the guards presented their bayonets, the Deputies hastily fled from the Hall by every passage which they could gain.

The Council of Ancients was still in deliberation; a renewal of the oath to the Constitution had been proposed in it, and the debate upon this question might have taken a course hostile to the views of Sieyès and Bonaparte, if it had not been interrupted by intelligence of the events which had occurred to the other portion of the Legislative body. A secret Committee was formed on this announcement, to provide measures for the safety of the country. Meantime the few of the Council of Five Hundred, to whom the plan had been imparted reassembled in their Hall. Lucien Bonaparte and Boulay de la Meurthe addressed them on the circumstances of the day, and developed the project of a new government, which had already been framed by the Committee and agreed to by the Council of Ancients. It was adopted jointly by the two bodies with slight opposition, and in substance provided for the abolition of the Directory, and the exclusion of the most violent Jacobins (sixty one in number) from the national representation. It established an Executive Commission of three persons, Bonaparte, Sieyès, and Ducos, under the title of Consuls, and invested with the full powers, which had been possessed by the Directory, and it adjourned the sittings of the Councils to the 20th of February, after appointing two

Committees of 25 members from each, with instructions to frame a Civil Code.

Such was the fifth Constitution which France embraced in the course of ten years: and the sceptre was at length transferred from the partizans of democracy to a military despot. Sieyès, no doubt, had meditated a more tranquil change, and if he had succeeded, power would have been more equably distributed between himself and Bonaparte; but the latter well knew that whatever political superiority might be possessed by his colleague, was much more than counterbalanced by the physicial force under his own command; and preferring the employment of open violence to the slow progress of debate, he boldly seized by assault that which the other was compassing by stratagem. The union of the two Councils, or the refusal of the soldiery to act, might either of them have been fatal to his design; and to his brother Lucien he was not a little indebted for obviating both these difficulties: the rest depended upon himself alone; and he was not ignorant how to occupy power when the path to it was once opened.

France herself, convulsed, shattered, and exhausted, was an easy prey to the strongest who disputed for her. She had tried every kind of government, but that to which the tide of Republicanism necessarily inclines in the end; and as she promised herself that the repose, which she so much needed, would be given to her in proportion to the vigour of her Executive, she not only easily yielded to, but accepted with joy a master who supported himself by the sword.

CHAPTER II.

State of Europe at the Peace of Campo Formio. Secret Articles annexed to that Treaty. Opening of the Congress at Radstadt. Demands of the French for the Extension of their Frontier to the Rhine. Motives and Feelings of the different German Powers. Consent of the Deputies. Proposed Indemnities. General Consternation throughout Germany. New Demands of the French. Opposed by Austria. Formation of a New Coalition. Russia included in it. The Directory temporizes. Conferences at Seltz. March of the Russsian Troops. Remonstrances of the French Deputies. Replies of the Diet of Ratisbon, and of the Emperor. Preparations for War. Numbers and Disposition of the French. And of the Austrians. Jourdan crosses the Rhine at Kehl. His Advance is unopposed. Defeat of the Austrians by Massena, at San Luciensteig. The Austrians successfully defend their Lines at Feldkirch. Operations in the Tyrol. Advance of the Archduke Charles. He defeats Jourdan at Stockach. Massena again repulsed at Feldkirch. Partial Successes of the French in the Tyrol. They evacuate it. The Archduke Charles storms Schaffhausen, and prepares to enter Swisserland. Inactivity of both Armies. Breaking up of the Congress at Radstadt. Assassination of the

French Deputies. The Austrians obtain complete Possession of the Lower Engadine and of the greatest Part of the Grisons. Difficulties of the French in Swisserland. The Archduke Charles enters Swisserland. The Austrians occupy St. Gothard. Battle of Zurich. Retreat of Massena. Unwillingness of the Emperor to press his Success in Swisserland. Renewal of War on the right Bank of the Rhine.

The peace of Campo Formio, from its avowed articles evidently appeared to be forced by necessity on both the contracting parties, and little hopes could be entertained that the repose which it gave to Europe would endure beyond the moment at which the combatants should feel their exhausted strength sufficiently revived to permit a renewal of their contest. France gained the Austrian Netherlands; a cession which deprived the Emperor of one of his most important outworks, and which contained in itself alone the seeds of future war. To these were added the islands in the Archipelago and in the Adriatic, and the territory in Albania which had been wrested from Venice. The new creation of the Directory, the Cisalpine Republic, was enriched with the Milanese and the Mantuan. The Duke of Modena, whose dominions were partitioned, was to be indemnified from the Brisgan; and in return for these surrenders, the Emperor with a disregard for the liberties of independent states no less flagrant than that which had been manifested by those against whom he appeared in arms, was to be bribed by the spoils of Venice, whose freedom was blotted out for ever, and by the absolute sovereignty of that part of Italy which was bounded by the Adige.

The acquisitions thus obtained by France, however great in extent, were not enough to satiate the cravings of her boundless ambition. On the other hand the losses of Austria were equally mortifying to her pride and destructive to her interests. But in addition to these conditions of peace which were openly promulgated, a still more nefarious system of partition was proposed in a series of articles secretly annexed to the treaty; and which when subsequently published by the Directory in the face of Europe were never formally disavowed by the cabinet of Vienna. By these the mediation of the Emperor was promised to obtain from the states of Germany the grand object for which the French had contended in so many wars, both under their monarchy and their republic—the extension of their frontier to the Rhine. To guarantee the security of this new demarcation, the *tete du pont* at Manheim and the fortress of Mentz were to be garrisoned by their troops: and in compensation for these good offices on the Rhine and the Meuse, the free navigation of the Inn, a large portion of its adjacent territory, and the whole of the Bishopric of Saltzburg were to be annexed to the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria. This project was assiduously concealed at the moment of its invention, and was

only afterwards betrayed by the French, on the renewal of war, in the just hope of exciting suspicion against the emperor among the confederates. The dismemberment which it proposed, if borne carefully in mind, will furnish a key to many of the subsequent proceedings at the Congress of Radstadt, at which, under different pretexts, the ministers of the negociating parties, were perpetually endeavouring to appropriate to their respective masters an undue portion of the intended spoil.

On the 12th of December, 1797, this important diplomatic assembly opened its proceedings. As these avowedly were directed only to pacific arrangements between France and the German empire, no powers but those immediately interested in the discussion were invited to partake in them, and some of the northern cabinets which had applied for admission were peremptorily refused, on the ground that they did not belong to the Germanic body. One hundred and seventy-three deputies composed this senate of negotiators. On the part of Austria the Count de Metternich acted as plenipotentiary, and similar full powers were vested by the French Republic in Treilhard and Bonnier. Bonaparte was at one time nominated, but he preferred the field to the cabinet; and Treilhard on his election to a seat in the Directory was succeeded by the ill fated Roberjot and Jean Debrie.

It is not within our limits to detail the multifarious and dilatory proceedings of this protracted Congress; and we must content ourselves with a brief and rapid outline of the principal topics which employed it in debate. The first months after its assembly were passed in ceremonial arrangements in exchange of powers, and in those tedious forms which have long been the reproach more especially of German diplomacy. The French ministers then at once advanced, as the only basis upon which they could commence a treaty of peace, a demand for the extension of the frontier of the Republic to the Rhine.

Whatever might be the surprize of the deputies of the minor states at this unexpected proposition, it was evident, in the progress of its consideration, that neither Austria nor Prussia were prepared to reject it: and the facility with which the ministers of these powers received the project of indemnities by which the respective losses consequent upon this transfer of territory were to be supplied, sufficiently manifested that the scheme was neither new nor unpleasing to the leaders of the Germanic confederacy.

Such, however, was by no means the prevalent feeling among the majority of the deputation. It was urged that the integrity of the Empire had been solemnly asserted and guaranteed in the preliminaries at Leoben: that no subsequent stipulation could abrogate this grand and leading principle, upon the faith of which the Congress itself was then sitting; that the proposed cession would destroy the Constitution of the Empire, and endanger its political existence; and that by the intended disposition of territory many of its ancient members would be

stripped either without indemnification, or with such as was very inadequate to their losses, of the whole or the greater part of their possessions. This statement was by no means exaggerated; since it was calculated that eleven hundred square miles, containing three millions of inhabitants, would be affected by the changes; and that thirty-one Secular and thirteen Ecclesiastical States would, more or less, be exposed to diminution.

The reply presented by Metternich was founded upon these representations: for the cabinet of Vienna was as yet too cautious to lay aside the masque, and to shew how deeply it was implicated with France in the unprincipled scheme of aggrandizement at the expence of its confederates. To these were added strong remonstrances at the continued occupation by French troops of places which by the armistice of Leoben ought to have been long since evacuated; and complaints of the dissemination of revolutionary doctrines, and incitement to insurrection throughout the dominions of the Empire by agents of the Directory. Here a new field of debate was opened. The French Plenipotentiaries contended that the safety of the Republic demanded the presence of their troops in the several posts through which they were dispersed; and although they disavowed the charge of seducing the subjects of Austria from their allegiance, they retorted the accusation in some measure by complaining of the protection and countenance which was still shown, in spite of the strong representations of the Directory, to the Royalist emigrants. Not content with wandering thus far from the original subject of discussion, mutual recriminations were offered as to the causes of the past war and the first committal of aggressions.

On reverting to the demand of France for extension of frontier, Treilhard and Bonnier persisted in declaring it to be the only foundation for a future treaty which they were instructed to admit. The objections of the chief German powers gradually relaxed. Austria who appeared to suffer most largely consented first, to half the cession required, Prussia declared for peace at all rates, and willingly acquiesced in that part of the surrender, by which she was to be affected. The Elector of Bavaria, to whom the proposed indemnities, in parts of Suabia and Franconia, but ill compensated for the abandonment of his fairer territory beyond the Inn, continued firm in his opposition, and openly called the states to a new coalition, unless the claim should be relinquished; and urged them to invite Russia and England to a general alliance of Europe against the common enemy. These strong and manly declarations met with little support. Timidity on the part of minor states, views of aggrandizement and interest on that of the more powerful prevented the assumption of any tone but that of conciliation; and on the 12th of March the consent of the German deputies was formally offered to the French proposition.

Feb. 20, 1798.

Thus far the secret articles concluded at Campo-Formio had led

the Emperor to sacrifice the honor and the safety of that body of which he was the sovereign protector, from the base hope of individual interest. But it is in the division of booty for the most part that feuds will break out among the plunderers: and the spoilers, in the instance before us, though equally bent upon prey, were by no means equally agreed as to the appropriation of it when obtained. Where a territory of no small extent was to be taken away, those by whom it was relinquished could not receive indemnity without themselves in turn becoming the robbers of others. The obvious source of supply was to be found in the secularization of Ecclesiastical property; and the principle, when suggested by the French, was unhesitatingly agreed to by the deputies of the Empire. It was easy for the strong arm of power to eject the existing possessors and to substitute itself in their place; and this system, if acted upon by the primary States, would be followed up in turn by those which were secondary, till it extended through every grade and rank of the Imperial Constitution. But there was a point beyond which it would be impossible to proceed in the scale of indemnity. There must be some who had every thing to lose, nothing from which to supply their losses. Abbies, Monasteries, and Prelacies were among this unhappy number; and no time was lost by the members of such communities to alienate every species of property for which they could discover means of sale. The consternation was general. Those who looked for indemnity, saw the promised benefit wasting away before they were able to grasp it; while those who were to furnish indemnity, saw themselves deprived of all means of future existence by this call for the provision of others.

To calm this natural terror the greater powers took great pains to publish abroad that they intended to rest content with very moderate indemnities; and having conceded the frontier of the Rhine, and adopted the principle of secularizations, they imagined that France would have little else to demand. It was with no small surprise, therefore, that the deputies took into consideration a note which was presented to them on the 13th of May. In this, the demolition of Ehrenbreitstein, and the surrender of Kehl and Cassel were peremptorily required; the equalization of customs, the abolition of tolls, the abandonment of all the islands on the Rhine, and the free navigation of that river and the Danube, were no less insisted upon: and, without these, peace was still declared to be hopeless.

It was now sufficiently clear that the leading States of Germany had been the dupes of their own rapacity; that the Directory had amused them with the hope of a treaty which it had never in reality intended to conclude; that it had deceived them into concessions by which their dignity was tarnished; and that it had persuaded them to avow intentions by which they were indelibly stained with the imputation of bad faith. Henceforward the pro-

ceedings of the Congress must be regarded as delusive on both sides. The French only postponed hostilities till they could emancipate themselves from financial difficulties, and concentrate their scattered armies. The Austrians lent an eager ear to the proposals which England as eagerly tendered for the formation of a new coalition; and with little disguise concerted measures for co-operation with the forces which the great northern Autocrat was about, for the first time, to engage in the European contest.

Meanwhile the war of diplomacy was continued with unremiting energy; and in proportion as the foundations of the new confederacy received additions of strength, the language of the Imperial deputies increased in vigour. The tone of Count Metternich was changed from conciliation to defiance; and his notes teemed with reproaches upon the ill-veiled ambition of the Republic. Even the cautious policy within the limits of which Prussia had reserved herself, occasionally warmed into expressions of indignation; and her ministers, though inflexibly resolved to adhere to the strictest neutrality whenever recourse at length was had to arms, considered it as demanded by the honor of their master to remonstrate against the arrogant and exaggerated pretensions of the French.

The Directory was staggered by this opposition. War was not as yet convenient; and it became necessary to temporize. It was stated that the *sine quâ non* of frontier having been admitted, the remaining articles might be considered of less importance, and might receive modifications: that they might be discussed separately: and that perhaps the French government would not equally press the acceptance of all. Thus, in particular, instead of the cession of the whole of the islands of the Rhine, it was now proposed that a division of them should take place; that the right side should belong to the Empire and the left to France. A proposition involving in itself the seeds of endless collision and dispute; and which may be admitted in brief as a fair specimen of the temper and spirit in which the negotiations were now conducted.

One attempt, perhaps, was made in sincerity, by the Austrian cabinet, to preserve peace; and if the propositions which it is said the Count de Cobentzel was authorized to submit to François de Neufchateau at Seltz are to be believed, the Directory itself might have received lessons in spoliation from the Imperial government. The ostensible motive which occasioned the meeting between these two ministers was to investigate the complaint of Bernadotte, and to adjudge the respective measures of blame due to the several parties concerned in the tumult which had forced the French ambassador to quit Vienna. Their conferences, however, were credibly supposed to be directed to much more general and important objects: and it was asserted that the agent of the Emperor was instructed to present a dazzling scheme for the entire regeneration of Italy. By this, Piedmont was to be annexed to

France: while the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics and the Mantuan were to be merged in the Imperial dominions. But the Directory knew its own strength, and it was not willing to purchase an increase of territory for itself by an almost equal aggrandizement of its rival. The time was approaching in which Italy was to become its own without competition; and any partnership would only be so much loss to those who already anticipated the mastery of the whole. The conferences terminated in July; and no effect was produced by them on the negotiations at Radstadt.

The event of the battle of the Nile accelerated the hostile determination of the Emperor. The Ottoman Porte had declared war: the Russian troops were in motion; the gold of England was prepared for the Imperial coffers; and in the latter months of the year 1798 the transactions of the Congress were little more than a reciprocation of menaces, occasionally interspersed with conciliation, whenever the moment of explosion appeared to be hurrying on too rapidly for the interests of Austria. The French also were more prepared for the field, and in the end they sought to bring this diplomatic farce to a conclusion with some apparent regard to form. The pretext which was selected only heightened the ridicule of the mockery. The march of the Russians had been bruited over all Europe for more than six months preceding. when on the first of January 1799, the French plenipotentiaries solemnly appealed to the Diet of Ratisbon to prevent the entrance of this foreign army within the territory of the Empire. Such entrance it was declared would be deemed a violation of neutrality; its announcement would instantly terminate the Congress; and would place the House of Austria and the French Republic precisely in the same relative situations to each other which they held anterior to the preliminaries of Leoben.

Of the motives which actuated the wayward and capricious Paul to appear in arms against France, it is not easy to speak with precision. War might perhaps be the policy of Russia, who was begining to find her level among the nations of Europe, and who must necessarily, with little risque to herself, acquire great additional influence by embarking in that which was strictly an European quarrel. But it is by no means clear that this policy was perceived by the fickle monarch who now filled the throne of the Czars: and we may attribute to that restlessness which in all things marked his wild and misguided career, the step which gave unprecedented animation to the fresh confederacy. The character of Paul had not yet been fully developed; and the sounding words and swollen phrases in which his Imperial manifestoes were framed, were hailed as the fiery breathings of a chivalric spirit, and accepted as sure prognostics of future victory.

The note of the French minister was referred to the Diet of Ratisbon, and also to the court of Vienna. Meantime the Emperor of Germany had been present in person at a review of the Russian troops, which were already on the

confines of Bavaria. The French armies also were in motion, and in spite of the remonstrances of Metternich, they had re-crossed to the right bank of the Rhine. Ehrenbreitstein, which for eighteen months, during the whole of the sitting of the Congress, had been closely invested, worn out by famine and hopeless of relief, at length surrendered. The gallant Faber marched out on the 27th of January, and the besiegers became masters of a profusion of military stores which were heaped in its magazines.

The replies both of the Diet of Ratisbon and of the Imperial Court were studiedly vague and unsatisfactory. The first protested ignorance, and referred to its constituents and to the Emperor's commissary for information; contenting itself with a simple assurance that no requisition had hitherto been made to it concerning the Russian troops. The second declared its intention of awaiting the decision of the Diet. On the receipt of these documents, the deputation at Radstadt professed equal incompetence to offer any answer upon the question proposed, and treated it as a matter beyond their functions, and foreign to the business which they were appointed to discuss. In return, the French plenipotentiaries, on the 31st of January, renewed their demand for a categorical answer: and, as the prelude to the storm, notified, that unless within fifteen days the Emperor should compel the Russian troops to evacuate the Austrian territory, his refusal would be received as a declaration of war.

The march of the Russians still continued, and no definitive answer was delivered to the repeated applications of the French. The month of February was passed in the completion of such military arrangements as were deemed necessary, before either party should strike the first blow.

By the accounts which Scherer, the minister of war, now laid before the Directory, the total amount of the Republican armies was stated to be 392,000 men; of these about 320,000, exclusive of 80,000 auxiliaries, were applicable to service in Europe, where, from Amsterdam to Naples, a space of 2000 miles was to be protected and controlled. The troops stationed in Germany and Swisserland amounted to 110,000; divided into three *corps d'armèe* —one of 45,000, under Massena, occupied the left bank of the Rhine, from its source to the western extremity of the Lake of Constance, and thence on both banks of the river as far as Basle. The second, commanded by Jourdan, and comprising the same number of men, was in possession of the fortress of Kehl and lined the left bank of the Rhine, from the frontiers of Swisserland to Mentz; while the remaining 20,000 formed an army of observation under Bernadotte, and were posted on both banks from Mentz to Dusseldorf.

These positions were calculated to give effect to the great project which had been kept in view by the French government during the campaigns of 1796 and 1797, but which, on both occasions, had been frustrated by tardiness of movement. By a simultaneous operation on the part of the three

armies of Germany, Swisserland, and Italy, the Directory hoped to penetrate through the dominions of Austria, and to concentrate its forces at Vienna itself; for this purpose Bernadotte was to occupy Philipsburgh, the only fortress remaining to Austria on the Rhine. Jourdan was to pass the Rhine, and having marched through the Black Forest, and extended himself in Suabia, to turn the Lake of Constance and the southern part of the Tyrol. Massena was to force the Tyrol in front, by the vallies of the Lech and the Inn, while Scherer opened his way from Italy either through the Tyrol or the Friuli.

The Cabinet of Vienna had been by no means backward in preparations for the war which it perceived was approaching, though at the same time it maintained a resolute determination on no account to commence hostilities. On the Lech, 60,000 men were placed under the command of the Archduke Charles; 20,000 were collected at Bamburg and Wurtzburg under General Sztarray; as many under General Hotze in the Grisons, and 25,000 under General Bellegarde on the frontiers of that country and the Tyrol. The remainder of the Austrian force, about 60,000 strong, was employed for the campaign of Italy.

The part chosen by the Emperor being defensive, the plans of the Archduke in the commencement were necessarily dependent upon those of the enemy, and his primary object, as soon as the French should pass the Rhine, was, by a rapid advance, to meet them before Hotze's position could be attacked on opposite sides by Jourdan and Massena.

The law of nations had on no occasion been regarded by the revolutionary governors of France, when an advantage was to be gained by its violation: in the present instance they added to perfidy a gross attempt to throw the blame of hostilities upon the Emperor. At break of day on the first of March, Jourdan passed the Rhine at Kehl with the principal part of his army, overruning and plundering all the villages of the rich valley which he entered on the right bank. A note at the same moment was presented at Radstadt, explaining the necessity imposed upon the French armies of *providing for their safety* by these movements. On the following day Bernadotte took possession of Manheim by capitulation; and, encouraged by this success, sent a most extravagant summons to the Rhingrave of Salm, who commanded at Philipsburgh—Manheim was utterly defenceless; but the bravery of his garrison, which consisted of 2000 chosen troops of the empire, and the great strength which the inundations round Philipsburgh contributed to that fortress, enabled the Rhingrave to offer a gallant and successful defence.

No obstacle, for the present, could be opposed to Jourdan's march; the Austrians were as yet too distant, and the weakness of the Duke of Wurtemberg compelled him to observe a strict neutrality. By the sixth of March, the whole of the French army had penetrated beyond the mountains of the Black Forest, its right being near Schaffhausen, its left at Rothwell. Bernadotte's corps mean-

while spread itself over Hesse Darmstadt, and the Palatinate; and neither the neutrality of the Duke of Wurtemberg, nor the amity of the new Elector of Bavaria could protect their dominions from the rapacity of the invaders. Every where the French armies were subsisted on the produce and at the expence of the countries which they occupied. Jourdan was now invested with the supreme command of the three armies of the Lower Rhine, the Upper Rhine, and Swisserland; Bernadotte having the immediate direction of the first, and Massena of the last.

The task which Massena had to execute was far more difficult than that which fell to Jourdan: the former, in his very first step, had to pass the Rhine in the front of the Austrians; and, before he could reach the eastern side of the Lake of Constance, to clear the Grisons and the Voralberg of his opponents. The fort of San Luciensteig is the principal defence of the Grisons on the side which borders upon the states of Austria, and commands the communication by these parts between Germany and Italy. This important post, with those of Coire and Mayenfield, were occupied by 6000 men under Major General Auffenberg. The position was useful for the protection of the Rhine, and by it a communication was kept up along the left bank with General Hotze, who had distributed his forces in the neighbourhood of Feldkirch and Bregentz. On the sixth of March, Massena, employing the same treachery which had been so useful to Jourdan, summoned the Austrian general to evacuate the Grisons in two hours, and attacked him at the same moment. A demonstration was made along the whole line which kept Hotze in check at Feldkirch, and prevented him from detaching assistance to Auffenberg who was the object of real attack. Near Balzers and Mayenfield the Austrians stood firm; but San Luciensteig was stormed; and Auffenberg, after having been driven from this post, and sustaining a series of combats during the night and the morning of the 7th, was surrounded and compelled to surrender. Twenty-one pieces of cannon and 5000 prisoners fell into the hands of the conquerors; who from the obstinacy of the defence and the superiority of their opponents, both in position and in artillery, purchased their victory at no inconsiderable loss.

The southern part of the Grisons was now left to a division of the army of Italy under Dessolles —the Voralberg was to be Massena's own object—and Lecourbe, with the right wing, was to attack the western side of the Tyrol. The intrenchments of Feldkirch interposed strong obstacles to the proposed junction of the two armies at the Lake of Constance, and to obtain possession of these, Massena directed some most desperate but unsuccessful attacks on the 11th and 12th of March; on the last of these days he was repulsed from the charge no less than six times; and so obstinate was the resistance, that no force could shake the Austrian position. Lecourbe, in the mean time, had driven General Loudon from the Upper Engadine; and both he

and Dessolles were advancing, though not without some checks, to the invasion of the Tyrol. The difficulty of the warfare in which they were engaged will be estimated by a recollection that it was carried on almost in the depth of a winter of extraordinary severity, among the highest countries in Europe, and that military operations in a mountainous district, require a rare union of activity, foresight, and skill, to seize opportunities and to guard against surprise. The march of Dessolles had been retarded by the snow in the Valteline, or it is probable that the Austrians would have been completely swept from the Grisons.

The first object of the Archduke Charles, on receiving intelligence of the passage of the Rhine by Jourdan, was to secure Ulm, a point which guarded all the approaches to the Hereditary States by the Danube. Accordingly, a part of his vanguard pushed forward by forced marches, and occupied that town and its neighbouring heights: on the 5th of March the remainder of the army rapidly followed, keeping a line between the Danube and the north-eastern side of the Lake of Constance. Jourdan awaiting the success of the attacks upon Feldkirch made only trifling changes in his position; and after the failure in that quarter, concentrated and drew in his several detachments. On the 20th, the two armies almost touched, and were completely in sight of each other's position. The head-quarters of the French were at Pfullendorf, those of the Austrians at Schawndorf, the little river and valley of Ostrach being their only boundary: A battle was unavoidable, and was equally desired by either General. The objects for which it was to be fought were the same to both, and could scarcely be attained without an engagement: to the Archduke the separation of Jourdan from Massena, to Jourdan that of the Archduke from Hotze. After a formal denunciation on the part of the French, that in consequence of the silence of the Cabinet of Vienna relative to the march of the Russian forces, the armistice was now at an end, a sharp attack was commenced upon the Austrian vanguard, which compelled it, till the arrival of reinforcements who regained the lost ground, to fall back beyond Holzkerchen and Closterchuss. On the following morning the Archduke determined to anticipate the enemy before the division of Vandamme, (6000 men) which had made a feint against Ulm, could pass from the left bank of the Danube. At dawn the Austrians moved forward in three columns. The right, under the Prince of Furstemberg, advanced along the Danube on Mengen, and maintained a brisk contest during the whole day, which terminated in the retreat of the French. The left, commanded by General Wallis, and the centre by the Archduke himself, were to unite at Ostrach, and by forcing that middle point to cause a retrograde movement in the French wings. From the marshy nature of the ground over which they passed, and from the advantageous heights which the Republicans had crowned, the assailants suffered much in the onset; but in

the end, with the most determined bravery, they forced the passage of the bridge of Ostrach. The French centre was much harassed in its retreat by the Austrian cavalry, but it eventually succeeded in gaining its old position at Pfullendorf in good order. In this post it was joined in line by the wings, the right not having been engaged. The loss on both sides was considerable, that of the French about 3000 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and that of the Austrians within a thousand of the same number.

The approach of evening did not allow the Archduke to follow up his success by attacking the French in their new position. His forces however were brought up for that purpose, and Jourdan perceiving his enemy's intention and the insecurity of his own post, retired in the night upon Bodman, Stockach, and Fridengen. The Archduke pursued with his whole army. Some affairs of posts occurred on the following day: and on the night of the 24th, the French were established in a line extending on the left from the heights of Tuttlingen near the Danube, through Engen to Hohentweil on their right. The position of the Archduke in advance of Stockach was not equally advantageous: the space between the Danube and the Lake of Constance was too extensive to allow its entire occupation, and his right was exposed to that part of the French line which was in possession of Lyptingen; his left was more secure by a strong detachment which he had placed on the high ground of Erperingen, to cover the approaches from the Lake by Bodman and Ratolsszell. Unable to change his own position, it was important to him to compel the enemy to abandon theirs; and accordingly he prepared, on the 25th, for an attack on Lyptingen, hoping to drive St. Cyr, who had drawn his corps from the left bank of the Danube, once more across that river.

The ill success of Massena in his attacks on Feldkirch had materially increased the difficulty of his junction with Jourdan; and unless this last general could gain a decisive victory over the Archduke, the original plan of the campaign could not be carried into effect. The right flank of the Austrians was obviously weakest, and they could not venture to re-inforce it without hazarding a separation from the Lake of Constance. To draw them from this point was Jourdan's great object; and on the morning of the 25th of March he determined to hazard a general attack for this purpose. Each army was thus preparing, simultaneously, for the offensive. The division of St. Cyr (the left of the French) was first opposed to that of the Imperial General Meerfeldt. So great was the impetuosity of the French charge that the Austrians soon fell back in disorder upon the woods in front of Stockach; where they were harassed on two sides by more than 20,000 men, and nearly exposed on the third to a column under Vandamme, detached to turn them from Moeskirch, which contained the reserve of Austrian artillery. The Archduke, who was reconnoitering at Aach, perceived his critical situation. He ordered the

vanguard of his left, which was already engaged to retire slowly upon its wing. He strengthened his centre by placing artillery on the heights of Nellemberg, the key of that part of his line; and then himself in person drew off what troops he could spare to the support of his right. He found the French masters of the wood, but animating his men by his own example, he led them again to the charge by the road of Tuttlingen. The onset was most bloody—the Archduke, on foot, headed his grenadiers—the Prince of Furstenberg and Prince Anhalt Bernburg fell amid a deadly shower of grape. It was a battle of alternate retreat and attack among infantry, in which every tree was a new post; nor, long as the struggle had been protracted, did either party seem victorious, till a movement in flank of some Austrian battalions which came up from the left, decided the fortune of the day: the French cavalry attempted to cover the retreat of their comrades, but they were overthrown by two regiments of Imperial cuirassiers—the wood was cleared, and the pursuit continued towards Lyptingen till nightfall.

Meantime the column under Vandamme, after a short temporary advantage, had been repulsed by the Prince of Wurtemberg, and compelled to pass the Danube at Sigmaringen. Nellemberg, though vigorously attacked, was maintained with equal gallantry by the Austrians, and night alone put an end to the contest. The two armies slept on the field in nearly the same positions which they had occupied previously to the battle. Not less than 10,000 killed and wounded lay around them, in the proportion of two French to one Imperialist: and the fate of the French in Suabia was decided. Jourdan, before break of day on the 26th, renewed a partial and unsuccessful attack on the Austrian right; and, finding his inferiority, commenced a retreat on the same night. His left crossed the Danube at Tuttlingen, and fell back towards the Neckar upon Dornheim and Freydenstadt. The right and centre occupied respectively the Vallies of Hell and of Kinche. The artillery and baggage were drawn off through the Black Forest, and secured beyond the Rhine at Basle and Huninguen. The detachment which had joined him from Massena's army drew off by Schaffhausen, leaving a small force in front of that town, and the headquarters were fixed at Hornberg.

The Archduke Charles contented himself for the present by following and observing their retreat. The affairs of Swisserland did not allow him to abandon his communication with that country by the Rhine and the Lake of Constance; and the approach of reinforcements under General Sztarray, on the frontiers of Wirtemberg, between the Necker and the Danube, induced him to adopt a plan of manœuvres which might dislodge the French from the defiles of the Black Forest without the hazard of another battle. When united with that General, he vigorously pressed on at every point, and successively drove the enemy from the vallies of Hell, of Kentzing, and the Necker; forced them into Schaffhausen, and on the 3d of April

surprised their camp at Friedberg in mid-day, and even menaced their head-quarters. Jourdan, on that day, had relinquished his command, and set out for Paris; where, in an apologetic memoir, he attributed his defeats to the inadequacy of the force provided by the Directory, and the misconduct of his generals. Ernouf, to whom the charge of the army devolved, lost no time in effecting his retreat by Kehl. Leaving a corps of observation in front of that town, he hastily passed the Rhine there and at Old Breyzach. The Austrians advanced into the valley of the Rhine, and on the 7th were established with their right nearly upon Radstadt, and their left as far as Weill, and Richen towards Basle.

These important successes destroyed in its very outset the plan of campaign which had been arranged hy the Directory. After six weeks occupation, nearly the whole of Suabia was regained from the French, who were driven almost into the same positions which they had held before its invasion.

While these transactions were passing in Suabia, Massena had been continuing his unsuccessful endeavours to force the Austrians from the Voralberg. At the moment in which Jourdan, by his advances on the Lake of Constance, threatened the communication between the Archduke and General Hotze, the latter marched with 10,000 men towards Bregentz and Lindar. Feldkirch was thus left with a comparatively small force to defend it, and Massena undismayed by his two former defeats before it, ordered Oudinot, on the 22d of March, to establish batteries on a height which flanked the left of the Austrian position. In this attempt he was wholly frustrated. The Imperial artillery prevented him from completing any works, and he was subsequently driven from the ground itself by an attack of infantry. On the following day, Massena in person directed his whole force against every side of Feldkirch. He was again repulsed, after a bloody contest which cost him 3000 men. The Austrians advanced upon the Rhine, and Massena intrenched himself on the opposite bank, having his head quarters at Coire.

In the west of the Tyrol the campaign for a time bore a more favourable aspect to the French. The Austrians were intrenched in the defiles of the Munsterthal, and in the posts also of Nauden and Martinsbruch. Lecourbe, being united with Dessolles, after a few days of preparation directed the latter on the 25th against Taufers and Munster, and marched himself on the following day on Martinsbruch; the course of Dessolles lay over one of the highest peaks of the Julian Alps, between the sources of the Adige and Adda; surrounded by glaciers and snows, and obstructed every where by precipices hitherto deemed impassable. The difficulty of the passage had lulled the Austrians into careless security; and Laudohn was completely surprised. Attacked on the right and left and turned also in the rear, on each quarter by superior forces, the Imperial General, after a brave defence, cut his way through the surrounding enemy to Burgeis.

The troops which escaped with him were but few, and the remainder with their baggage and cannon were compelled to surrender; the loss of the Austrians on this occasion was at least 4000 men.

At Burgeis, Laudohn was joined by Bellegarde, whose *corps de reserve* had marched to disengage him. The Winstchgau was a point of the utmost importance to them, and to this after their junction they immediately directed themselves. Here, calling upon the Tyrolese to take up arms, they awaited the assembly of this volunteer *levy en masse*, nor were they disappointed in their hopes; the faithful mountaineers every where flocked to the Imperial standard. Attached to its own government, and detesting the French name, the whole province rose as one man; and the severities inflicted by its merciless invaders, whose course was stained by every excess which follows in the train of war, only increased the zeal of its loyalty.

Notwithstanding these successes in the field, the French had many obstacles to prevent their progress. Exclusive of the Tyrolese volunteers who were arming against them on all sides, the difficulty of the country, the want of magazines, the impossibility of subsisting on their conquests, and above all the disasters of Jourdan on the one hand and of Scherer (whose line was already broken in Italy,) on the other, opposed themselves to their advance. Landeck and Glurentz accordingly bounded their march, nor did they long retain possession of these posts. Dessolles on the 31st fell back on the Munsterhall, with the design of intrenching himself. In this he was frustrated by an attack made by Bellegarde on the 4th of April; after a severe action in which the loss of men was nearly equal on both sides, the French were driven towards Bormio and Zernetz. Lecourbe in the meantime after receiving a small check near Landeck on the 30th, abandoned that part of the valley of the Inn, and retreated on Martinsbruch. Hence again, being pressed by the Tyrolese volunteers, on the 5th he retired still farther, and finally evacuated the Tyrol.

The deliverance of this province being effected, Bellegarde's chief object was to afford active assistance to the army of Italy then in the brilliant commencement of its career of victory. For this purpose he detached three columns under Generals Wuckassowich and Alcaini, and Colonel Strauch to clear the Bressan and Bergamese of some French divisions which might have harassed the right flank of the Austrians. After a short repose, on the 22d of April, he then reconnoitred the frontiers of the Engadine and the Brettigau in several small columns. The passages being all found impracticable, the parties were recalled, but from the difficulty of communication in mountain warfare one of them under Major Smidt, missed this counter-order; and having continued to advance as far as Manus, it was surrounded by very superior numbers and compelled to surrender after a gallant but ineffectual resistance. The severity of the season and the failure of this detachment protracted for some time longer the

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meditated attack on the Grisons.

The first care of the Archduke Charles, after the deliverance of Suabia was directed to its future security; for this purpose he established a strong chain of posts through the valley of the Rhine towards the Neckar, collected magazines and endeavoured to restore confidence to the inhabitants. The retreat of Jourdan's army, the recent successes in the Tyrol, and the great battles which Kray had won in Italy enabled the Imperial commander to prepare for the invasion of Swisserland; a country which afforded the French a strong hold for all military operations, and which to the Austrians was alike the key of Germany, Italy, and France itself. Having completed the necessary previous arrangements he issued a proclamation on the 30th of March, announcing to the Swiss, his approach as their deliverer from the French yoke: but it was not till the 13th of the following month that he made even a demonstration of attack. His vanguard on that day under General Nauendorf summoned Schaffhausen. On its refusal to surrender a cannonade was directed against the opposite bank of the Rhine, and the town itself was stormed after a vigorous resistance. In their retreat the French burnt the celebrated bridge, well known as the work of a common carpenter of the Canton of Appenzell. The current of the Rhine which at this spot runs with great force in a bed of more than 300 feet in breadth, had repeatedly washed away the former bridges, when Ulrich Grubenman proposed a single arch of wood-work. His project was ridiculed, and the indignant peasant to show the stability of his work, jumped upon the model which he had formed of it in miniature; it bore his weight triumphantly, and his design was immediately adopted. The destruction of this bridge occasioned a memorable act of gallantry in some Austrian soldiers,—to secure communication with the farther bank of the river a single private of the regiment of Lascy, disregarding the horrible fire which thundered round him from both armies, swam over and disengaged two boats. He guided them to the middle of the stream, when the rapidity of the waters carried them against the burning bridge. One of his comrades now accompanied him a second time across the river, and in this attempt they were more successful. Eighteen others, animated by their example, followed a third time, and the whole flotilla from the left side was at length placed in the hands of the Austrians.

Petershausen was taken the next day, and Constance, too strong to be easily abandoned, underwent a bombardment; the inhabitants on the Necker and the Mein took up arms against the French, and inconsiderable skirmishes were frequent, but the Archduke for a while was wholly inactive as to Swisserland. This unexpected delay was occasioned in part by the exhausted state of that country in which under the present circumstances it was impossible to subsist a large army; in part by the necessity of farther previous operations by Hotze and Bellegarde in the south; and more than all it is to be feared by unworthy

jealousies in the Austrian army, and unhappy dissensions in its cabinet, which by the protraction of the Archduke's great design, allowed the zeal of the Swiss to be extinguished, the broken spirit of the French to be revived, their losses to be recruited, their positions to be strengthened, and finally prevented the beneficial results which had been justly anticipated from the fortunate commencement of the campaign.

Causes of another nature led to a similar inactivity on the part of Massena. A new plan of campaign was to be devised; for the disasters of Jourdan and of Scherer had entirely annulled that which the Directory had at first projected. The flanks of the army of Swisserland were no longer protected by co-operating armies either in Germany or in Italy, and they rested only on the natural barriers of the Rhine and the Alps. To strengthen his line and to provide for his future defence was sufficient occupation for Massena, who accordingly fortified every position which he held from the Grisons to Basle. The command which Jourdan resigned, devolved to him, and from the Adige to Manheim, (the space occupied by the army now styled that of the Danube,) he could oppose about 100,000 men to the Archduke's force which exceeded this by more than 10,000.

The war which had already openly raged for nearly two months brought the long protracted congress at Radstadt to an abrupt conclusion. Metternich received formal orders from the Emperor to take no farther part in the negotiations, and the Grand Chancellor of the Empire refusing to become responsible for the security of the French ministers, they were earnestly entreated to withdraw from a place in which, the conferences having already terminated, their presence was useless; and where their safety might be endangered amidst the movements of armies, and above all, by the popular hatred which the French name every where aroused. The Plenipotentiaries in defiance of these representations prolonged their stay, until a peremptory order was issued by the Archduke Charles enjoining them to quit Radstadt in twenty-four hours. They received this notification at seven in the evening of the 28th of April, and they replied that they were ready and would depart at nine. The gates of the city were shut at that hour, and they were requested for their own security to remain till the following morning. On their declining this short delay, an escort was offered. Two of them, Roberjot and Bonnier seemed willing to accept it; the third, Jean Debry, supported by the secretary of legation, Rosenstial rejected it with disdain, insultingly declaring that the ambassadors of liberty should never be protected by the soldiers of despotism, and that an Austrian escort would inspire them rather with fear than with confidence. About ten at night, they quitted the city in a cavalcade of five carriages, containing their wives and secretaries; and accompanied by servants bearing flambeaux. Within half an hour from their departure lamentable cries were heard on the borders of the Murg, at a short distance from

Radstadt. A detachment of hussars hastened to the spot, on which the bodies of Roberjot and Bonnier were found horribly mangled and without remains of life; the women and servants seemed overpowered by fear, and Jean Debry and Rosenstial were missing. The latter had returned to the city on foot and unhurt. He stated that he knew nothing of Jean Debry. The domestics concurred in affirming that while approaching the Murg, the carriages were surrounded by about fifty brigands, that Jean Debry jumped out and announced himself by name as Plenipotentiary of the French Republic; that the assassins upon this appeared to strike him, till he was lost sight of by the attendants through the darkness of the night. That the brigands then demanded in French, the papers of legation from Rosenstial, and allowed him to pass on unmolested after their surrender. That these papers were immediately thrown into the Murg, and that the ruffians then separately opening the carriages of Roberjot and Bonnier, asked if such were their names, and on being answered in the affirmative, dragged them out and sabred them. Early on the following morning Jean Debry returned to Radstadt, overcome with fatigue, having wandered about all night. He was dressed in a thick coat and riding coat, both of which appeared much hacked, and stained with blood, but not a single cut had penetrated within, and, except a few bruises, he had suffered nothing from the attack.

A few days after the murder two Frenchmen were arrested near Kehl, by the peasants; each of them had a purse with fifty pieces of French gold; and in the pocket of one, a note was found to the following purpose.

Radstadt, 9th Floreal, 8 at night.

"We depart hence in an hour, you will see us between nine and ten, our carriages will be lighted, Jean will be in the first, and I in the fourth with the papers. I recommend to you the third and fourth. R——L."

Ten more Frenchmen were afterwards stopped at the entrance of the Black Forest, and taken after a short resistance. They confessed that in company with several others they had been sent for from Strasburgh to perpetrate the deed about eight days before its commission.

Such was the account of this mysterious assassination transmitted to the Archduke Charles by Barbaczy commandant of the Szeckler hussars at that time quartered in and about Radstadt. The statement made by the surviving plenipotentiary Debry differed in many important particulars. He affirmed that the French ministers had applied for a safe conduct which was not granted; and that when the omission was noticed to the Hungarian officer who brought the order for their departure, he observed only, that a doubt on such a point was injurious to the Austrian honour. Debry added that the assassins were in the uniform of the Szeckler hussars, and that himself escaped solely by having the presence of mind to counterfeit death. On these assertions he boldly grounded a charge against the Austrian go-

vernment as instigators and perpetrators of the murder. The Directory was not slow in re-echoing the accusation; and dexterously adopted it as a stimulant to the jaded and dispirited population which groaned under its tyranny. Passionate declamations were thundered in the halls. The members of the cabinet of Vienna were denounced as assassins. The seats of Roberjot and Bonnier were declared perpetually vacant, in order that the memory of the unhappy victims who had once filled them might be kept alive. Banners with inscriptions invoking vengeance were distributed among the fleets and armies; a public funeral was decreed to the deceased, and to heighten the national fury, Great Britain was included as an accomplice in the crime, and the Council of Five Hundred passed a vote that every orator for the future should conclude his speech with "*Delenda est Carthago.*"

In reply to these violent accusations, the Archduke Charles, against whose fair and honourable fame no calumnious suspicion had dared to breathe a whisper, even in France, commanded the arrest of Barbaczy, whom Debry had denounced by name. Before his trial could take place however the charge against him was given up by the Directory, and diverted to some wandering French emigrants who were said to have assumed the disguise of Szeckler hussars. The Diet of Ratisbon then undertook the investigation, and at the conclusion of a long and fruitless inquiry referred the matter to the Emperor. After all, the transaction, even now, remains enveloped in mystery. It is difficult to imagine any adequate object which could tempt a civilized government to perpetrate an act of such extraordinary atrocity; and the very blackness of the crime itself is sufficient to acquit the cabinet of Vienna from participation in it. It is clear from the destruction of the diplomatic papers that the possession of these was not desired; and, even if it had been, this might have been obtained without bloodshed. It would be absurd to suppose that the Austrian ministers could be actuated by any personal enmity against the individual Plenipotentiaries. If we do not attribute the enormity to Brigands, and little suspicion has ever been directed in this course, one other supposition alone remains; and it is one which receives corroboration from parallel events in the progress of the French revolution *. The assassination has been ascribed to the Directory itself, and Jean Debry has been accused as the instrument and accomplice of its treachery. His escape, which, under other circumstances is most extraordinary, under these is ea-

* Madame Roland, (Appel. I. 141.) relates that when the Brissotines were plotting at her house the destruction of the Court, Chabot observed that it was much to be wished, that the Royalists would attempt the lives of some of the patriotic party. Grangeneuve caught the hint, and suggested as an expedient that the faction should do it for itself, and then cast the imputution on the court; at the same time he offered to devote himself as the first victim. Chabot affected to receive the proposal with enthusiasm, and insisted on sharing the glory; and it was only by his subsequent cowardice that the plan was frustrated.

sily accounted for. He had long been considered as alone possessing the confidence of his employers, and as placed in some measure as a spy upon the conduct of his colleagues. If we believe the particulars of Barbaczy's narrative, and the authenticity of the note discovered upon the prisoner, the fact is completely proved: and ample motives for the commission of the foul deed are to be found in the indignation which would naturally be excited, if so atrocious a violation of the law of nations, and so detestable a murder could once be charged with any semblance of proof upon the enemies of the Republic. Such artifices might tend to support a tottering government: and there is unfortunately nothing in the crime itself, however black, anomalous to the principles which that government had abundantly manifested on other occasions.

The operations in the south under Hotze and Bellegarde, were actively recommenced in the beginning of May. On the side of Italy they were at that time rendered sufficiently secure by the progress of Suvaroff, who already had advanced his posts to the Lake of Como. The season still continued inclement, and the ground, yet covered with snow, presented obstacles which could be conquered only by the most obstinate bravery and perseverance. Bellegarde's first movements were attended but with partial success. On the 30th of April he marched in two columns, one under General Haddick, which was to attack the French intrenched camp near Remus in rear; another led by himself to approach it in front. His own division arrived first under perpetual fighting, and after fording the Inn more than once in its march: but the position in itself was so strong, and the fatigue of the assailants who had passed many miles over the deep snows of lofty mountains so great, that they were unable to produce any impression. On the following morning, however, when Lecourbe observed the approach of a new force under Haddick, (who after a forced march of ten hours in which he had carried several intrenchments and been exposed to constant fighting and the utmost severity of cold, had at length taken post at Trasp, in the rear of the French) he determined to evacuate his camp, and in the night he retired behind the Garda.

A division of Austrians directed on Zernets met with less success. It was repulsed with considerable loss, leaving the Prince de Ligne and the greatest part of his regiment in the hands of the enemy. On the 2d of May, however, the united forces of Bellegarde and Haddick dislodged the French from Garda and forced them back to Zernets, which town they quitted in the course of the night. Thus the Lower Engadine was left in possession of the Austrians; not indeed without severe loss, for in the few days of active warfare which led to its acquisition much military skill and determined bravery had been exhibited on both sides.

Hotze during these operations had failed in an attack upon San Luciensteig by an unfortunate delay of one of his advancing columns; he lost a considerable number of troops, but the most lamentable consequence of his re-

pulse was the annihilation of the Swiss league, and the destruction which it brought down upon the faithful peasants who had eagerly seized the first opportunity of emancipating themselves from the French. Hotze himself was a native of Swisserland; and incited by him, and the brave and venerable Avoyer Steiguer, the last act of whose life, (for he died before the close of this year,) was to awaken the patriotism of his countrymen, the inhabitants of the lesser Cantons, the Grisons, and the Valais poured out of their fastnesses and occupied the rear of the French in numbers not less than 10,000. The disaster at Luciensteig rendered this insurrection useless. At Disentis and at Altdorf, after opposing a gallant but unskilful resistance to the regular tactics of the French army nearly 6000 of these unhappy victims were cut to pieces; the remainder laid down their arms in the canton of Schwitz.

Bellegarde now advanced to the assistance of Hotze; Lecourbe had suffered too much to oppose the march of the Austrians; and the possession of St. Gothard, which was already menaced was too important to him to admit of delay. He drew off therefore, in two divisions, on the valley of Albula and on Bellinzona. Bellegarde followed him towards Chiavenna with one division, and with the remainder of his army occupied in four columns the chain of Alps which covers the principal valley of the Grisons, directing that corps which he led in person upon Lintz.

Hotze, strengthened by this cooperation, and by some reinforcements which the Archduke had despatched to him, arranged on the 14th a second most skilful attack upon Luciensteig. By the assistance of the peasants in a very arduous march, two *corps d'armèe* arrived, that under himself in front, and the other under Jellachich in rear, almost at the same time at the foot of the fortress. Thus surrounded it was rapidly stormed, and the garrison of nearly 3000 men were taken prisoners: the Austrians pressed on and occupied Zitzers, upon which two other columns had moved at the same time. Coire was no longer tenable, and the French retired on their right by Reichnau, ascending to the confluence of the two sources of the Rhine. The centre passed the river into the defile of Vettis, and the left by Sargans to Wallenstadt. At all these places affairs to the advantage of the Austrians took place on the following days; on the one hand they occupied Ragatz, Sargans, and Wallenstadt; while on the other, Bellegarde chased the French from Reichnau to Disentis, and from Disentis to the Valley of Urseren. The sources of the Rhine and the greatest part of the Grisons being thus recovered, in a less time than they had been lost, and part even of the left bank being occupied by the Imperialists, Bellegarde diverted his corps to Chiavenna and the Valteline, in order to act with the army of Italy.

The situation of the French in the eastern parts of Swisserland was now most difficult; and the re-occupation of Wallenstadt was indispensable if they hoped to maintain their position. Having

failed in an attempt to dislodge the Austrians from this post, on the 19th, Massena, already outflanked on the right, and threatened by the Archduke on the left, was compelled to contract his line, and to withdraw all his forces on the next day, behind the Thur; thus evacuating the large tracts of country included by Turgovia, the lands of the abbot of St. Gall, the canton of Appenzel and the Tokkemberg. The advanced posts of the Austrians, from Feldkirch to Reineck, followed immediately on this retreat, and by the 22d, Hotze, with his whole army, had passed the Rhine, and fixed his head-quarters at St. Gall.

The operations in Suabia for the last six weeks had been confined to a few unimportant skirmishes, but the state of affairs in the Tyrol and the Grisons now permitted the Archduke Charles to execute his long projected invasion of Swisserland; for this purpose, at the same moment in which Hotze passed the Rhine at Rheineck, General Nauendorf crossed it with his vanguard at Schaffhausen after establishing a bridge of boats. The Archduke followed, and occupied a camp near Paradise. To prevent a junction between the corps of Nauendorf and a division of Hotze's army which was moving towards it under General Petrarch, a strong body of French cavalry advanced on the 25th to Winterthur, and drove Nauendorf over the Thur by the bridge of Adelfingen. Petrarch was on the heights of Frauenfield when he was attacked by Oudinot; the combat was murderous, and the Austrian infantry suffered dreadfully; 2000 men were left by them on the field, and they were compelled to retreat on Wyll.

This check, severe as it was, did not prevent a division of the Archduke's army from joining General Petrarch on the following day, nor from re-occuping Winterthur; on the 27th, the French retired in good order across the Toss; and again on the following night to the Glatt. Still followed by the Archduke, and fearful of being out-flanked, Massena resolved at once to fall back upon the strong position before Zurich, on the works of which he had been employed for many weeks.

In the south, Loison and Lecourbe had joined each other near Bellinzona, and occupied the pass of Mount St. Gothard; they were now opposed to Haddick singly, for Bellegarde had embarked his forces on the Lake of Como, and was crossing the Milanese to the siege of Tortona. On the 28th, the French were driven from the Gothard, which on this point became the great object of contention. To the Imperialists it was of infinite importance, as the plainest road from Swisserland to Italy, and as completing the chain of connection between all the points of their extended line from the mountains of Suabia to the Apennines. It was accordingly contested with vigour. On the 30th of May and 2d of June, the Austrians who had advanced beyond it upon the Reuss, were compelled to give ground towards Urseren with considerable loss in killed and prisoners; but the disaster was speedily repaired, and the possession of St. Gothard was

ensured by reinforcements both from the Archduke and Bellegarde. Opposed to superior forces, harassed by incessant fatigue, unable to procure supplies or subsistence, and weakened even by their successes, the French were obliged to surrender all hope of recovering this much disputed pass, and embarking on the lakes of the Four Cantons and of Zug they endeavoured to cover the town of Lucerne. Haddick after their retreat occupied a line from Altdorf to Schwitz and communicated with the main army across the Sihl and the lake of Zurich.

Massena's position was one of extraordinary strength; it had been planned with a prospective view to the circumstances in which he now found himself placed, and no pains had been spared to fortify it. His right and left consisting of infantry were placed on the opposite extremities of a chain of mountains which rise in front of Zurich, between the Limmat and the Glatt. A thick wood covered the approaches, and the heights themselves were protected by many lines of redoubts and powerful batteries; the centre, which rested on plainer and more open ground, and which was defended by strong redoubts in front as well as by the cross fire of the wings, was occupied by his cavalry.

The Archduke, after reconnoitering this formidable position, resolved to attack it in front, as the most certain mode, if he should be successful, of ensuring its complete capture. Some villages on the right of the French were the scene of an obstinate engagement on the third of June; they were taken and retaken several times at the price of many men to both parties, and with the loss to the French of General Cherin, chief of their Staff. On the next day the attack on the position became general. Hotze and Rosemberg, who led the two principal columns, for a while could make little impression; they gained the foot of the first *abbattis*, but the fire of the enemy was too galling to permit a farther advance, and in one quarter they were repulsed; four battalions of grenadiers under General Wallis were ordered to their assistance, and with fixed bayonets they forced the *abbattis* and stormed the first line of intrenchment. The works beyond appeared impregnable, but the Austrians firmly maintained the ground which they had so gallantly won, and ere nightfall the remainder of the army had arrived at the intrenchments in which the French were obliged to confine themselves. Hotze, Wallis, and Hiller, of the Imperial generals were wounded; of the French, Oudinot and Humbert; and little less than 3000 men fell on either side.

The morrow was passed by the Austrians in reconnoitring. Repose was necessary after the extraordinary fatigues of the preceding day, but the Archduke prepared to renew the attack on the 6th. Massena's position was but little changed by the events of the 4th, but his confidence was shaken; he had neglected to establish bridges over the Limmatt; and, unless through Zurich, he could find none to pass that river. Unwilling to await a second attack, which, if successful, from the difficulty of retreat must have occasioned the total destruction of

his army, on the night of the 5th he precipitately abandoned the Zurichberg. The French lines, 80 pieces of cannon, and the town of Zurich were the acquisitions of the Austrians.

The next obvious position which Swisserland presented to the retreating army, was on the mountains of Albis in front of the river Reuss; and this Massena immediately occupied. His left was flanked by the Rhine at Zurzach, his right by the lake of Zug, and his head quarters were at Bremgarten. Too strong for an attempt in front, this new position to be turned on either side required a larger force than in the absence of Bellegarde the Archduke possessed. Italy was on many accounts a more favourite object with the court of Vienna than Swisserland, and there is much reason to believe that orders were forwarded to Prince Charles from his Cabinet, not only to detach Bellegarde, but also himself to forbear pressing the Swiss campaign with as much vigour as his successes demanded and enabled him to do; the ostensible reasons assigned for his inactivity were the diminution of his numbers, the inability of the Swiss to co-operate with him, and more than all the expected arrival of a large Russian auxiliary force.

To prevent Massena from benefiting by this delay, it became necessary to draw his attention for a while from Swisserland, and causes of a different nature acting upon the French General also at the same moment, soon transferred the scene of war once more to the right bank of the Rhine. A diversion in flank appeared the most ready way of preserving Swisserland, and defeat had followed so closely on defeat in Italy that any demonstration there seemed hopeless. A decree was passed by the Directory for the creation of a new army of the Rhine, and the Brisgau, Baaden, and even the banks of the Main and the Nidda once more saw a useless effusion of blood.

Little had occurred during the month of May in these parts excepting the surrender of Heidelberg to the Austrians; the positions were much the same as when Jourdan first retreated from Suabia. Some affairs of posts now took place which were most obstinately contested and productive of much bloodshed, but which produced small effect on the main plot of the campaign and operated only by diverting the attention of the Austrians from an active pursuit of the war in Swisserland.

A few unimportant skirmishes nevertheless occasionally continued to occur between the two contending armies in that country, and these more to ascertain each others strength, and the value set upon their respective positions, than with the view of producing any serious change. The armies were so equally balanced that no grand advantage could be expected on either side. Massena twice (on the 15th of June and on the 3d of July) made demonstrations against the Austrian left wing, but whatever ground he gained was soon lost again. In the Valais the insurgents still occupied the attention of the Republicans, and Haddick, who had just been summoned to Italy, in a reconnoissance which he made in order to

assist the peasants, on the 16th of July, was roughly handled by a superior body of French. Hotze, who now commanded the left of the Austrians, on the 29th skirmished in turn with his advanced guard in the Isserthal; prisoners were taken on both sides, but neither party made any alteration in its posts.

CHAPTER III.

Positions and Numbers of the French and Allies in Italy. Scherer's Objects. He attacks the Austrians at Legnano. Is repulsed. Defeated again at Magnano. Suvaroff assumes the Command of the Allies. Moreau of the French. Fall of Brescia. Battle of Cassano, and Occupation of Milan. Retreat of Moreau. Surrender of Peschiara and Pizzighitone. Battle of St. Juliano. Moreau continues his Retreat on Coni. Suvaroff advances to Turin. Surrender of Milan and Ferrara. Situation of Macdonald and the Army of Naples. He evacuates Naples. Arrives at Florence. Plan of Junction between him and Moreau. He secures his Entrance to the Plain of the Po. Auxiliary Movements of Moreau. Suvaroff reinforced by Bellegarde. Advance of Macdonald. His successful Combats near Modena. He moves off without crossing the Po. Suvaroff marches against Moreau. Countermarches against Macdonald. Sanguinary Battles on the Trebia. Retreat of Macdonald. Moreau drives Bellegarde behind the Bormida; but retires again on the Return of Suvaroff. Surrender of Turin. Insurrection against the French in Tuscany. Surrender of Bologna. Macdonald retreats on Genoa. Surrender of Alessandria and of Mantua. Progress of Cardinal Ruffo in the Neapolitan Territory. Capitulation of Naples. Not ratified by the King. Miserable Condition of that City. Operations of Captain Trowbridge. Joubert assumes the Command of the French. Plan of the New Directory. Defeat of the French at Novi, and Death of Joubert. Conditional Surrender of Tortona. Manœuvres of both Armies. Suvaroff joins the Army in Swisserland.

We turn now for awhile to the affairs of Italy, which at the commencement of the campaign in 1799, afforded but little promise of those brilliant successes by which the arms of the allies were to be distinguished in its course. Nearly 80,000 French soldiers, and more than 50,000 auxiliaries of various nations were distributed in two armies, the army of Italy, and the army of Naples, from the frontiers of Piedmont, to those of Calabria. The last named of these divisions, amounting to 40,000 men, occupied the vanquished part of the Neapolitan territory, under the command of Macdonald, who had succeeded Championet after the disgrace of the latter with the Directory. About the end of February, General Scherer quitting the office of Minister at War, superseded Joubert in the command of the army of Italy, which was dispersed through the Mode-

nese, the State of Genoa, Piedmont, the Valteline, the Milanese, and the countries of Brescia, Bergamo, and Mantua. Fifty thousand men, the utmost number which, from the distracted state of the vast territory to be protected could be spared for active operations, were cantoned on the line of the Lake of Garda, and the Mincio, from the frontier of the Tyrol to the mouth of the Po.

The Austrian forces, about 30,000 strong, occupied the line of the Adige, with their right on the Alps, and their left towards the Adriatic beyond Rovigo. This body was under the command of Lieutenant-General Kray, and was supported by an army of reserve, equal to itself in number, distributed through the Trevignano, Friuli and Carniola.

Scherer's grand object was to pierce the line of the Adige, and by driving the Austrians behind the Brenta to penetrate into the southern part of the Tyrol; while Massena, attacking it from the East, and Jourdan from the North, would complete the conquest of that important province. For this purpose it was necessary that Scherer should await these movements of the two other Generals which were most likely to facilitate his plan; and accordingly it was not until the army of Swisserland had obtained the mastery of the Grisons, that he attempted any hostile movement. Kray, who had orders not to strike the first blow, occupied himself much in the same manner in reconnoitring his opponent's positions, and in concentrating his own army.

The French troops being assembled between Peschiera and Mantua, on the 26th of March commenced a grand attack on the whole Austrian line between Rivoli and Legnano. Three divisions on the left, under Moreau, passed the Adige and obtained complete success, driving every thing before them in their advance to Chiusa. Scherer himself, who led the centre upon Verona, though not equally fortunate, maintained his equality through a hard fought day, against a gallant and obstinate defence by General Kaim. On the right, the French were twice repulsed from Legnano; and Kray being reinforced by his reserve, and attacking in his turn, drove them with great slaughter towards Mantua. This success enabled him to afford the necessary relief to his centre; and Scherer, on the following day was unable to make any impression upon Verona. A suspension of arms was agreed upon till the 30th, that each party might bury its dead. On that day, the left of the French, under General Serrurier, having driven the Imperialists within half a league of Verona, was compelled to retire by the advance of General Kray's reserve. The Austrians in this engagement pressed upon their enemies with the bayonet, and by breaking down a bridge, intercepted the retreat of the French who lost more than 2000 prisoners.

Foiled in all his attempts, and fearing lest the Austrians might force a line already too much extended, Scherer on the 1st of April, after leaving a strong garrison in Peschiera, abandoned the ground between the Lake of Garda and the Adige, and took up a position between Villa Franca, and Isola

della Scala, beyond the Tartaro. These first seven days of the campaign had cost the French 10,000 men, and the Austrians not less than 5000. The latter following the movements of the retreating army passed the Adige, and occupied Castelnuovo. Scherer however was far from being discouraged, and being anxious to try his fortune once again, before the Russians, who were already in motion, to the amount of 23,000 men, should join the Imperial army, he marched on the 5th of April, from his camp at Magnano. His right was directed against St. Giacomo, his centre towards Verona, the advanced guard to Dassobono, situated between these two places, and the left to Villa Franca.

Kray having received some reinforcements, and anticipating Scherer's attack from intercepted intelligence, commenced a similar march at the same moment, in three divisions. The opposing armies being destined to the same spots, soon approached each other, and the engagement became general. For some time every thing was favourable to the French. Their centre and right advanced nearly to Verona. But the Austrian reserve, after a most obstinate contest, succeeded in routing the hitherto victorious enemy, and by outflanking the right of the French, decided a most doubtful day. The intrenched camp of Magnano, from which the battle takes its name, 17 pieces of cannon, and 3000 prisoners, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the engagement, which lasted from ten in the morning, till six at night, cost the French nearly 4000 men in killed and wounded, while that of the Austrians was not less than half the same number.

Scherer found it impossible any longer to maintain himself in front of Mantua, and on the day after the battle of Magnano, he retreated, passing the Mincio, near Goito, on the 7th. The Austrians lost no time in pursuing their advantages; the countries of Ostiglia and Governolo, containing large military supplies, were immediately occupied by General Klenau; and on their other wing, the enemy was driven by General Wuckassowich, from the valley of the Chiesa. On the 14th, Melas, who some days before had assumed the command of the Imperial army, passed the Mincio, and encamped at Campagnola; at which place he was joined on the 16th by the Russian army under Suvaroff, to whom the chief command of all the forces devolved. The allied troops might now be estimated at 60,000 men.

Scherer still continued his retreat; his right passed the Adda; and his left remained in front of the Oglio, behind Brescia; the allies having left General Kray with 20,000 men, to blockade Mantua and Peschiera, advanced on the one side to Brescia, on the other to Cremona, where, in a sharp action with the French rear guard, 400 prisoners were taken on the 20th. Brescia, on the day following, surrendered almost at discretion, and its fall placed large magazines at the disposal of the captors. The French, pressed on every point, abandoned the Oglio altogether, and retired upon the Adda, not however without a severe skirmish in front of Palazuolo.

Moreau had now taken the chief command of the French, on the recall of Scherer, and being strengthened by some reinforcements from Genoa and Piedmont, he was still anxious, though with a force not exceeding 30,000 men, opposed to twice their number, to continue his defence of the line of the Adda. Protected by the army of Swisserland on the left, and by the Po, and the possession of Pizzighitone on his right, he hoped, if not to oppose effectual resistance, at least to delay the allies till Piedmont and the Appenines, upon which he proposed to retreat, were better prepared for defence.

The allies, on the other hand, still advancing, pushed on parties of observation to Placentia and Parma; from the latter place they nearly succeeded in rescuing the unfortunate Pius VI. whom his persecutors, but a few hours before the occupation of the city, hurried off on his road to France.

The French occupied a line of 50 miles, strongly intrenched on the Adda, extending from Lecco by Inzago and Cassano, to Lodi and Pizzighitone; the positions taken by the allies were immediately in front, and on the 27th, Suvaroff determined upon an attack on the centre and left of the enemy. General Wuckassowich rapidly passed the Adda by a flying bridge, which had been imperfectly destroyed; and advanced to Brevio; but the passage of the centre was not so easily carried; during the night however a bridge was thrown over at the foot of the mountain and castle of Trezzo, from craggy banks, which seemed scarcely to admit of footing. The allied light troops passed over without the knowledge of the enemy, and attacking them by surprize, drove them back to Pozzo. Between this place and Brevio, a brisk action ensued; it was decided by the arrival of part of General Zoph's division, who pursued the French, in spite of Moreau's assistance, with considerable loss to Gorgonzello. In the mean time Melas was equally successful at the Ritorto; and, having possessed himself of the bridge-head at Cassano, he passed the Adda, and joined Suvaroff at Gorgonzello. On the following day the allies triumphantly entered Milan. General Wuckassowich, by manœuvring on the left of the French, had succeeded in cutting it off from the centre, and Serrurier, with 3000 men, was compelled to lay down his arms. Such were the fruits of the first twenty-eight days of the campaign to the Austrians, who after fighting under the walls of Verona, on the 30th of March, now found themselves safely established in the capital of Lombardy, before the close of April. In less than a month, they had gained two pitched battles, formally invested two important fortresses, forced the passage of a river lined with entrenchments, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, little short of thirty thousand men, and captured more than one hundred pieces of cannon.

Moreau's situation was not a little embarrassing; with an army beaten, and scarcely sufficient in numbers for any one of the purposes for which it was required, he had not only to preserve his communication with Swisserland, and to protect the approaches of

Turin, but moreover to facilitate the retreat of Macdonald from Naples; which became no less necessary from the spirit of insurrection, beginning to shew itself on all sides, than from the reverses in the North. The movements which he adopted in order to meet these different objects were conceived with masterly skill.

Abandoning the Ticino he fell back with his right upon Alessandria and the Tanaro, with his left on Valenza and the Po, while his centre retreating from Milan, took possession of Pavia. Thus he not only effectually protected his communications with France and Genoa, which last enabled him to correspond with Macdonald; but he supported Tortona, and covered Turin. He gained time also, which was a no less important object to an army in need of reinforcements, by drawing the allies into a country protected by posts and fortresses, which it would not be safe to leave in the possession of an enemy in their rear. Having thus arranged his plan of defence, he visited Turin, and having quelled some insurrections in its neighbourhood, and garrisoned the citadel, he transferred his head-quarters to Allessandria.

The light troops of the allies had pursued the French after the capture of Milan. Four thousand men, under General Latterman, were left to blockade the castle of that city; and the remainder of the army continued to advance; the right towards Novara with the intention of outflanking the enemy and gaining Turin; the left upon Tortona, and the centre to Pavia. The two latter movements were directed with a view to secure the passages of the Appenines, through which Macdonald's retreat from Naples must be effected.

In the mean time the sieges of Peschiera and Pizzighitone, proceeded successfully. The garrison of the former, 1500 strong, capitulated on the fifth of May, on condition of not serving for six months against the allies. The latter fortress surrendered on the ninth, on terms not so favorable: the garrison, consisting of 600 men, were made prisoners of war.

Suvaroff having determined to dislodge Moreau from the strong position which he held, and at the same time, if possible, to cut him off from France, and also to prevent his junction with Macdonald, divided his army into a great number of corps; thinking by an extent of line to turn the flanks of the enemy. General Wuckassowich was ordered to move along the left bank of the Po; and he pushed his advanced posts as far as Chiavasso, while Prince Charles de Rohan detached from him, occupied the valley of Aosta. The left wing on the 11th, reinforced by the division which had reduced Pizzighitone, attacked and took Tortona, under the fire of the citadel, to which the garrison retired. On the same day, the allies lost several men in the centre whom they had thrown across the Po, near Castle Franco; and on the following day, the Russians suffered still more severely, in a similar attempt near Busignana. After effecting their passage, they were driven back with the loss of their commander Schubach, and many hundreds killed on the field, or drowned in re-crossing the

river. Suvaroff who had encamped at St. Juliano on the 14th, now determined to advance upon Turin, by the left side of the Po, and gave orders for the army to fall back upon that river on the night of the 16th. Moreau informed of this intention, threw a bridge of boats over the Bormida, at Alessandria, and with 10,000 men, himself heading the cavalry, attacked General Lusignan, and Prince Bragation, near St. Juliano. The battle was most obstinate, and for a long time was contested with the bayonet only, on the side of the Russians. The French at length gave way; but their superiority in cavalry, materially assisted their retreat; and in the night, Moreau was enabled to withdraw, after losing about 1200 men. The allies did not buy their success at a loss much inferior.

The position of the French commander was no longer tenable, for the line of the Po had been completely broken by the occupation of Verrue and Casale, (both which places Wuckassowich had already carried,) and the threatened attack on Valenza. One part of Moreau's object, however, was already gained by having retarded the advance of the confederates for more than a fortnight; and although compelled at last to abandon the plain of Piedmont, he still was able to preserve his communications with France and Genoa. On the 19th he retreated by the route of Asti, Cherasco, and Fossano, on Coni; at which place he established his head quarters. To open his line with the coast of the Mediterranean, he detached troops to Mondovi and Ceva, then in possession of insurgent peasants. The first he secured, but the latter was still held by the courage of an Austrian captain, named Schmelzer, who, with a little body of 300 men, continued to maintain his post much to the annoyance of the French.

Suvaroff marched immediately on Turin; leaving three corps on the Scrivia and the Tanaro—one to blockade the citadel of Tortona which still held out; a second to mask Alessandria; and a third to support the peasants in the Appenine districts, who were actively in arms. Having proceeded by Trino, Crescentino, and Chiavasso, he encamped with 30,000 men under the walls of Turin, on the evening of the 25th. Fiorella, who garrisoned the city with 2,500 men, was compelled to retire into the citadel on the 27th, and the army of the allies, having passed through the city, took post in the neighbouring towns of Carmagnola, Pignerole, and Suza, to cover the siege which they were about to begin. Ten weeks only had elapsed since the allied troops had marched from the frontiers of the Tyrol almost to those of France.

Meanwhile the other investments were pursued with vigour. Six battalions, under Count Hohenzollern, were dispatched to the assistance of Latterman, who had been left before the castle of Milan. This division, having arrived before the fortress, previous to its operations in the siege, was again ordered to the assistance of Prince Victor de Rohan, who found himself too weak to maintain his ground on the lakes of Como and Lugano. Having defeated the French General Loison, confirmed

the Prince in his positions, and strengthened him by a reinforcement Count Hohenzollern returned to Milan, after beating the enemy, and marching more than one hundred miles in six days. In two days more, so great was his activity, the garrison of the castle of Milan, consisting of 2200 men, capitulated on condition of not serving against the allies for a year. The garrison of Ferrara, 1500 strong, surrendered at the same time, on the same terms. Porto Digoro, Porto Primaro, and Ravenna rapidly followed.

The acquisition of these posts rendered the allies complete masters of the Po. Their left was now on the Adriatic, where the port of Ancona was blockaded by a Russian and Turkish squadron. The Bolognese, even to the borders of Tuscany, was occupied by General Klenau. Parma and Modena were secured by General Olt, whose advanced posts guarded the important pass of Pontremuoli. General Kray masked Mantua, and supported the two former divisions, which in conjunction with him also, blockaded Tortona and Alessandria, observed the Genoese, and inspirited the insurgents on the maritime Alps: while Suvaroff himself, with the main body of the army, rested on the frontiers of France, and held Moreau in check.

Such being the state of affairs in the North of Italy, the situation of Macdonald, and the army of Naples, was one of extreme hazard. His army weakened by want of reinforcements, and continually harassed by attacks of the Royalist partizans, and by descents of the English on the coast, had been compelled to limit its operations principally to the retention of the capital, and to striking terror among the peasants. The Mediterranean was swept by the Turkish and Russian, as well as by the English cruizers; and in the inland districts, the indefatigable activity of Cardinal Ruffo was perpetually devising new plans for the annoyance of the French. Under these circumstances, he received orders to evacuate the Neapolitan territory, and to join Moreau. Having organized a National Guard, and a Provisional Government at Naples; and having distributed garrisons in St. Elmo, Capua, and Gaeta, on the 9th of May, he began his march from the camp at Caserta. The Romish State, as he advanced, was every where in insurrection, and it was not without continual skirmishes that he reached its Capital. Leaving a small detachment for its defence, and doing the same in the course of his progress at Civita Vecchia, Viterbo, Perugia, and Ronciglione, he hastened to Florence, under the walls of which, on the 24th, he joined the division of Gauthier, who commanded the French troops in Tuscany, and communicated with that of Montrichard before Bologna. His march had been made with extraordinary celerity; the greater part of his baggage was left behind; and after all the difficulties which he had surmounted, he still found himself 150 miles from Moreau, and at the head of not more than 25,000 men; much therefore remained to be done in a difficult country, and against a vigilant enemy. The extended position occupied by the allies,

and their line, which consequently in many parts was weak, gave him hopes, however, not only of completing his junction; but perhaps of changing the fortune of the campaign; and the communication with couriers by Moreau being still uninterrupted, the two generals concerted a plan of approaching each other in the plain between the Appennines and the Po, across the states of Parma, Modena, and Placentia, then in possession of the allies.

There was another line of march, which suggested itself to Macdonald along the Riviera de Ponente, by the defiles of the Corniche: this, however, was impassable for artillery, and presented more difficulties than the return of Moreau to the Po, (difficult as that must be,) which the adoption of the first plan rendered necessary. Still it was requisite to have the command of this road; and for this purpose, having divided his troops into two columns, he directed one by Sassalba and Sarzana, against the important pass of Pontremuoli, from which General Dombrowsky dislodged the Imperialists on the 27th. The right wing, at the same time, forced General Klenau's division from the siege of Fort D'Urbino, and drove it to Modena. By these movements, having secured to himself an entrance to the plain of the Po, by whichever side he afterwards might chuse to approach it, Macdonald established his head-quarters at Lucca, on the 30th.

Moreau, in the mean time, leaving his left wing at Coni, occupied the upper valley of the Tanaro with his centre, and with his right crossed the maritime Alps to Savona. Then despatching Victor by Oneglia to Genoa, he strengthened all the passes of the Appennines, of which his advanced posts had taken possession; and directing the centre of his army on the defiles of the Bochetta, he obtained the full power of entering the plain, whenever the situation of Macdonald called for such a movement. He himself proceeded for a few days to Genoa, where he was reinforced by Perignon's French and Ligurian division; and had the good fortune to receive some very necessary supplies from the French fleet, which escaping the blockade of the English off Brest, shewed itself for a short time in the Mediterranean, and after effecting a junction with the Spanish fleet off Cadiz, returned in safety with this additional force, to its first harbour.

After the occupation of Turin, Suvaroff was employed in endeavours to reorganize the Sardinian army, and in preparations for the siege of the citadel. An insurrection in favor of the French among the Vaudois, inhabiting the vallies of Lucerne and its neighbourhood, obliged him to extend his posts towards France. Count Lusignan, who was despatched to quell these insurgents with a force of 3000 men, succeeded in dispersing them, and even sent patroles and foraging parties into Dauphiné. In front of Moreau's army, positions were established at Fossano and Savigliano, the French were dislodged from Ceva and Mondovi, and the sieges of Tortona and Alessandria were pressed with vigour.

On the left General Kray had

suspended operations before Mantua, and supported the divisions of Olt and Klenau, which Macdonald had driven back upon Modena. The great circuit occupied by the allies, whose flanks were 300 miles apart, and the variety of objects, to which their arms were directed, made reinforcements of importance; particularly when the number of their enemies was about to be doubled by the advance of Macdonald. The successes of the Archduke Charles, on the St. Gothard, enabled him to despatch General Bellegarde from the Italian Bailiwicks, about the end of May. A powerful division of 14,000 men under his command, arrived at Milan on the 5th of June, and was intrusted with the blockade of Alessandria. Thus strengthened, Suvaroff found that he could, at any time, unite 40,000 troops, against either of his opponents.

The force of Macdonald, on the other hand, including the division of Victor, who had now joined Dombrowsky, was about 5000 less; but his advantageous positions and his neighbourhood to Moreau, encouraged him in the prosecution of a plan, which was finely conceived, and marked with extraordinary daring, after the series of misfortunes which this campaign had brought upon the French. By a union of the two armies, he proposed not only to raise the sieges in which the allies were engaged, but also, overwhelming Suvaroff by superior forces, to drive him back, on the Alps of Swisserland and the Tyrol.

Accordingly, on the 8th of June, having given Moreau full time for his necessary supporting manœuvres, Macdonald put his whole army in motion towards Modena, his right proceeding from Bologna, was to direct itself upwards to the Po; the centre from Pistoia, advanced in a straight line to the attack; and the left from the Val de Taro and Pontremuoli marched by Fornovio and Reggio.

On the 10th and 11th, the advanced cavalry of the two armies encountered each other in very smart skirmishes. The Austrian horse was at first repulsed, but the regiment of Preiss, by a gallant charge with the bayonet, restored the fortune of the day. A regiment of light cavalry, (De Bussi,) composed of French emigrant officers, distinguished itself much also: and Count Hohenzollern, maintained his positions, after driving back the enemy, with the loss of several hundred men.

The right wing of the French, however, had now passed the Panaro, and outflanked the Imperialists; the left threatened them on Reggio, and the centre advanced immediately on Modena; so that on the following day, Hohenzollern, with an inferior force, found himself almost surrounded. The combat, however was most obstinate, and consisted of repeated and bloody charges, both of cavalry and infantry, in which many instances of personal valour were conspicuous. The French General Forest was killed, and Macdonald himself received numerous sabre wounds. The Austrians were at length driven with severe loss from Modena, and their left, which still maintained itself firmly between the Panaro and the Secchia, enabled them to

retreat by Mirandole, across the Po. The gallant regiment of Preiss, which formed the rear-guard, and which had so distinguished itself on the day before, was repeatedly surrounded, and as often cut its way through, the Austrians lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, little less than 3000 men.

Macdonald now seemed to have a fair prospect of relieving Mantua; but many considerations deterred him from crossing the Po. Hohenzollern had retired upon General Kray, who had already broken down all the bridges, and posted himself with 10,000 regular troops, and a still greater number of armed peasants, to defend the passage of that river. Klenau, who was on his right before Ferrara, and Olt, who had fallen back upon Parma, might, whenever the French crossed to the opposite bank of the Po, unite themselves in their rear, and thus prevent all possibility of junction with Moreau. Influenced by these motives, on the day after his victory, Macdonald moved on his left to Reggio, thence on the 14th to Parma, which the Grand Duke quitted on his approach; and as Olt, who was not strong enough to oppose him, still fell back on the army, which was hastening to his assistance, the French General took up his quarters at Piacenza on the 15th.

Suvaroff's first care was to guard against Moreau, as the enemy nearest to him; for though aware of Macdonald's advance, and the movements which placed Victor in communication with him, the Russian Marshal scarcely expected that the march of the army of Naples could have been conducted with such rapidity as that with which we have seen it performed. Leaving Wuckassowich in Mondovi, and Kaim and Lusignan on the French frontier, Suvaroff therefore commenced his movement on the 10th of June from Turin, and fixed his head quarters on the 12th at Acqui. Here, having learnt that Moreau was still stationary among the defiles of the Appennines, and that Macdonald had been victorious and was rapidly following up his first successes, he changed his line of advance, and directed himself against the last-named general. At Alessandria he left general Bellegarde, with a sufficient force to continue the siege of that city, and then hastened, on the 15th, with little more than 20,000 men, to meet Macdonald.

The French on entering Piacenza had in vain attempted to storm the citadel. General Olt continued to retire, and on the banks of the Tidone he was overtaken by Macdonald on the 17th. The combat continued till night, when the vanguard of Suvaroff having arrived on the field, the French, with some loss both in killed and prisoners, withdrew to their posts on the Trebia.

On the following day, the 18th, Suvaroff having concentrated his whole army prepared for a general attack. His line, composed, on the right and centre, of Russians, and on the left of Austrians, under Melas, advanced over very difficult ground, and forded the Tidone. The fatigue of the troops, however, who had come up on the preceding night only, and the lateness of the hour at

which the hostile armies encountered, prevented more than a partial engagement. It was a battle of blood, and not of manœuvres, and either army in the collision of its front, seemed to do little more than lose men without gaining ground. The allies were victorious in the end; two French battalions were taken at Cassaleggio, and the remainder of their line was driven back at all points beyond the Trebia, whose shallow fords alone separated the adverse forces during the night.

The numbers on both sides were nearly equal, and Macdonald notwithstanding his repulses, relying upon the fatigue which the Austro-Russians must have undergone in the extraordinary forced marches which brought them in contact with him, and also on the approach of Moreau, who already had pushed a division of light troops to Bobbio, resolved to continue offensive operations. The allies were not slack in meeting him; their line was arranged in the same manner as on the preceding day: yet such was the impetuosity with which the Republicans crossed the Trebia that the advanced posts of the confederate army were almost surprised, and were completely driven back. In the mean time 2000 cavalry, who had crossed the Po, fell on the left of the Austrians; and it was with difficulty at first that Melas could oppose them. The carnage was horrible towards St. Giovanni and Piacenza, but the Austrian hussars at length succeeded in driving the French back on their infantry. On the right, at Cassaleggio, the Republicans were, for a long time, more successful, and this town, repeatedly attacked, was defended only by the obstinacy of the Russians at the point of the bayonet. At length the column which Macdonald had directed to the flank of his enemy, was in turn outflanked by Prince Bragation's horse; the allied centre at the same moment being victorious, Macdonald abandoned the field, after a long-disputed and most bloody combat, and retired with the wreck of his forces once more beyond the Trebia.

Too much weakened by his losses to maintain his ground, himself and Victor both wounded, with no artillery, and with an enemy flushed with success ready to press upon him, Macdonald hastily retreated on the night after this third battle. Suvaroff pursued in two columns: on the right through Zena, at which place the French rear-guard was surrounded and forced to lay down its arms; on the left by Piacenza, where, after a hot skirmish at the bridge, 3000 wounded, among whom were four Generals, fell into the hands of the conquerors. On the 21st Macdonald arrived with his left at Fornovio, and his right at Parma: general Olt alone continuing the pursuit. From Fornovio the French inclined to the valley of the Taro, through which a few days before they had advanced in triumph. Hence they retired through Modena, and, after a harassing march, resumed their first position at Pistoia, on the 28th. The Austrian generals Hohenzollern, Olt, and Klenau, again occupied Reggio and Modena, and observed the passes of Tuscany and the Genoese; while Kray returned to the prosecution of the

siege of Mantua, which had been twice suspended by hostile movements. The slaughter in this short period of fifteen days was most dreadful; the killed on the side of the French amounted to more than 4000 men, and of the 10,000 prisoners whom they left behind numbers were wounded: in killed and wounded together the allies had to lament very nearly 5000.

While these severe contests were taking place on the Trebia, Moreau having refreshed and equipped his army by supplies from Genoa, moved forward in considerable force, (not less than 25,000 men,) from the Bochetta. His objects were to unite with Macdonald at Voghera, the place on which the routes by which each was advancing joined; and to relieve Tortona, which already had been seriously bombarded for some days. This town was rapidly abandoned by the Austrians at his approach, and the divisions which blockaded the citadel fell back upon Bellegarde, who covered the siege of Alessandria, in a position between the Bormida and the Scrivia; and thus also hung upon Moreau's flank, in case he should move to Voghera. To dislodge this force was of importance to the French General, whatever course he might intend to pursue afterwards; and accordingly he attacked Bellegarde on the 20th in all his line of posts at Bosco, St. Juliano, and Marengo. The battle raged for 14 hours, and Moreau, who had a horse killed under him, was several times in imminent danger. He succeeded, however, in driving his enemy precipitately across the Bormida, beyond which, either from his own losses, or intelligence of Macdonald's disasters, he did not think it prudent to continue his pursuit.

To meet this fresh enemy it was necessary for Suvaroff to commence a rapid countermarch; and suspending his pursuit of Macdonald, he drew off from Piacenza on the 23d. By great exertion he reached Tortona in three days; but Moreau had already retired to his former position before Genoa, by Novi, Gavi, and the Bochetta. After the defeat of the army of Naples he was in no condition to meet Suvaroff, who had been reinforced by the divisions of Bellegarde and Wuckassowich, and by 3000 cavalry, with which Kaim had marched from Turin. That commanding citadel, after a bombardment of 48 hours, from which it suffered much, surrendered on the 20th. The garrison, 2700 men, were sent home on parole, not to serve till exchanged. Fiorella and his officers remained prisoners of war. By this important conquest the allies secured the mastery of Piedmont, and materially strengthened the right of their position. It disengaged also a considerable part of their forces, and placed large magazines in their possession—562 pieces of ordnance, 400,000lbs of powder, and 40,000 muskets were among their spoils. Their loss before the place, during eight days of open trenches, did not amount in killed and wounded to 100 men.

It was not probable that a people who hitherto had been restrained from open resistance only by the presence of a superior force, should remain in subordination after its overthrow. Accordingly,

Macdonald on his return to Tuscany found the disposition of the country materially altered. The subjects of the Grand Duke were much attached to their Sovereign, and they were the last Italians who had submitted to the French yoke; the examples of the Neapolitan and Roman territories were not lost upon them; and the recent victories of Suvaroff being nearer their own frontier inspired them with proportionably greater confidence. The inhabitants of Arezzo declared for their former government, and were assisted in their declaration by the British Resident. In the march of Ancona, Lahooz, a Republican general not only abandoned the French cause, but brought over with him the troops which he commanded, and uniting them with various bands of peasants proceeded to the investment of the Capital which was already blockaded from the Adriatic, by a Turkish and Russian fleet. Macdonald, surrounded by a hostile population in arms, and with 20,000 Austrians, under Olt and Klenau, advancing upon him, could have little hope of retaining possession of Tuscany. Bologna, after sustaining a fire of two or three hours, had already capitulated, and nothing now interposed between the pursuing army and his own. To retreat on Naples, if he had wished it, was impossible; and but one road, the Corniche, which it has been before said would not admit the carriage of artillery or baggage, was open to him towards Moreau. By this tedious and harassing route he commenced his march; breaking up his camp at Pistoia and leaving Florence, on the 8th of July, he moved on Lucca and Sarzana: and having Pontremuoli and the other passes in his possession, he approached Genoa, about the close of the month, with a force now reduced to little more than 14,000 men. With the *materiel* of his army he was less fortunate; the Mediterranean swarmed with cruisers, yet he made a desperate effort to send off his stores, ordnance, and plunder, by sea from Leghorn; but the greater part of them, in going out of port, was captured by the English.

The departure of the French was a signal for a general rising throughout Tuscany. Fort d'Urbino had capitulated on the 9th. In Florence the Trees of Liberty were instantly cut down, and the Republican garrison having withdrawn towards Leghorn, the Grand Duke's government was formally re-established. Sienna, and all the eastern and southern parts of the Duchy, returned to their allegiance; and though Macdonald's army, while on its retreat, for the time, kept in awe the different places through which it passed; no sooner had it quitted them than they proceeded to emancipate themselves; and Leghorn, Pisa, Lucca, and Porto Ferrajo, were evacuated by their garrisons on capitulation.

Suvaroff, after his return to Moreau, finding that the French General had retired too far to be brought to action, employed himself in pressing the sieges of Mantua, Tortona, and Alessandria. To cover the investment of this last place, which was more advanced than that of the others, the main body of the allies encamped in the valley of the Orba, on the bank

of that river, the Tanaro, and the Bormida; the head-quarters of the Field-marshal being fixed at Bosco.

The extent of ground which the fortress of Alessandria covered materially increased the labour necessary for its siege, and it was not until the 14th of July that the works were sufficiently forward to permit the opening of the batteries. A vigorous fire having been kept up during all the intermediate days, the besiegers made a lodgment on the covered way, on the 20th; and on the following night determined on an assault. Gardanne had defended the approaches with much gallantry, but his ammunition being now exhausted, and four pieces of cannon only remaining fit for use, he proposed a capitulation, by which his garrison (2400 men) were to were to be prisoners of war. These terms were acceded to, and on the 22d the Imperialists, after a siege which cost neither party less than 900 men *hors de combat*, took possession of this important citadel.

General Kray, in the mean time, was employed with equal success at Mantua: 25,000 men were occupied in this service, exclusive of many thousand peasants whose labours proved most useful in the trenches; 500 pieces of cannon, many of them of unusual calibre, were mounted in battery, and the reserves both of the Austrian and Russian heavy artillery were united on the lines. These vast preparations had been rendered necessary by the great strength of the defences, which in former campaigns were thought almost impregnable to open force; and by the number of the garrison which amounted to 10,000 men. The French were successively driven from the outworks and the suburbs; and, after 14 days of open trenches, on the 30th of July, 8700 men, the remainder of the garrison, laid down their arms on the glacis by a capitulation; which stipulated that they were not to serve till exchanged. Foissac Latour, who commanded, on his return was tried by a court martial; for the capture of this city, which enabled Suvaroff to turn the full force of his arms to other quarters, was too important not to be severely felt; and the comparatively slight resistance which it offered naturally occasioned a suspicion of treachery.

No sooner had Macdonald quitted the Neapolitan territory, than the spirit of insurrection against the French which hitherto had been restrained by fear alone, manifested itself universally. Cardinal Ruffo, a man of questionable character, but, perhaps, on that account not the worse adapted to the part which fell to his lot, nor to the times on which he was thrown, collected a motley force of peasants, galley-slaves, and banditti; and with these, under the title of a Christian army, possessed himself of Calabria, and marched upon the Capital. The French had excited the most deadly enmity among the inferior classes, upon whom their bloody and licentious tyranny had principally exhausted itself; and at the first dawn of emancipation the stiletto profusely exercised the work of vengeance among the Revolutionists. St. Elmo, and the castles of Uovo and Nuovo were still garrisoned by the French when Ruffo approached Naples: and the ab-

sence of Lord Nelson, whom he expected to find in the bay, so far diminished the Cardinal's sanguine hopes, that he readily conceded very favourable terms of capitulation. The British Admiral had been called away by the unexpected appearance of the French fleet in the Mediterranean.

Few attempts in the war were conducted with more boldness, assisted by more extraordinary good fortune, or terminated with more barren display than the operations of this armament. It was little to be imagined that another French squadron would hazard itself against the overwhelming superiority of the English, and still less that, if so exposed, it could escape their vigilance. Nevertheless, on the 26th of April, Bruix, the minister of marine, hoisted his flag as Admiral on board the Ocean, of 120 guns, took advantage of a wind which drove Admiral Bridport off the land, and slipped out from Brest, accompanied by 24 sail of the line, with their full complement of crew and a large body of troops.

Lord Bridport, on the following day, discovered their escape, and with great judgment directed his course immediately to Ireland, the most probable, as the most vulnerable, point of attack. The gigantic naval strength of England was never, perhaps, more formidably displayed than at this moment. In a few days after the intelligence reached Plymouth, Lord Bridport's force off Ireland was increased from 16 to 30 sail; Lord Duncan blockaded the Texel with 22 more, and Lord St. Vincent cruized before Cadiz with a fleet superior to either.

Bruix, in the first instance, had steered to the Bay of Biscay, intending to pick up a squadron of six Spanish ships at Ferrol, but the attempt was fruitless. Hence, undetected by the English, he passed the Straits of Gibraltar, and united himself to the Spanish fleet of 20 sail, under Massaredo. The winds favoured the return of the allied navy, and passing the Straits a second time it anchored in the Bay of Cadiz. In this port it was joined by a few other vessels, increasing the amount of the whole force to 47 sail, and on the 21st of July it again sailed for Brest, which it reached in a few days, after an expedition without object, and the negative triumph of having eluded the research of the numerous squadrons which were keenly employed in its pursuit.

Lord Nelson, on hearing of this armament, had quitted Naples to look for it, but the return of the French towards Toulon brought him back to his former station.

On the 20th of June he re-entered the bay of Naples, and his first act was to disavow, in the name of the King of the two Sicilies, the improvident treaty concluded by Ruffo. The King himself, who arrived soon after, in person annulled the convention. His refusal to ratify it was the signal for almost promiscuous slaughter; and such of the Republican party as escaped the summary justice of a military tribunal, were doomed to the still less distinguishing rage of the populace. The unhappy city gained little tranquillity by its change of masters, and the scaffold groaned un-

der its victims. Pity was scarcely due to the traitors who stained it with their blood; but the measure of punishment might have been filled at less expence of life; and among others the fate of Caracciioli will always remain as a blot upon the memory of those by whom it was brought about.

Lord Nelson without loss of time disembarked the English and Portuguese marines, and committing them to the command of Captain Trowbridge ordered the investment of Uovo, Nuovo, and St. Elmo. The two first were speedily taken. The latter surrendered on the 12th of July; and Trowbridge then marched with his little band of English, Russians, Neapolitans, Piedmontese, Swiss, and Ottoman troops to the siege of Capua; after a short resistance this town also capitulated; and the surrender of Gaeta, which followed in two days, restored the whole of the Neapolitan kingdom to the sceptre of its legitimate Sovereign.

In order to cover the siege of Tortona which was now most vigorously pressed, Suvaroff moved on his left from the Bormida to the Scrivia. His army on the 26th of June, established itself at Rivalta, between Tortona and Novi; in this position the Russian General was enabled to accomplish three other objects: he observed the Alps from the Valais to Coni, he held the united forces of Macdonald and Moreau in check among the maritime Alps and the Appennines, and he also gained ground upon their right flank. The French commanders after their junction had little to do but to keep open their various communications with France and with each other; and to await the reinforcements which were expected by the way of Nice: for these purposes Macdonald with the remains of his army occupied the right of the whole line in the Riviera de Levante, and Moreau, on the left between Genoa and Savona, placed himself in the same position which he held at the close of May. It was in these posts that the army was found by Joubert, who in the commencement of July, assumed the command under the appointment of the New Directory; Moreau being transferred to the Rhine, and Macdonald retiring to France for the cure of his wounds.

The warlike preparations of the New Directory were conducted on a large scale. A new army of the Alps was formed, and veterans and conscripts were largely added to the different forces in Swisserland, Germany, and Italy; from all which countries a general attack upon the line of the allies was soon to be directed, embracing the Appennines, the Piedmontese, and Swiss Alps, the Limmat and the Rhine.

Joubert had prevailed upon Moreau to remain a short time with the army after the termination of his command; and with his assistance he made the necessary dispositions for the projected attack. The first days of his command were employed in reconnoitring, and in such changes of position as his future plans rendered necessary; and it was not until the 11th of August that the main army commenced its direct movements for the relief of Tortona. Joubert marched in four columns, the right from the Bo-

chetta on Novi was under St. Cyr, the centre led by himself advanced on the road from Genoa to Alessandria. Perignon headed the left, composed of two divisions, both moving on Acqui. These columns, forming in the whole 40,000 men, after dislodging the Imperial troops from all the posts on their route, united on the 14th in order of battle between the Scrivia and the Bormida. The right having Serravelli in its front, was supported by the first of these rivers, the centre was advanced on Novi; and the left at Bazzaluzzo rested on the Bormida. No position could be stronger, it crowned the summit of the last chain of Apennines to the North; and the ascent, though not very high, is one of extreme difficulty from its suddenness.

Tortona was not to be won by the allies without another battle; and Suvaroff was far from being unwilling to offer it; with this view he had ordered Bellegarde to fall back before the enemy in their advance through the valley of the Bormida, and to draw nearer to the main army from Acqui and Bestagno. Kray also who was proceeding to Coni, received instructions to suspend his march and incline towards Bellegarde by Fressonara. The allied line was formed by these two bodies on the left, who were united on the 14th to the amount of 20,000 men; by 13,000 Russians in the centre, under Suvaroff himself at Pozolo on the road to Novi; and by the Austrians under Melas, encamped at Rivalta; which last division, though principally occupied by covering Tortona, could afford 10,000 men for active engagement without abandoning the siege.

Such were the respective positions of the hostile armies on the night of the 14th, and the following day. Both eager for battle, but the French unwilling to quit an advantageous position in order to commence it, and the Allies pausing from the hope that they might obtain a less unequal field for the combat. But Suvaroff's was not a disposition to temporize long; and in spite of the difficulties to which he was necessarily exposed by becoming the assailant, he resolved to attack on the next morning. His orders as usual were distinguished for their brevity. "The divisions of General Kray and Bellegarde at break of day will attack the left wing of the enemy at Pasturana, while the Russians attack the centre, and Melas the right wing." In this short compass was embraced every thing necessary for success, and the most difficult part of the enterprise was reserved for his own troops.

At five on the morning of the 16th of August, Kray and Bellegarde marched against the left of the enemy commanded by Joubert in person. The French were intrenched on almost inaccessible heights and supported by numerous artillery; and after four hours of unavailing efforts the Allies were obliged to abandon this attack. Joubert early on this part of the action was shot through the heart by a musquet ball, while leading his infantry to the charge. Novi was the next point to which Suvaroff led his Russians; but here again the steepness of the

heights up which each column was obliged to make its own road, and the plunging fire which swept whole ranks before it, rendered the obstinate valour of the assailants wholly inefficacious. Six hours of most severe fighting had elapsed while the French line was unbroken, and each attack of the Allies had been repulsed with very heavy loss. Melas was now ordered to advance. His movement was not more successful, and neither he nor the Russians who supported him could make any impression. A second and a third time the centre and the left were led to the heights; the attack was now general on the whole line, but it was still immoveable and the carnage among the Allies was most horrible: the centre in front of Novi was almost destroyed by repeated charges. Meanwhile Melas advanced on the left bank of the Scrivia. Having relieved Serravalle he marched on Novi in three columns, and by a brilliant and fortunate manœuvre turned the fortune of the day. By a movement on the right flank and on the rear of the enemy he succeeded in gaining the heights and in turning their line. General Frolich with the Austrian grenadiers, supported by a division of General Loudon in *echelon*, and strengthened by artillery in the intervals of their march, attacked the extremity of the French right, while Prince Lichtenstein passing to the rear, with his cavalry destroyed the communication with Gavi. The French were weakest on this wing, but it was speedily and strongly reinforced by Moreau in person. The combat though no longer doubtful was still most bloody; and General Lusignan in a charge with the bayonet after his horse had been killed under him, received two musquet balls, a cut with a sabre, and was taken prisoner by the French. About five in the afternoon, the hard fought post of Novi was in the possession of the Allies, and the enemy though in full retreat, was retiring in order. The appearance of Prince Lichtenstein converted this retreat into flight: for by the occupation of the road on Gavi, no way was open to the defeated army, but by a movement on their left flank by Ovada. In the village of Pasturana, the artillery was accidentally delayed, and the rear-guard being thus checked was overwhelmed by the pursuit of the Austrian light troops, and for the most part was taken or destroyed; the rout then became general, and night alone terminated the pursuit and the carnage. The Russians are said to have given no quarter.

Few European battles within the last two centuries occasioned greater destruction to both the contending armies than this of Novi. On the whole extent of their front, they were engaged for more than twelve hours in a perpetual series of assaults. It was a combat almost entirely of infantry, and with the exception of the single manœuvre which decided it, (and that one evinced the consummate skill of Melas,) it shewed much more individual bravery than military art. The commanders themselves were in the thickest of the battle, and the fury of the troops was proportionately excited by their pre-

sence and their encouragement. 4000 prisoners, among whom were four General officers, and 32 cannon were taken on the field. 8000 French were killed or wounded. The allies suffered scarcely less, and the victory of Novi, as it decided their conquest of Italy, so was it that battle which cost them a harder struggle and a greater loss than any other of the campaign. Many accounts have placed the joint losses of the Republicans and the Imperialists, including the pursuit, at full 25,000 men *hors de combat*.

Moreau continued his retreat all night, and from the severity of the Austrian loss was but little harassed in his movements. His right wing was destined to cover the Bochetta; and his left resumed the former position which it had occupied under Joubert. Championnet in the mean time who had already been defiling for some weeks with the new army from the French Alps, had made several demonstrations on Piedmont with the hope of effecting a diversion in Joubert's behalf. To unite with this force was now Moreau's chief object. The passes on the foot of Mount Cenis and the Little St. Bernard were in possession of the advancing army, and though Turin ensured the ultimate superiority of the allies in that quarter, it was not prudent to neglect the approaches of this fresh enemy.

Accordingly between the 16th and 23d of August, Suvaroff marched his centre to Asti, extended his right to Turin, and continued with his left to observe the Appennines, and to prosecute the siege of Tortona. While a small division was despatched to support the troops on the frontier of the Valais, who required reinforcement. These new objects diverted the allies from the pursuit of Moreau who was now stationed in a country too strong for rapid operations.

The soil of Tortona was of a rocky and difficult nature, and this added to the strength of the fortress rendered the siege extremely tedious. On the 23d of August the works being advanced to the glacis, and the defeat at Novi making speedy assistance improbable, the French commander agreed to a conditional capitulation, by which he was to surrender on the 11th of September, unless relieved before that day.

For some time after the battle of Novi, the war in Italy consisted only of affairs of posts: the Imperial Cabinet had resolved to form a new grand line of armies; the centre to act in Swisserland under the command of Suvaroff, the left in Italy under Kray and Melas, and the right under the Archduke Charles on the Rhine. In conformity with this plan, nothing on the offensive could be done for a while in Italy, and the weaker party in consequence became the aggressor; the allies being too firmly established, and too superior in force to attend much to trifling attacks, which were indeed chiefly directed to avert their attention from a greater object. Championnet had 20,000 men in Piedmont, and harassed the Austrian posts in the vallies by a continued petty warfare; endeavouring to divert them to the provinces of Suza and Pignerol, and to effect his own communi-

cation with Moreau by Saluzzo and Coni. The latter General in the beginning of September, moved forward from the Appennines to the vallies of the Scrivia, the Bormida, and the Orba, and maintained with little advantage some brisk skirmishes with Kray's division. On the 9th he made a general movement, and it was his last attempt, in favour of Tortona. Kray had been prepared for him at all points, and after a few useless efforts to force the Austrian line the Republicans fell back with some loss to their former positions.

Two days after, Tortona surrendered in pursuance of the capitulation; and the occupation of this important citadel terminated Suvaroff's command in Italy. It was the last conquest which he was permitted to achieve, and put an end to his glorious labours in this part of the theatre of war. On the 11th he quitted Asti with all his Russians, about 16,000 men. Moreau's late demonstration had detained him three days after the time at which he at first intended to move; these three days were of too much consequence to be lost, and he made them up by forced marches of a rapidity unexampled in military history. In five days he traversed 116 miles, reaching Taverne on the 15th. The unfortunate termination to which the crooked policy of the Austrian cabinet brought all his heroic exertions belongs to the narrative of the campaign in Swisserland.

CHAPTER IV.

Resumption of the Campaign in Swisserland and Germany. Objects and Movements of the Allies. Plan of the Directory. Successes of Lecourbe in Swisserland. Action at the Devil's Bridge. Arrival of the Russian Contingent. Massena advances on the Mein and the Necker. Recall of the Archduke Charles from Swisserland. Gallant Defence of Philipsburgh. Retreat of the French. Attack on Manheim. Bad Faith of the Cabinet of Vienna. Inactivity of Massena. Defeat of the Allies near Zurich. Death of Hotze. Retreat of Korsakoff. Death of Lavater. Rapid Advance of Suvaroff. His brilliant Prospects. Treachery of the Austrian Commissaries. Passage of St. Gothard. Suvaroff informed of the disasters of the Allies. His bold Design to retrieve them. Bagration defeats the French on the Linth. Disappointment and Retreat of Suvaroff. Defeat of the Allies at Constance. Position of both Armies. Dissention between Austria and Russia. Recall and Disgrace of Suvaroff. Ingratitude of the Emperor Paul. Death of Suvaroff. Close of the Swiss Campaign. Operations in Germany. Difficulties of the Archduke Charles. Investment and Relief of Philipsburgh. Bravery of the Rhingrave of Salm. Armistice between Lecourbe and Tztarray. The Archduke refuses his Ratification. Close of the Campaign in Germany. Summary of its Events.

We now resume the history of that which may be termed the second division of the campaign in Swisserland and Germany.

The successes of the allies, since the commencement of hostilities, had been so much greater than the most sanguine hopes could have anticipated that more extensive plans for its conclusion naturally arose from them. The Cabinets of London and Petersburgh were forward in offers of men and money. England guaranteed to pay a large subsidy *, and Russia to furnish forty-five thousand men; of these, ten thousand had already been sent to reinforce Suvaroff, and the remaining thirty-five thousand were on the march to join the army of Swisserland in the course of August. The Cabinet of Vienna, influenced by more narrow motives, sought less to check the power and the principles of revolutionary France, than to provide for the safety of its own acquisitions, and to repair its former losses. The Emperor, however, unwilling to seem more backward than his allies, issued an Aulic decree of a more than usually decided character, calling upon the different States and Princes of the Empire for their contingents. It produced little effect. The King of Prussia and the northern German powers persevered in neutrality; and the Electors of Bavaria and the Duke of Wirtemberg alone engaged to furnish their stipulated number of troops, who were to be in the pay of England.

On the expected junction of the Russians, it was proposed to enlarge the scale of the campaign. The allies then disengaged from the Italian sieges, would be able, it was hoped, to turn Swisserland on the south. The new corps of Russians would attack it in front, and the Archduke would bear on Massena's left flank from the Rhine. The insurgents in Holland were to be assisted by thirty thousand English and eighteen thousand Russians, forming a powerful diversion; and fresh demonstrations of their unshaken fidelity were expected from the Royalists in Brittany, Normandy, and the South of France.

While these designs were contemplated by the allies, the Directory, amid all its disasters and embarassments at home and abroad, had projected, in opposition, a scheme of extraordinary boldness; it was no less than a resumption of offensive measures, by a combined attack along the whole line in Germany, Swisserland, and Italy. Thirty thousand men were collected under Joubert at Genoa, to whom the repulse of the Austro-Russian army beyond the Po was committed, while Championnet, with fifteen thousand on the frontiers of Piedmont, was to penetrate between Swisserland and Italy.

Massena, in conformity with this design, and in order to anticipate the arrival of the Russians, prepared for a general attack on the 14th of August. By a feint on his left he hoped to divert the attention of the Austrians to that point; while his right, under

* 225,000*l.* preparation money, a monthly payment of 75,000*l.* and a farther monthly payment at the rate of 37,500*l.* to take place after the conclusion of a peace by common consent.

Lecourbe, whom he had largely reinforced, was to be more seriously engaged.

On the left, accordingly, after a warm action, each party maintained its original position. Lecourbe, as in all his former operations during this campaign, moved on ground of the utmost difficulty for his operations. His force divided into six columns was to proceed by six distinct passes in the very heart of mountains so precipitous, that all junction was hopeless till the separate divisions emerged; and the points of attack were on the loftiest chain of Alps, from twelve thousand to fifteen thousand feet in height; St. Gothard, the Furca, and the Schrekhorn. The Furca in particular is an ascent of thirty miles. The French were successful after much skirmishing on each of these quarters during three days: the Austrians, inferior in force, opposed only such resistance as secured their retreat. In point of men the loss of the assailants was perhaps the greatest of the two; but the line of Imperialists on the left was completely broken; they were compelled successively to fall back into the vallies of the Linth, the Rhine, and the Ticino, and to surrender all possession of the Cantons of Schwitz and Uri.

One of the most singular occurrences in this brilliant and masterly expedition of Lecourbe, was his engagement at the Devil's Bridge. This bridge, it is well known, is formed by a single arch fifty feet in span and seventy feet in height, thrown over the torrent of the Reuss: beyond it is the Rochepercè, a passage about three hundred feet long cut through the solid rock, and not admitting more than six men in front. This was the last post occupied by the Austrians in the valley of Urseren: the French marched in close column to its assault: the Austrian picquets retired before them, and under a murderous discharge the pursuers advanced upon the bridge. As they touched the centre, it gave way beneath them and a chasm of more than thirty feet in breadth yawned between the conflicting forces; while a most destructive fire of musquetry poured from the inaccessible fastnesses of the opposite banks. In the night, the bridge having been repaired, and Lecourbe joined by a fresh division, the little band of Austrians who defended it retreated upon Dissentis.

These disasters, considerable as they were in themselves, by no means produced consequences as serious as might have been feared. On the first day of Massena's attack, the vanguard of the Russians reached Schaffhausen; it was speedily followed by the remainder of the army; and the Archduke thus strengthened was enabled to dispatch Hotze with large reinforcements to the two corps which had been beaten. On the 17th, by throwing some pontoons over the Aar at Dettingen, and by keeping up a vigorous cannonade, he diverted the French attention wholly to that quarter; and the speedy concentration of the Russian auxiliaries, amounting after all deductions to twenty-eight thousand effective men, again placed his position beyond all danger.

Massena would doubtless have

been induced to follow up the success of his right wing with more effectual attacks, by his centre and left; if, in addition to the lately increased strength of his enemy, he had not learnt the issue of the great battle which the French army had just lost at Novi. All hopes of support in this quarter being destroyed, it remained only to look for it in Germany; not indeed with a view to offensive operations in Swisserland, but as a diversion which might prevent the Archduke from bearing down with the whole mass of his force upon that country. The Palatinate and Suabia possessed large granaries just replenished by a plentiful harvest. An invasion of these territories must of necessity suspend any immediate blow in Swisserland, and might possibly disturb the general plan which Prince Charles and Suvaroff had arranged for their future mutual operations. With these objects, the Republican army newly formed on the Rhine was ordered to advance on the Mein and the Necker.

At the time in which this new scene of the campaign was opened, Lecourbe, in order to protect St. Gothard from any surprise on the side of Italy, to which, since the battle of Novi, it was exposed, had again withdrawn into the valley of Urseren. The cantons of Schwitz and Glarus still remained in possession of the French, and were the theatre of a few affairs of posts, so that the lines of the two armies in Swisserland which were nearly parallel to each other, ran from the Valois to the southern source of the Rhine, thence on the Linth by the Lake of Zurich to the grand position of Albis, from which, by the Limmat and the Aar, they reached the left bank of the Rhine.

It was on the 25th of August that ten thousand men, under General Muller, passed the Rhine at Manheim; and on the following day took possession of Heidelberg. At the same time Baraguay d'Hilliers with another division advanced from Mentz, and after levying a contribution on the citizens of Frankfort, pushed on towards the Necker. On his junction with General Muller, Philipsburgh was invested. The garrison of this fortress had been reinforced, and was still commanded by the Rhingrave of Salm, who had so bravely maintained it in the outset of the campaign against the insolent menaces of Bernadotte.

To oppose the progress of the invaders, General Sztarray marched with a considerable body of regular troops towards Psorsheim, and a large auxiliary force of peasants rose in defence of their homes; among these, a small proportion of veteran soldiers were distributed to train and instruct them. At their approach, the French advanced posts retired from the country of Baaden to that of Spire, after plundering most of the places through which they passed, and reducing more than one unoffending village to ashes.

The long wished for pretext was now furnished to the Cabinet of Vienna, for discontinuing on an enlarged scale the war in Swisserland, and the Archduke Charles was compelled to nullify

his former successes, and to surrender the prospects of still farther military glory which were so fairly opening on him, to the dishonest policy of the Austrian ministers. A campaign on the frontiers of France must have led the Emperor to more decided explanations of his ulterior views, than the objects of self-aggrandizement, by which he had been led to unite in the coalition would securely admit. It was scarcely possible that he could continue any longer to temporize with the Russians, who had joined his army with full confidence of being employed in immediate services for the common cause, and whose jealousy and suspicion was naturally awakened by the perverse and mysterious inactivity in which his secret orders obliged Prince Charles to persevere. The danger which threatened Germany was eagerly seized as an excuse for the abandonment of Swisserland; and the Archduke, on the two last days of August, marched with thirty thousand Austrians on Schaffhausen, leaving behind him about fifty-five thousand men, the Imperialists under Hotze, the Russians under Korsakoff.

After a delay on the borders of the Black Forest till the 5th of September, in order to hold Massena in check, by disguising his ulterior object, Prince Charles joined General Sztarray at Vahingen, on the 11th. A few days previously (the 7th) the French division before Kehl had made an unsuccessful attack upon the Austrian posts in the valley of Kintzing, with the hope of diverting the Archduke from his march against General Muller. The failure of this attempt, and the concentration of the powerful forces which the Imperial commanders were now able to advance for the relief of Philipsburgh induced the French to abandon the siege, and to retreat with hasty steps down the left bank of the Rhine to Worms. Muller at the same time drew off by Manheim, and, having crossed the river, he distributed his army downwards as far as Mentz, and in the other direction to Spire.

Philipsburgh had endured all the horrors of bombardment for five days; the town was almost entirely reduced to ashes, and the sufferings of the houseless inhabitants were most pitiable: the garrison protected by casements was little annoyed, and with great gallantry had repulsed a desperate attempt to storm its works.

Though Muller found it necessary to withdraw the main body of his forces, he considered Manheim a post of far too great importance to be abandoned while there was any hope of maintaining it. The works, though imperfect, had been repaired during the summer; and on the land side connected the town with a little island, the Neckerau, formed by the Rhine. This range of lines defended the approaches of the city, and covered a bridge of boats appended to it. Towards the river, in order to prevent the place, if captured, from being useful to the Austrians, the fortifications had very diligently been razed. In these entrenchments Muller, on his retreat, had left a rear guard of six thousand men under Laroche. The Austrian light troops pursued the main

army of the French; and on the dawn of the 18th, the Archduke, having collected about twenty-five thousand men, led his troops in person to an attack on the Neckerau. The two bridges by which it was to be gained were strongly fortified and bravely defended; and it was not till the second attack that the Austrians carried them. The capture of the Neckerau was followed by that of Holtzoff, a post still nearer Manheim, and defended with no less obstinacy: in both of these the garrisons were cut to pieces or taken prisoners. The possession of them gave the Austrian artillery the command of the bridge of Manheim. The works in front of the town were instantly stormed, and such of the French as had not already secured their passage, surrendered at discretion. This gallant affair which cost the assailants but few men, gained them eighteen pieces of cannon, and not less than one thousand five hundred prisoners; about the same number were killed and wounded.

This success effectually cleared the right bank of the Rhine of its invaders, in the whole country between Kehl and Mentz. In that city and in Ehrenbreitstein, the separate French corps which occupied them, were harassed and blockaded by the Landsturm, who acquired military habits and increased their confidence by frequent and successful skirmishes.

The Archduke having assembled his forces in the plain of Schwetzingen, employed himself in forming magazines on the Mein and the Necker, directing the armament, and the training of the peasants, and collecting stores and pontoons. His army, amounting to between fifty and sixty thousand men, was finely equipped and disciplined, and every thing seemed to announce the approach of the time in which the Upper Rhine being freed from the yoke of the French, the conquests which the former war had gained them on the lower part of that river, would in turn be rescued from their grasp. Muller, disappointed of his expected reinforcements which had suddenly been counter-ordered to oppose the English in Holland, awaited in his head-quarters at Durkheim the issue of these formidable preparations.

But these pleasing expectations were not destined to be realized: and the negligence and bad faith of the Austrians, added to the military incompetence both of the Imperial and Russian Generals who were left to direct the operations in Swisserland, soon dissipated all the hopes of splendid success, which the situation of affairs at this period of the campaign so reasonably inspired. Notwithstanding the superiority of force which the departure of the Archduke left in the hands of Massena, and the many advantages which he obtained by the substitution of an enemy ignorant of the language, unacquainted with the country, and accustomed to a far different mode of warfare, in the room of veterans whose knowledge in all these points had been confirmed by a hard fought campaign, the French commander remained for more than three weeks in entire inactivity. It was not until he had disregarded the

most pressing remonstrances from Muller and Championnet, that the Directory, after repeatedly ordering him to act upon the offensive, left him only the choice of immediate obedience or deprivation of command. The march of Suvaroff from Italy had already commenced, and the allies had framed a general plan of attack, in which this new force was largely to participate. Korsakoff was to hold the troops posted on the lines of Albis in check, while Hotze and Jellachich clearing the cantons of Schweitz and Glarus were to open the way for a junction with Suvaroff on the flanks of the Lakes of Lucerne and Zug, after he had forced the passes of St. Gothard. Sixty thousand men would thus have been united under the command of the Russian Field Marshal, who might fairly hope with this powerful force to add the conquest of Swisserland to the laurels which he had already won so gloriously in Italy.

Every moment now was invaluable to Massena: he had learned these plans, and determined to anticipate them; and on the night of the 24th of September, his whole line from the Aar to the Linth was ordered to advance. Soult's division, at dawn of day, commenced the attack at Wesen, between the Lakes of Wallenstaat and Zurich: the Austrians fought bravely, but they were overpowered by numbers. Hotze, surprized at this unexpected assault, rode hastily with his staff from his head-quarters to reconnoitre. He was surrounded with his suite, and, on their resistance, a discharge of musquetry struck him from his horse mortally wounded. He died a few hours afterwards, almost on the spot which had given him birth, and in him the Austrians lost one of their bravest and ablest commanders. However dispirited by the loss of their General, the Imperialists still continued to defend the right of the Linth; and the Prince of Wirtemberg, heading three battalions of Russians from Rapperschwill, for a while rendered the fortune of the day in this part doubtful; but General Petrarch, to whom the command of the left wing devolved on Hotze's death was too panic struck to maintain the contest, and hastily retreated by the Toggemburgh to Rhinthal.

Even if the Russians on the right had withstood the attack which had simultaneously been directed upon them, this precipitate abandonment, must have been fatal to their success: unfortunately, however, the want of ability in their commander Korsakoff had occasioned no less disasters in this quarter also: a false attack on Bruck had so completely arrested the attention of the division on that post, that Durazoff, who commanded there, remained stationary on his ground, while the enemy crossed the river above him. Seeing himself cut off from the main army, he commenced his retreat upon the Rhine. The French General, Lorge, who had thus interposed between Durazzoff and Korsakoff, left a corps to observe the former and supported by Massena himself, advanced on Zurich: every step here was disputed with the obstinacy of desperation: Korsakoff burned his camp, and retired on the town, whence the Russians re-

peatedly charged their assailants with the bayonet: the enemy was dispersed among the vineyards from which they poured a continued and galling fire of musquetry; and their main body, whenever the Russians advanced, retired under the protection of artillery which occasioned a most bloody carnage both in front and flank. Towards the evening, the western heights of Zurich were carried, and the investment of the town was completed. Korsakoff, with the remains of his shattered army, passed the night uncertain whether to defend himself to the last or to attempt a retreat.

On the following morning, he decided upon the latter, and withdrew towards Eglisau. His march was commanded by heights whence the French cannon harassed him at every step, and the retreat was one continued irregular battle, till, with the loss of many men and great part of his artillery and baggage, he placed the Rhine between himself and his pursuers. The entrance of the French into Zurich was marked by the death of one of its most celebrated citizens. Though Korsakoff abandoned the town, it was still exposed to all the horrors of assault; and a ferocious soldier, in the moment of victory, too successfully aimed a fatal musquet-shot at the venerable Lavater.

Suvaroff had been far differently employed. A demonstration made by the French on Tortona had occasioned a delay of three days in his departure from Italy; but a series of forced marches without a parallel in military history, brought him to Taverna on the 15th of September: the very day which he had originally fixed for the commencement of those plans in which the army of Swisserland was to co-operate with him.

The Russian commander in five days had passed over not less than one hundred and sixteen miles with his whole army and baggage. The force which accompanied him was rather more than sixteen thousand men, the remains of thirty thousand who had served under him in the army of Italy. The brightest hopes shone before him as he advanced. He had brought to a triumphant conclusion, after a series of victory never surpassed in military annals, one of the most eventful campaigns of modern times, and he was hastening as he imagined to unite himself with, and to command an army before which a scarcely less brilliant prospect of glory was presented. Cruel indeed was the grey-haired veteran's mortification, when the first step which he trod on the new scene assigned to him, brought conviction with it of the faithlessness of those with whom he was preparing to act; and showed him that all the fatigues and privations to which he had exposed his army, in order that it might arrive in time, were thrown away and rendered useless by the treachery of others. At Taverna, the necessary means of transport had been assured to him by the Austrian commissariat; but on his arrival, not a single beast of burden had been prepared: the three days which he had so laboriously recovered, were again lost, in endeavouring to procure

conveyance, and after all, the Cossacks were obliged to be dismounted, in order that their horses might complete the requisite number. Suvaroff was loud in his complaints; and in a dispatch to his court, openly accused the Austrian General, Teller, of having deceived him by "shameful equivocal promises."

His preparations being at length completed, he dispatched General Rosemberg with twelve battalions one day in advance, to turn the St. Gothard, by a circuitous route, and on the 20th, he himself commenced his march to the foot of it. Colonel Stranch, with some Austrian light troops, joined him on his route. St. Gothard was carried after a feeble resistance on the 24th, and Suvaroff, a few hours after, re-united his main body with the advanced guard of Rosemberg at Urseren. He then pursued his march, first repairing the Devil's Bridge, which the French had rendered impracticable; and after his passage, reducing it again to its former state.

The consequences of his unfortunate delay, were first perceived in a minor degree, on the following day. Auffemberg, who commanded an Austrian corps in the Grisons, acquainted with Suvaroff's intended advance, had moved from Dissentis to Amsteig. Lecourbe, on the other hand, who was ignorant of the Russian General's march, was at the same time preparing for an incursion into the Grisons. At Wasen, he found himself between the two hostile forces, and throwing himself upon the Austrians as the weakest, after some hard fighting, compelled them to retire towards the valley of Maderan. If the Russians had been little more than a single march in advance, the division of Lecourbe must have been destroyed: as it was, having routed the Austrians, he made good his retreat beyond the Reuss.

Lincken and Jellachich, according to the general plan of operations, were to have formed in the canton of Glarus the connecting link between Hotze and Suvaroff. With this object the former marched from Ilantz to Rettam, where, on the 26th, he dispersed a column under Soult, and captured 1100 prisoners; after this success, he took possession of Glarus, but finding no communication at this place with any corps, either Austrian or Russian, he again retired into the Grisons. Jellachich had left Sargans, at the same moment, and after dislodging the French at Miollis, where he learnt the disasters of Korsakoff and Petrarch, he hastened back to his original post at Sargans.

Suvaroff, in the mean time pushed on to Mutten. There, on the 28th, he received the bitter intelligence of the total discomfiture of the allies, and the destruction at a single blow of all those glowing hopes which had led him into Swisserland. His own situation too, was infinitely hazardous, but it was on that account better adapted to the unwearied activity of his great spirit. Instead of retracing his steps, a part indeed which he had been little accustomed to undertake, he formed the bold design of crossing the canton of Glarus, and uniting himself to Lincken, with whom he was now in com-

munication. Massena, he thought, would be invited by this step to bear down upon him in chief, and Petrarch and Korsakoff being relieved from an overwhelming force, might recover their lost ground. Under these impressions, he dispatched Auffemberg to the assistance of Lincken, and wrote a laconic dispatch to Korsakoff and his Generals, couched in these memorable words, "You will answer with your heads for every farther step which you retreat, I am coming to repair your faults."

After his triumph at Zurich, Massena had little expectation of meeting so soon with a new and victorious enemy. In order to protect the lesser Cantons, it was necessary, as Suvaroff had anticipated, that he should suspend for a while all operations against the army which he had beaten; accordingly he marched in three divisions upon Schweitz, Wesen, and Altdorf, thus preventing any impression upon his rear, and closing the passage of the Linth, which offered the nearest line of communication with Korsakoff and Petrarch. Suvaroff moved forward on the 30th. Rosemberg being left with the rear guard at Mutten, and Prince Bagration following Auffemberg's march with the van. That General had already encountered the superior corps which Massena had despatched to the Linth, and had gallantly refused its summons to surrender. Bagration arrived in time to support him. The French were routed at the point of the bayonet, in a severe action, during which the Prince himself was wounded. Both armies passed the night under arms: the French on the mountains, the Russians in the valley. By the morning Bagration had turned the position of the enemy, which commanded, and might have annoyed his march. It was attacked with the same success as on the preceding day; the French fled to Naefels, leaving many pieces of cannon on the field, which the conquerors, from the want of horses, were compelled to bury.

Massena and Lecourbe, who had joined at Altdorf, bore down upon the valley of Mutten, on the 1st of October. Rosemberg not only maintained his position, but charged the centre of the enemy so vigorously, that he broke it and pursued it beyond Schweitz. He took in this affair 1000 prisoners, and seven pieces of cannon, which, like their brethren on the Linth, were immediately buried.

Notwithstanding these successes, Suvaroff found that he could not advance, and that his retreat was scarcely less difficult. Neither Petrarch nor Korsakoff had effectually seconded his movements. The passage of the Linth was too strong to be forced, and any attempt to penetrate to the west of the Lake of Zurich, might in case of failure, have deprived him of all possibility of retiring on the Grisons. To maintain himself in his present position, was to invite a general action with superior forces against him, and every rule of war compelled him to abandon the project, by which he had hoped to retrieve the errors of his colleagues. Leaving at Glarus his sick and wounded, whom, from the difficulty of the roads, and the necessary rapidity of his march, it

was manifestly impossible to remove, he retreated by Flemstal upon Coire. This retrograde movement occupied three days only, from the 5th of October to the 8th: the pursuit of the French was short, though sufficiently harassing; but the sufferings of the Russian army among the defiles and precipices of the entangled country through which they hastened, were most distressing, and little either of artillery or baggage remained to the 14,000 men, with whom he arrived on the right bank of the Rhine.

Disengaged from all apprehension which Suvaroff had created, Massena now turned himself to pursue the advantages already gained over the other allied divisions. Korsakoff had been joined by the Bavarian contingent, about 3000 men; and by the little army of the Prince de Condè, which with a body of Russian hussars, attached to it, amounted to 5000 more. This force was posted with its left on Constance, and its right on Eglisau, and occupied the intermediate bridges of Busingen and Dissenhoffen. On the 7th, these posts were vigorously attacked. The Prince de Condè defended an entrenched camp before Constance. In front his gallantry rendered it impenetrable, and stopped this approach to the city; but his numbers were insufficient for its general protection, he was outflanked, and the gate of Paradise was seized by the enemy. The brave garrison of the camp in turn cut their way to the city, and the Prince himself, and the Duc de Bourbon, heading the grenadiers of that name, and the hussars of Baur re-established themselves in the streets. Constance and its camp remained during that night in their possession. On the morrow they abandoned it to the enemy, (who, more than twice exceeded their strength,) and transferred their head-quarters to the neighbourhood of Stockach.

At the bridge of Dissenhoffen, the attacks of the French were wholly unsuccessful, and they were repeatedly driven back by General Wornow, with the loss both of men and cannon. Over that of Busingen, Korsakoff, anticipating Massena's intention, had passed at break of day with about 8000 men; and had forced the village of Schlatten and some other posts, as far as Adelfingen. Here Massena, appearing in person with superior numbers, the Russians fell back to the *tete du pont*, which they had first occupied, and defended it till nightfall.

These engagements brought to a conclusion the bloody scenes which for three weeks had been passing in Swisserland. The expence of human life during this destructive period in both the contending armies, has never been rated at less than 24,000 men, of whom two-thirds belonged to the allies.

After allowing his shattered forces a few days repose, Suvaroff's first care was to unite himself with Korsakoff; this junction was effected at Lindau on the 18th, and the army, when concentrated, mustered 25,000 strong in the field. The Archduke Charles, on receiving intelligence of the unfortunate issue of the battle of Zurich, had left the Lower Rhine to the care of Prince Schwartzenburgh,

and hastened down with a part of his army towards Swisserland. Suvaroff's retreat prevented the diversion in his favor, which the Archduke at first projected, and he was contented, after Korsakoff's movements, to re-establish Austrian troops in the posts which that General had quitted. Little was done during the remainder of October by either party. The Austrian outposts at Sargans and Ilantz, were driven across the Rhine by Generals Loison and Mortier; but the advanced state of the season, and their late reverses compelled the allies to confine themselves strictly to measures of defence, and Massena was too deficient in provisions, equipments, arms, money, and numbers to pursue his success with activity.

Neither was it likely that an alliance so ill adjusted as that between the courts of Austria and Russia had manifestly shewn itself to be from its commencement, could now be of long endurance. There was little unity of object between the two cabinets; and considerable jealousy had arisen between their respective Generals. The bad faith and despicable policy of the councils of Vienna, might have irritated a less wayward temper than that of the Emperor Paul, and the reverses which nearly at the same time his armies had experienced both in Holland and Swisserland, completed his disgust at the coalition, and determined him to withdraw from it. The want of harmony which prevailed between their Courts, and perhaps some difficulties arising from military etiquette prevented any personal intercourse between Prince Charles and Suvaroff, during the period for which their head-quarters were contiguous to each other, at Donaneschingen, and Lindau.

On the 30th of October, the Russian Field-marshal retired upon Augsburgh, and distributed his troops in neighbouring cantonments, they were not long, however to remain in Germany, peremptory orders from St. Petersburgh, summoned the veteran, now unjustly disgraced, to his capricious Sovereign; and at the close of November, his army quitted the theatre of war, and commenced its march homeward.

The few remaining months of this great warrior's life were embittered by the ingratitude of his Imperial Master. At the beginning of this campaign, the pressing solicitations of the English Cabinet, and of the Emperor Francis, had brought the aged General from the retirement to which he had been driven at the commencement of the new reign, and placed him at the head of an army, by which his glories were raised beyond even their former high eminence. But Paul could little endure the bold spirit which unaccustomed to disguise, and well acquainted with the temper of his countrymen, openly ridiculed the puerile innovations which had been introduced into the Russian army; and though he invested him with command, the Emperor retained all his former coldness and dislike. During the bright career of his victories, Suvaroff received one unsubstantial mark of imperial favor, the title of Prince, and the addition of Italiski to his name: after the re-

verses of others, he returned to meet with neglect, mortification, and disgrace.

On his arrival on the frontiers of his native country, a studied affront was offered him by the omission of all the military honors due to his rank; and when he reached Petersburgh, the Emperor forbade his appearance at Court. Suvaroff presented the messenger of this ungracious intelligence with a purse of money, turned the kibitska, in which he always travelled, from the walls of the Capital, and secluded himself in a wooden house at some distance from it. This last blow was unexpected, and it overwhelmed him. He fell dangerously ill. Paul, too late repented his injustice and severity, and permitted his two sons, the Archdukes Alexander and Constantine, to visit the sick bed of the dying hero: but his heart was broken, and consolation had been too long delayed. His only request to the Emperor was, that a miniature of the great Catharine, which he always wore next his heart, might retain the same place in his coffin, and after a few short struggles, he expired on the 18th of May, 1800, having completed his seventieth year.

Irritated, perhaps, by these dying words, which seemed to contrast the treatment Suvaroff had experienced from his present master, with those marks of favor which Catharine so well knew how to dispense, Paul, at the moment, refused his remains the honors of a public funeral. The Ambassador of England, with a generous disregard of the wishes of the tyrant, was the only official personage who followed the conqueror of the Turks, the Poles, and the French, to the tomb. A statue has since been erected in the *Jardin d'Eté*, at Petersburgh; and a plain bronze tablet, inscribed with the name of Suvaroff, and surmounted with a lamp always burning in the Church of St. Alexander Newski, marks the spot in which his bones repose.

But to return to the campaign. One only attempt was made on the Grisons by Massena, after the departure of the Russians; and the post of Tusis, which he then captured, was abandoned a few days afterwards. The occupation of the Italian Bailliwicks by the Austrians, rendered an advance on the part of the French beyond the valley of Urseren far too hazardous to be attempted, and the rigorous state of the season effectually precluded all farther operations in this country of snow and mountains. Winter closed the campaign of Swisserland, and left the contending armies, after great alternation of fortune, and a lamentable destruction of human life, with the Rhine as their barrier, and in positions not much dissimilar from those which they had occupied in the spring. The French line commencing from the source of the Rhone, ran along Mounts Grimsel and St. Gothard, through the canton of Glarus to Sargans, thence on the left bank of the Rhine to the Lake of Constance, and onward to Basle, in front of which town, on the other side of the river, were strong intrenchments. The Austrians keeping almost the same direction, rested on the base of the mountains of Valais, then extended by the Italian Bailliwicks, and the Grey League to the

Reichenau, and thence on the right bank of the Rhine, to the Lake of Constance, which was guarded by a flotilla; between Constance and Basle, they removed all their bridges, and observed the course of the Rhine, to the extreme left of the French.

When the Archduke quitted the Necker, at the close of September, he left with Schwartzenburgh 20,000 Austrians between Mentz and Basle. In addition to these, the Landsturm, 10,000 strong, supported by some regular hussars, guarded the banks of the Mayn, and blockaded Cassell. Ney, who till the arrival of Lecourbe, held the command which Muller had surrendered, had under him 25,000 men, and was in expectation of reinforcements, when the successes of Massena, and the subsequent departure of the Archduke, determined him to commence offensive movements.

On the 4th and 5th of October, he crossed the Rhine at Mentz and pushing on by Frankfort, succeeded, after little resistance, in dislodging the Landsturm from the greater part of the country between the Lahn and the Mayn. Finding the Imperialists much weaker than he had believed them to be, he resolved to divert the Archduke's attention from Swisserland, by still bolder advances; and after effecting a passage of the Rhine in several places, both above and below Manheim, he presented himself before Heidelberg, on the 17th. The town was bravely and successfully defended by Prince Lichtenstein; but the presence of superior forces induced him to retire on the next morning. On his retreat, a warm skirmish of cavalry ensued, in which the Prince was wounded, and lost many prisoners. Schwartzenburgh, from illness, was compelled to resign his command to General Gœrger; the French daily gained ground; and when Lecourbe, for whom the army of the Rhine had been reserved, succeeded Ney, he found Philipsburgh in a state of blockade, both sides of the Necker in his possession, and the Austrians driven back to the farther bank of the Entz.

The Archduke was in a situation of no slight difficulty, abandoned by the Russians, who had been beaten in Swisserland, he was now attacked in Franconia, and threatened in Suabia and the Grisons. His first care was to protect the latter, and it has been seen that he did this effectually by replacing the Russian troops by his own. From the Lake of Constance to Kehl he was most advantageously posted, and accordingly it was towards the lower part of the Neckar that his anxiety was chiefly directed. To this, therefore, he immediately hastened to despatch whatever reinforcements he could spare.

A proclamation issued by him about the middle of October, calling upon the States of the Empire for voluntary contributions, had produced but little effect. The armies opposed to the Archduke exceeded 100,000 men, while he himself had not two-thirds of that number. He was slightly strengthened, however, by the few Bavarians who remained in the Palatinate, by an increase of nearly three thousand men to the Duke of Wurtemberg's contingent, by the raising of six com-

panies of peasants in Wurtzburgh and Bamberg, and by the promise of a still larger national armament in the Circle of Suabia.

On the 1st, 3d, and 4th of November, Prince Hohenlohe, who commanded the advanced guard of Prince Charles of Lorraine, to whom the army of the Neckar was intrusted, drove the enemy, in successive engagements, back upon that river from the Entz. On the 8th, General Grœger completely routed the division which covered the blockade of Philipsburgh, and relieved this important fortress. The French retired into the angle formed by the confluence of the Rhine and the Neckar, and transferred their head-quarters to Manheim.

In this position, which was too strong to be attacked, they were reinforced by large bodies of troops, recently disengaged from Holland; and having, at the same time, learnt the elevation of Bonaparte on the ruins of the Directory, a change received, as all other revolutions had been received by the French armies, with unbounded enthusiasm, Lecourbe, who had now assumed the chief command, resolved to profit by this feeling, and to renew offensive operations.

The Austrians were too weak to resist the increased force of their enemy; after some fighting, and the loss of many prisoners, on the 16th they were driven back once more upon the Entz, and the French reinvested Philipsburgh, which appears to have been the chief object of their attack. The Archduke, however, being relieved from his apprehensions in respect to the Grisons, and finding the campaign of Swisserland at an end, was unwilling to leave so large a portion of territory in the quiet occupation of the enemy. He detached General Sztarray, with some fresh troops, into the Duchy of Wurtemberg, in which the Duke had already prepared for the evacuation of Stutgard, if it should be necessary, and ordered up a division which protected the Brisgau. These reinforcements restored an equality between the two armies, which now consisted of nearly 20,000 men each, not including the Landsturm on the side of the Austrians.

Sztarray perceived that if he could break the centre of the French line, and force it back upon the Neckar, the right wing must also retire from the siege of Philipsburgh. On the 2d of December he drove the enemy from the posts of Senzheim, Weiler, Munzingen, and Odenheim. On the following day Prince Hohenlohe attacked in front the position which Lecourbe had retired upon near Visloch. The ground was obstinately maintained for many hours, nor did the Imperialists become masters of it till Prince Charles of Lorraine and General Grœger, who had been favoured by a thick fog in a movement on the right, turned the position, and attacked it in the rear. It was retaken by a fresh body, who had approached unobserved under cover of the same fog; but the Austrians, with determined bravery, marched a second time to the batteries—they stormed them with the bayonet to the sound of martial music, and continued a bloody combat in the streets of the town, till the French fled in disorder to

Heidelberg. In their flight they were much harassed by the pursuit of the Imperial cavalry; and the two days cost them, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at least 4000 men. The Austrians lost not a fourth of that number.

Philipsburgh, on the 4th, was in possession of the army which had relieved it. The brave Rhingrave of Salm, protected by the inundations with which, at any time, he could surround the works, and the unshrinking constancy of his heroic garrison, had successfully resisted four sieges, with an almost perpetual bombardment, in the course of this single campaign. During the last blockade, the town was reduced to ashes, and the incessant fatigues and privations to which they had been so long exposed materially diminished its little band of defenders. The fortifications were far from complete, and the preservation of the fortress is principally to be ascribed to the valour of the Rhingrave and his troops.

On the morning of the 4th, Lecourbe, who now reoccupied the angle of the Rhine and the Neckar, proposed an armistice. The conditions which Sztarray accepted were that hostilities should cease on the whole line from Philipsburgh to Oppenheim; that eighteen days notice should be given previous to any recommencement of operations, and that the French should retain the bridges of Neckerau and Manheim. Having concluded this treaty Lecourbe returned to Swisserland, but the Archduke, to whose approbation it was submitted, refused to ratify it. Baraguay d'Hilliers, the new commander, without loss of time, evacuated Manheim and Neckerau on the 9th, and, having crossed the river, cantoned his troops between Strasburgh and Mentz, towards which city the Austrian Landsturm immediately extended themselves in blockade.

Nine months of war had now desolated the banks of the Rhine, and winter alone brought repose with it. In one sense the campaign had been advantageous to the Austrians, for the French, in regard to Germany, had made no progress, but occupied precisely the same posts which they held at its commencement. The Imperialists, on the contrary, were on the Rhine, the Neckar, and the Mein, instead of the Lech and the Danube: but their advance had been on their own ground, and the war was not removed from Germany. It was of use to them, however, to have relieved a large tract of the empire from the military occupation of the enemy, and to have transferred the theatre of future battle from the centre to its frontiers. This slight benefit was dearly purchased by the dreadful effusion of blood by which it had been necessary to obtain it. The lowest computation which has been made, and there is too little reason to doubt its authority, places the killed of the Allies in Germany and Swisserland, from March to December, at 25,000 men, and about half that number permanently disabled by their wounds. The French loss, it is supposed, amounted to about 5000 more in these respects. In the number of prisoners they recovered the equality, having taken about thirty and lost about twenty-

five thousand. The remarkable features of the campaign arose less from any great actions fought in it, than from the nature of the country in which it was carried on. Swisserland was a new scene for regular warfare, and the theory of modern tactics having been practised for the first time among mountains, till then supposed to be impracticable, has given the transactions of 1799, in these districts, an importance in the eyes of military students far beyond the actual value which they will hold with the historian.

CHAPTER V.

Campaign in Italy continued. Actions at Fossano, and on the Alps. Championnet assumes the Command of the French. Deliverance of the States of the Church. Surrender of Rome, and Civita Vecchia to Captain Trowbridge. Death of Pius VI. Operations near Coni. Retrograde Movements of Melas. His subsequent Advance. Battle of Coni, and pursuit of the French. Fall of Ancona. Political Consequences of this Event. Siege and Fall of Coni. Distress of the French. Massena succeeds Championnet. Failure of Klenau before Genoa. Positions and Numbers of the two Armies at the Close of the Campaign. Review of its Events.

We left the campaign in Italy at the surrender of Tortona. The fall of this citadel, and the defeat at Novi, were doubtless great blows to the power of the French in Italy; but they were still masters of a strong country; and having received large reinforcements at the very period in which the allies were weakened by the departure of the Russians, the equilibrium of numbers was restored between the contending armies. Coni was now the chief object of attack and defence, and Melas who remained commander-in-chief of the Imperial troops marched upon Bra, with a view to future operations. Championnet at the same time also approached in an opposite direction and established his head quarters at Villa Valletta; a central position which favored his communication with the left of Moreau, and assisted him in covering Coni, which the Imperialists no doubt intended to besiege. On the 16th of September he drove the allied vanguard from Fossano and Savigliano. General Gottesheim who commanded it, made an able and vigorous resistance; but in the night he was compelled to abandon both his posts with the loss of many prisoners.

Melas on the other hand resolved to attack Championnet before he effected his junction with Moreau; and having moved from his camp at Bra, on the morning of the 17th in union with Kray, he left the French general but a short possession of his recent advantages. After a brisk action on the afternoon of the same day the enemy was dislodged with a severe loss of nearly 1500 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners: and the Austrians again felt secure against the projected union of all those hostile columns which

were manœuvring in the plain of Piedmont.

In other points about the same time the French received equal checks, a corps which passing the Simplon had seized Domo d'Ossola, was driven, on the 22d, by Prince Victor Rohan, back over the mountains, as far as Brieg, in the valley of the Rhone, and in the action and pursuit left on the field more than a thousand men. Prince Lichtenstein, on the 24th attacked another Republican division which threatened Turin from the side of Pignerol, and forced it from its post with the loss of some hundreds of men and two pieces of cannon. General Bellegarde also dislodged a strong body from Rivoli, and pursued them within a short distance of Suza, killing and taking prisoners eight or nine hundred men. These successes in addition to that of Melas confirmed the superiority of the Austrians, and were of infinite importance in preventing the French from applying any part of their force to harass the march of Suvaroff, who was already entangled in the Upper Alps.

Disappointed in all his objects Championnet repaired to Genoa, where Moreau surrendered his command to him. On this point of the armies, there had been a few affairs of posts, and Klenau had made one attempt, in which he was repulsed, to possess himself of the city by a *coup de main*. During the remainder of the month of September, a series of petty skirmishes took place along the whole line, but no material action or change of position occurred.

While these events were transacting in the north of Italy, a material change had been effected in the Papal states, and the fall of the French in the Neapolitan territories led to their expulsion also from Rome and its dependencies.

Captain Trowbridge having succeeded in the reduction of Capua and Gaeta, himself continued his cruise upon the Papal coast, and blockaded Civita Vecchia; while the little force which he had employed in his land services, marched on Rome under the command of the Neapolitan General Bourcard added to these were some bands of Aretine peasants and a few Austrian light troops.

The months of August and September were past in a continued series of actions with alternate fortune, every one of which however whatever might be its immediate termination tended to weaken the Republicans, who lost men even by their success, and were confined in the heart of Italy without hope of reinforcement or relief. The allies were not strong enough to undertake regular sieges, and they contented themselves for the present with a desultory warfare, which daily increased the distresses of the French General Garnier, and rendered their own ultimate success certain.

Garnier, who never had more than 5000 troops, soon learnt the disasters which had befallen his brothers in arms in the north, and that the Austrians, already disengaged from their sieges, had detached a corps to attack himself. His hospitals were crowded with sick, and the Roman populace had shewn unequivocal signs of hatred to the French government. No time was therefore to be lost, and

as he preferred treating with the English and Neapolitans, to any negotiation with the Cabinet of Vienna, when General Froelich on the 22d of September, pitched his camp under the walls of Rome, Garnier replied to his summons that he had already accepted the proposals of the British Commodore Trowbridge.

Froelich refused to believe this assertion, disappointed perhaps that the rich treasures of which Rome was the depository should escape the grasp of his masters. He attacked the French posts both in the direction of that city and of Civita Vecchia, and it was not until English officers were sent from the former to communicate the capitulation officially, that he abstained from hostilities.

Rome was to be occupied by the Neapolitans, Civita Vecchia by the English, the garrison was to return to France without being considered prisoners of war, and such Romans as had united themselves to the Republican cause were permitted to depart or to remain unmolested.

On the 30th of September, two years from the date of its first occupation, the eternal city, which during that period had been subjected to pillage, oppression, profanation, and bloodshed, again recovered its freedom—but not to return to its former Sovereign. Pius the VIth had breathed his last, just a month before the deliverance of his dominions. Hurried after the capture of Rome from the Vatican to the Chartreuse near Florence, he passed the first months of his deposition partly under the protection of the Grand Duke of Tuscany. After his dominions had been wrested from this Prince, the Directory considered the abode of Pius as dangerous to their own influence in Italy, nor could they venture to admit his presence in France—so formidable to the cowardice of their despotism were the grey hairs of an octogenarian Priest. He was confined in the fortress of Briançon, till the victories of the allies in Piedmont again forced him to a new prison. Valence was his last place of suffering. Here without a murmur, though subjected to many privations, he wore out his few remaining days of age, infirmity and misfortune. Prayer and reading were his uniform and tranquil occupations: Religion, now unaccompanied with its former pomp, his only support. Still accustomed even in his fall to consider himself the supreme head of his Church, his dignity long outlived his authority. "I am ready to follow you," said the high minded old man to the French Commissioner who ordered him to throw aside his Pontifical garments. "I have forgotten that I was one of the Monarchs of the earth; but the ministry to which Providence has called me, ought not to finish, but at the moment in which I shall render up my account to my eternal Judge." He was dying when the French resolved on his farther removal to Dijon; and their decree though suspended by his illness, accelerated his death; the pretext for this last inhumanity was that Valence was too near to Avignon, once the property of the Holy See. His death-bed was marked with the same courage, serenity and resignation which had uni-

formly distinguished him during the eighteen months of his exile and captivity; it was not less marked by the persevering cruelty of his persecutors; he had bequeathed the little property which was left him, a few pious books, some linen, and his sacramental plate, among his faithful attendants; but as he closed his eyes he was rudely informed that he had no right to make a will, for that all he possessed belonged to the nation to which he was a prisoner. He died on the 29th of August, in the 82d year of his age, and the 24th of his Pontificate; having reigned some months longer than either St. Sylvester or Adrian. No funeral honours were granted to his remains till the Consulate had erected itself on the fall of the Directory. Even this late decree which permitted his burial at the same time insulted his memory. It spoke of him as an old man, respectable by his misfortunes, and seduced by the counsels of those who surrounded his infirmities to be the enemy of France for a moment. It pronounced it to be due to the sensibility of the national character to bestow marks of consideration upon him, and it ordered a simple monument to be erected over the spot of his interment.

The war of posts still continued around Coni, and alternate success attended the French and Imperialists in various vallies of the Alps. On the part of Melas the contest was chiefly defensive; his cordon was of great extent, and he so placed himself that he could throw assistance from a common centre to any part of the vast semicircle which it embraced. The wide dispersion of the French columns made a dispersion on his part equally requisite, and the affairs of Swisserland did not encourage him to enter on very active operations. On these accounts he confined himself to the observation of the French, the security of his own positions, and the gradual straitening of Coni; for this last purpose he transferred his head-quarters early in October to Morozzo.

Championnet ordered Victor to move by Mondovi, on the left flank of the Austrians. Engagements on these points took place on the 11th and 13th, both to the disadvantage of the French. On the 19th, 20th, and 21st, they gained some little ground, but were still unable to force any post of importance on the Imperial line.

In the Riviera di Levante they had obtained some slight successes, and it was to this quarter now that Championnet principally looked for the disengagement of Coni. On the 24th he assembled the three divisions which occupied the Genoese, and ordered St. Cyr, simultaneously, to attack the posts of Capriata, Pasturana, and Pozzolo. The Austrian general, Karackzay, made a vigorous resistance with a small body of troops, not exceeding six thousand; but he was overpowered by numbers, and, after a bloody combat, he retired behind the Bormida, under the protection of Alessandria; within sight of which fortress he was followed by the enemy, who thus gained an important position on the left flank of the Imperialists.

In consequence of this check upon the left, Kray was immedi-

ately ordered with a large body of troops to Alessandria; Championnet, well aware that the Austrian centre must be weakened by this movement, advanced upon it accordingly. His left patroled as far as Fossano, after a sharp engagement in which, though the French suffered most loss, the Austrians withdrew across the Stura, alternately advancing and retreating in continual combats. The Republicans at length took possession of Pignerol, and pushed forward to Saluzzo: the fighting had been severe, but the advantage had principally been with the French, who prepared for a more general attack.

Melas, divining the project of his enemy, evacuated Mondovi on the night of the second of November, in order to concentrate his forces. He drew his left nearer to him, and by an oblique retreat upon his right occupied a position between Fossano and Marenne; thus uniting the great body of his troops in the narrow space between the Stura and the Maira. The French closely followed on the next day—the divisions of Grenier and Victor were between the Stura and the Grana—Lemoine was on their right—and Duhesme, having taken Saluzzo, was approaching on their left, at about the distance of half a days' march.

To prevent the junction of this body with the main army was an object with Melas; to profit by its advance was equally so with Championnet. Each accordingly gave orders for an attack on the morning of the 4th. Melas marched in three columns in order of battle, by the road through which he had just retreated; and the French, in three divisions also, advanced in a contrary direction. The action commenced near Marenne, between the corps of Ott and Grenier; for two hours there was a perpetual fire of cannon and musquetry, till the French, after supporting several charges of cavalry, gave way to Savigliano; from which place they were further driven towards Genola.

At Genola, on which point general Elnitz had directed his march, they opposed a more successful resistance, and three times repulsed their assailants. Victor also maintained his ground at Fossano for a while; but the accession of force which their victory already won on their left, enabled the Austrians to direct against these bodies in the right and centre of the enemy, compelled the first to retire to Murazzo, and the second to Valdiggio. Here also in the afternoon a furious attack was renewed both in front and on the left flank—the position was forced, but the enemy again formed at Centalo: again pursued, they retreated, still farther, till night alone terminated the engagement under the walls of Coni.

During the movement on Valdiggio, General Duhesme's division, after a painful march, arrived on the field, and attacked a reserve of Austrians which had been left at Marenne. The noise of the firing advertised Melas of his new enemy, and he detached a body of troops who took some prisoners, and compelled Duhesme to retire hastily upon his former position at Saluzzo.

Victor still occupied Murazzo; the left of the French retired during the night to the vallies of the Grana and the Maira; their centre remained at Runchi, from which place it was dislodged in the morning after a feeble resistance. The column at Murazzo was thus wholly cut off, and without means of retreat; part withdrew with much loss across the Stura, and the remainder was compelled to lay down its arms. These two days were most destructive to the French: four thousand men at least were killed and wounded, and an equal number of prisoners were taken; and this at an expence of not more than two thousand men in all to the Austrians.

Kray, in the mean time, had arrived before Alessandria, and had driven the enemy from Acqui; in an attack upon the heights of Novi, to which the French retreated, he was less fortunate; but his operations effectually cleared the vallies of the Scrivia, the Orba, and the Bormida.

After the victories of the 5th and 6th, Melas met with little resistance in his pursuit; the enemy was driven every where before him: from the entrenched camp of Borgo St. Dalmazzo, from Demonte, and from Mondovi; the inhabitants of this last state afforded a vigorous co-operation, particularly in an affair of the 13th of November, which completed the expulsion of Championnet from their territory.

On this day also, the last post which the French possessed beyond the Po fell into the hands of the Imperialists, and the surrender of Ancona consummated their triumphs in the south. By sea this town had been blockaded from the commencement of the campaign, but the strength of the mole, and the fire from some Republican vessels in its harbour, prevented any more active operation. The same was the case with the investment by land, which, from August, had been intrusted to a mixed force of Italians, Russians, and Turks. An irregular bombardment had at times taken place, but the citadel was strong by nature, and the town, which stood on an opposite hill, suffered but little. The allies confident of ultimate success, neglected to push their works with vigour, till the capitulation of Rome and Civita Vecchia disengaged General Frœlich's division from the States of the Church. The trenches were regularly opened on the 17th of October; and notwithstanding a very gallant resistance and some brisk sallies on the part of the besieged, who, besides the destruction of their defences, were already suffering under famine, a capitulation was agreed upon on the 13th of the following month. The capture of this important city gave the Austrians three thousand prisoners (not to serve till exchanged), six hundred pieces of cannon, three ships of the line, and many smaller vessels of war; and what was of far greater consequence, it entirely secured the navigation of the Adriatic, and freed for other purposes a considerable corps of their army. These advantages were however more than counterbalanced by the effect which some untoward events, subsequent to the acquisition of this town, pro-

duced on the councils of the Emperor of Russia. That potentate resented with great indignation the strict discipline which General Frœlich had found it necessary to exercise over the Russian troops, who were guilty of disorders after the capture; and among other causes, this is supposed mainly to have contributed to the estrangement of the cabinet of St. Petersburgh from its alliance with that of Vienna.

The approaches to Coni were so completely cleared of the enemy, that Melas now found himself at full liberty to prosecute his operations for its siege without any diversion to other objects. The Republican columns were separated and in disorder among the mountains: destitute of provisions, money, and clothing, and with the additional misery of rapidly approaching winter. St. Gothard, the Valais, Mount Cenis, and the two St. Bernards, afforded protection in their defiles to this defeated army, which it was useless to pursue, after it had been rendered incapable of offence. The heavy cannon arrived from Turin on the works by the 26th of November, on which day the trenches were opened in ground almost impenetrable from frost. Coni naturally strong, and much indebted to art for its protection, had never yet been taken by force; and any hope to succeed before it, at the close of a long campaign with an exhausted army, and in a severe winter, must have been desperate, if it had not been well known that it was in want both of magazines and of military stores. The French army, for the most part, had been sustained by this town for many months; and in their retreat the greater part of their wounded had been left in its hospitals. Prince Lichtenstein, to whom the siege was intrusted, omitted neither labour nor expence to bring it to a rapid conclusion. Both by his example and his liberality (the siege is said to have cost more than five thousand guineas from his private purse) he stimulated his soldiers to extraordinary exertions; and in spite of the discouraging obstacles of the season, and the vigorous fire of the enemy, he drove them succesively from their several outworks, and made his own lodgments secure. On the morning of the 3d of December, almost all his ordnance having become unserviceable, General Clement capitulated. Two thousand eight hundred prisoners, and a fortress of the first rank, the key of Piedmont on the side of the maritime Alps were the fruits of the conquerors.

The French had lost their single remaining post, the Austrians had nothing more to win. Repose on both sides was necessary. Famine and winter pressed hard on the vanquished, and insurrections, real or pretended, were eagerly seized as occasions for extortion from the miserable inhabitants of the seat of war. Genoa had been declared in a state of siege, and a French government had been substituted for that of the Ligurian Republic, when Massena superseded Championnet in the command of the army of Italy. This last General, after a campaign of perpetual defeat and danger, died as he was returning to France, of an epidemic fever.

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The discontent at Genoa encouraged General Klenau, who had been reinforced by the troops disengaged from Ancona, to make an attempt upon that town. On the 14th and 15th of December, he succeeded in driving in all the French outposts under the forts which cover its approaches. St. Cyr, however, on the latter day bore down on the centre and right flank of the Austrians; and by a daring attack, which the critical situation of Genoa rendered almost necessary, secured its safety. Klenau retreated with the loss of many prisoners, and placed himself again behind the Magia.

These formed the last events of this memorable campaign. The Imperial army of Italy at its conclusion, was in communication on the right with that of Swisserland, by the valley of Tesino: it observed St. Gothard and the Simplon, and it occupied the frontier of Valais and the foot of St. Bernard; then onward in the neighbourhood of Fenestrelles to Turin. The centre in the vallies of the Maira and Stura guarded the very outlets of France, the roads of the Col de Tende and Col de Fenestre, and crossed the valley of the Tanaro. Novi and Serravalle, the roads from Genoa to Pavia and Placentia, the valley of the Taro, and the banks of the Magia were in possession of the left, which terminated this extensive semicircular line; while separate detachments were scattered over Tuscany, the Bolognese, Ferrarese, Milanese, and March of Ancona.' Sixty thousand Austrians, about ten thousand Piedmontese, and twice that number of Tuscans and Neapolitans, composed the materials of this army.

The French, on the other hand, were posted on the left in the *debouchés* of the Tarentaise and Maurienne; then by the Vaudois in front of the Imperial line in the valley of the Stura. The rigour of winter did not prevent their centre from occupying the important heights of the Col de Fenestre and the Col de Tende, and they continued to line the Riviera di Ponente as far as Savona. The right garrisoned this last place and Genoa, and protected all the approaches from the vallies of the Bormida, the Erro, the Orba, and the Scrivia. Sixty-five thousand men were the utmost who could be counted upon this long and irregular line, chiefly without cavalry or heavy artillery. Insurrection, disease, and famine, thinned their already exhausted ranks during the whole of the winter; and in the following April, little more than half the number of troops who had entered winter quarters could be brought by Massena into the field.

The commencement of this campaign had seen the French masters of Italy from Turin to Naples. At its close, they had nothing in their possession but the snows of Liguria. Few portions of military history present actions of greater magnitude or variety, or afford a richer display of warlike skill. The consummate art with which Moreau retarded the advance of a victorious, and in some degree restored the fortunes of a defeated army, the masterly retreat of Macdonald, and the untamable ardor of Suvaroff, are

studies for the soldier; and the perpetual change of incident, presenting new combinations and fresh chances at almost every movement, give a spirit and animation to the story which seldom belong to a single campaign. The waste of human life which it occasioned, is the most painful part of its review; it has been estimated that the allies lost full thirty thousand men in killed and wounded, and ten thousand in prisoners. The destruction of the French was greater in proportion to their ill success; forty-five thousand in the first respect, thirty-five thousand in the second, has been reckoned as their lowest number.

CHAPTER VI.

Causes which produced the Expedition to Holland. Sailing of the Troops. Sir Ralph Abercromby fixes upon the Helder, as the Point of Debarkation. Position of the French. Disembarkation of the English, and Capture of the Helder. Surrender of the Fleet in the Nieuwe Diep, and of Admiral Storey's Squadron to Admiral Mitchell. Brune assumes the Command of the French. Position of the Hostile Army. Arrival of the Prince of Orange. The French attack the Zype. They are repulsed. Arrival of the Duke of York, and of the Russian Troops. Battle of Bergen.

The brilliant series of triumphs which had attended the arms of the Allies in the early parts of the campaigns of Italy, Swisserland, and Germany, and the embarrassments which repeated defeats, financial deficiencies, and internal discontents had brought upon the French government, afforded a reasonable hope, that if the efforts of the combined powers could be persevered in but for a short time longer, the object of their new coalition would be finally accomplished. Fresh projects naturally arose from fresh successes; and the most effectual mode of distracting the enemy, and thereby diminishing his power of resistance, seemed to depend upon the discovery of some point of attack as yet untouched. The United Provinces furnished of all others the most vulnerable part of the Revolutionary dominions. They had submitted with peculiar repugnance to the French yoke; both from their steady attachment to the House of Orange, and from their characteristic national hatred of change. They were moreover too far removed from the immediate scene on which the war was raging, to have been included in any plan of general defence which the Directory could hitherto have formed; and yet they afforded so strong an outpost against France herself, that regard for her own safety would imperiously demand their defence if once attacked. An attempt upon these countries therefore could not fail to operate at least as a most powerful diversion, at a period in which the entire military resources of the Republic were needed in other

quarters: and success in this attempt might transfer the seat of war into the very heart of that country by whose aggression it was occasioned.

To these inducements, which were felt in common by each of the allied nations, England added some others more peculiarly affecting herself. The Dutch were amongst her oldest and most faithful allies; connected by close and natural political bonds, and participating in similar views of commercial interest. As they were eminently advantageous friends, so were they scarcely less troublesome enemies to Great Britain; for the extensive line of coasts which they occupied, enabled them to threaten her navigation, and, if not to dispute with her the sovereignty of the seas, at least to force her to a considerable expenditure for the perpetual assertion of this pre-eminence. They afforded men to the exhausted ranks, and treasure to the wasted coffers of France. Of the portion which they contributed to the conscriptions, it is by no means easy to form an accurate estimate; but not less than three millions sterling, in money and military stores, were annually extorted as the price of Revolutionary fraternization.

The Cabinet of St. Petersburg, at this period, ardently inflamed against France, entered into any project for her subjection with eagerness. The views of the allies therefore on the United Provinces found ready support in Russia; and by the treaties recently concluded between the contracting parties, of the 62,000 men whom the Emperor Paul, agreed to furnish under a guarantee of payment by England, 17,000 were to be employed in conjunction with a British force, in an expedition to Holland.

This Province had been selected as the point of attack, first, from the facility which it seemed to afford of approach to Amsterdam, the possession of which Capital in former wars upon the same theatre, had decided the fate of the whole country: secondly from the want of local means of defence, which had been so plentifully supplied by the greatest engineers of modern times on all the other frontiers; and thirdly from the promise which it held out of a great immediate advantage, (whatever might be the final result of the chief object of the armament) by the capture of the Dutch fleet; which too weak to encounter the English at sea, was harboured in the Texel. The surrender or the destruction of this fleet, one of which from the magnitude of the force employed against it, appeared almost inevitable, would place the whole Zuyder Zee at the controul of the British navy, would deprive the French government of a large portion of its remaining maritime strength, and might powerfully influence the Dutch themselves in their return to their allegiance to the Stadtholder.

The troops employed on this service were to sail in two divisions. The first, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby, consisting of about 12,000 men was to make good its landing, and this was to be followed by the remainder of the British (about 18,000 more) and by the Russian

auxiliaries. This combined force was to be placed under the command of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the naval department of the expedition was intrusted to Admiral Mitchell.

Sir R. Abercromby sailed on the 13th of August, the immediate place of attack on which he was first to direct himself, being permitted to his own discretion according to the intelligence which he should obtain on his approach to the Dutch coast. The Helder was the point upon which he decided, but from rough weather and adverse gales it was not until the 27th that the disembarkation could be attempted. This unfortunate delay in the outset materially contributed to the subsequent difficulties which the army had to encounter; for on the 22d, the day which had been first agreed upon for the attack, the garrison of the Helder did not exceed 1300 men, and the whole country even beyond Haarlem was unprotected.

On that day (the 22d) the Batavian government first learned the destination of the English fleet, from a summons which had been sent jointly to Admiral Story and the Commandant at the Helder. General Brune, who commanded in chief, immediately ordered the Dutch General Daendels to proceed to North Holland. In a few days that officer collected somewhat more than 10,000 men and distributed them between Haarlem and the Helder, a distance of about 36 miles.

The Helder is a small fort at the western extremity of North Holland; and the line of coast extending from it to the mouth of the Meuse, is bounded by a chain of sand hills. On the evening of the 25th, the English fleet anchored at a short distance to the eastward of the batteries, by that part of the shore which separates Huysduinen from Groet Keeten. On these villages General Daendels rested his flanks, and posted a strong force in the centre to meet the first landing.

At three in the morning of the 27th, the English boats advanced under the fire of the fleet: the line of small armed vessels opened a brisk cannonade to clear the shore, under favour of which the third brigade, commanded by Generals Sir James Pulteney and Coote, and amounting to from 2,000 to 2,500 men, gained towards the break of day the beach in front of Kleen Keeten, with the loss of twenty men only, who were drowned. As soon as they were formed, they marched against the two battalions of chasseurs which covered this extent of ground, and whose piquets, after having been driven from the shore by the fire of the armed vessels, had taken shelter in the first inequalities of ground which the Downs present. These were instantly attacked and forced on all points to fall back. It was not, however, until after having, for a considerable time opposed a destructive fire, that they were finally driven from the Downs by Sir James Pulteney, who took them in flank at the head of four companies, and attacked them with a determination which they could not withstand. The corps of chasseurs, after suffering considerably, and losing its commander, Colonel Lucq, fell back in disorder towards Groet Keeten, where Ge-

neral Daendels rallied it. A battalion which had been posted in their rear to support them, and which attempted to do so in vain, after having lost its commander, also made its retreat towards the right, and rejoined General Van Guenicke, who had marched for its protection with his cavalry, and a part of his infantry. The English thus masters of the whole extent of the Downs which separate the sea and the plain, and having broken through the centre of the enemy's line, completed their disembarkation at leisure, and afterwards employed themselves in landing some artillery. They had reason to expect that before they could procure it the enemy would hasten to attack them on both flanks with the great advantage, which the possession of both cavalry and artillery afforded. While they were therefore forming on the ground which they had just gained, with their right towards the sea, and their left to the Downs, General Daendels was preparing for a general attack upon them; but the premature movement of General Van Guenicke having left without orders that part of his brigade which had remained in front of Huysduinen, and having also prevented him from immediately receiving those of the Commander-in-chief, prevented any serious attack against the left of the British, where the 4th brigade, and a part of the 1st and of the 2d, were indeed ready to repulse any attempt which General Van Guenicke could have made.

As soon as General Daendels had succeeded in assembling the troops which were at Groet Keeten, the brigade of General Zuilen Van Nywelt which arrived in grea haste from Haarlem, and the remains of the corps of chasseurs, forming in the whole ten battalions and 500 horse, he marched against the English in three lines, provided with artillery. Two battalions commanded by Colonel Crass, led the attack: they succeeded in recovering a little ground; some piquets which had advanced farther than prudence and the position of the whole warranted, having received orders to retire before them. To this the success of the Dutch was confined. Thinking that they were indebted to themselves for it, they continued to move forward with confidence, as did also three battalions which supported them, and they advanced in very good order and with much firmness; but it could not be done without exposing their flank to the English, who had their right posted on some little eminences which projected in front of the centre and the left. The latter availed themselves of this circumstance to attack the Dutch in their turn, who could not resist them, and were driven back far out of the line. The Dutch cavalry made a shew of supporting them: but although the ground was not so unfavourable as to prevent their acting, they did nothing effectual, and after giving way, even suffered themselves to be pursued by the grenadiers of the 23d and 27th regiments. This action, which was bloody, was almost entirely confined to musquetry, the Dutch having derived little advantage from their artillery which they could not sufficiently advance, that of the English not being yet

landed, and the fire of the gunboats having been discontinued, as being likely to injure their own men more than the enemy.

This ill success did not discourage General Daendels; and when he had rallied his troops, and united his forces, he made a fresh and vigorous attack: but the ground only admitting of his forming a very narrow front, each of his battalions successively suffered much, and was forced to withdraw from the fire. After having alternately gained and lost ground, he was finally repulsed, and obliged to resume the position of Groet Keeten, from which he had marched, after sustaining a loss of 1,400 men, among whom were 57 officers, in killed, wounded, or taken prisoners: a loss so great, considering the number of his troops, and the description of arms which were used, that it would not have been estimated so high, if the General himself had not ackowledged it to be such. He was pursued in his retreat as far as the want of cavalry would admit. He abandoned Groet Keeten in the night, and occupied the advantageous position of the Zype, with his flanks to the two seas, the left at Petten, and the right at Oude Sluys.

This action which lasted nine hours was very creditable to the English, who without artillery or cavalry gained it against both. Their success was obtained with comparatively small loss considering the obstacles by which they were opposed. It amounted to 57 killed, and 371 wounded: the proportion of officers was unusually great. Lieutenant Colonel Smollett of the Guards, and Lieutenant Colonel Hay of the Engineers, were both killed, the latter close to the Commander-in-chief.

Lieutenant-General Sir James Pulteney, who very much contributed to the first successes of this day, was wounded in the arm whilst exerting himself to bring back into the line some men whose courage had carried them too forward. Lieutenant-Colonel Graham, who at the head of the 27th regiment, was one of the first who landed, and who drove back to the Downs the Dutch Chasseurs, was severely wounded. Colonel Macdonald, who commanded the advanced guard, which he led with spirit and judgment, though he received a musket shot, did not quit the field. The Staff of the army was deprived for the rest of the campaign, of the useful services of the Hon. Colonel John Hope, and Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, of the Guards.

It was determined to attack the Helder on the following morning, General Daendels however felt that it was indefensible, and succeeded in withdrawing the 2000 men by whom it was occupied on the evening of the 27th. When General Moore entered it on the 28th more than 100 pieces of cannon were found in it, and even of those which had been hastily spiked, few were rendered useless.

A reinforcement of 5000 men who had sailed many days after the first division, but had encountered less unfavourable winds, disembarked in the course of the same day, which together with the three following was employed in landing stores and provisions, and in making preparations and ar-

rangements wholly undisturbed by the enemy.

In the arsenal of Nieuwe Diep appendant to the Helder thirteen ships of war and three Indiamen had already been captured by Admiral Mitchell without firing a gun, and he hastened on the 30th to complete his greater object. The success of the English had already produced a mutiny in the Dutch fleet, and when the British squadron entered the Texel, in line of battle, the Batavian Commander Story, felt that little confidence could be placed on his crew. A proposition which General Daendels had submitted of protecting the mouth of the Texel by sinking some old ships (which the engineers assured him would hereafter occasion no damage to the navigation) had been abandoned, and Admiral Story who had replied with great spirit to the first summons of the British now felt that his situation was desperate. Admiral Mitchell lost no time in profiting by this state of affairs. Having collected sufficient pilots, at five in the morning of the 30th, he weighed anchor and stood into the Texel in order of battle. In running in, two ships of the line, the Ratvisan and the America and the Latona frigate took to the ground. The latter got off, but the efforts of the two former being unsuccessful, the line was closed without them. The rest of the squadron safely passed the Helder, and entered the channel which leads to the Vlieter, where the Dutch were anchored in a line east south east. The channel is intricate, never being passed by the natives with more than one or two ships at a time, and the Dutch were astonished to see that buoys were so soon laid down, and that a hostile squadron was approaching in order of battle. At half past ten, a summons was addressed to Admiral Story and a single hour at the same time was allowed him for deliberation. He had already himself despatched a flag of truce, proposing a suspension of arms, and having no reliance on the obedience of his crews who were already in open mutiny, before the expiration of the hour he surrendered his fleet. His reply was distinguished by the same spirit which had always marked this officer. He protested fidelity to the Batavian republic, and he avowed that it had been his determination to resist if the traitors whom he commanded had not refused to fight. Eight ships of the line and three frigates thus fell into the possession of the British.

Holland at this moment presented a singular spectacle to the rest of Europe. Without firing a single shot, the Texel, hitherto impregnable, had been forced for the first time; the attack was made by an ancient ally, and the Dutch stripped of their marine were preparing to defend the approaches to Amsterdam from the sea, by a land army.

The possession of the Zuyder Zee, as it secured naval co-operation enabled Sir Ralph Abercromby to advance without endangering his left, but the impossibility of procuring a sufficient number of horses still occasioned some delay. Provisions were to be supplied from the Helder, and draught horses were therefore absolutely necessary to secure the

subsistence of the army. General Daendels after the engagement at the Helder, did not feel himself sufficiently strong to await an attack upon the Zype, but made a retrograde movement on the 30th, to a line extending from Avenhorn to Alkmaar, and fortified himself on the Schermer. The British on the first of September, occupied a position nearly similar to that just abandoned by the Dutch. It covered the space between the German ocean and the Low Land which is overflowed by the Zuyder Zee, during high tides. The front was covered by a broad dyke, along which a wide canal extended from right to left. The country was fertile, and abundant in provisions, and the cantonments were agreeable and convenient.

Meantime reinforcements were pouring in to the Gallo-Batavian army. General Brune on his arrival concentrated his troops at Alkmaar. Rustemberg, St. Pancras, and Groet was the line upon which he decided; the Dutch under General Daendels occupying the first named place, on the right, and the French under himself, being in the last, on the left. His force amounted to 20,000 men, of whom 7000 were French. Strong lines had been formed for the protection of Amsterdam, and a flotilla was stationed in the inlets from the Zuyder Zee. A national levy was called out, and not a symptom of disaffection to the Republican government had hitherto manifested itself; the indolence of the Hollanders (even if they felt a wish for change) predominating over their attachment to ancient institutions.

Sir Ralph Abercromby's policy was clearly to remain on the defensive till the arrival either of the Russians or of the second English division, both of which he hourly expected; for this purpose he employed himself in fortifying his position, and in adopting every possible precaution against attack. His right was covered by entrenchments raised across the Sanddike at Petten, and flanked by two gun-boats stationed close to the shore. Oudesluys, upon the extremity of his left, being doubly important from its being the landing place for all the provisions coming from the Helder, was fortified with much care. The great dike, which covered the whole front, connected the two flanks, and was to them a kind of curtain, which had indeed the force and the appearance of a regular fortification. The approaches to this position were not the objects of less care and precaution — the nearest villages were entrenched, and served as outworks to the great dike—the roads were cut and furnished with artillery, and with a parapet for the infantry; the village of Schagen was occupied in force, partly lest it should be seized upon by the enemy; who in that case might have pushed, without being perceived, to the very lines; and partly also, that an advanced corps might be in readiness to act upon the flank of any attack which might be made upon the right. The principal posts were the extremity of the Slaperdike which leads to Groet, and the villages of Crabbendam, Einigenbrug, St. Martin, and Walkoog. Drixhorn, Herens, Carspel, and even Warmenhuysen, were occupied as detached posts,

but without any intention of disputing seriously the possession of them. The advanced piquets were placed at a very short distance from the position; alarm posts were established for each battalion; in a word, every possible precaution was used to ensure success in repulsing the attack which was to be expected from the enemy, before the atrival of reinforcements. During this interval Sir Ralph Abercromby was very opportunely joined by the 11th regiment of dragoons, which had left the Downs by itself, and which to the number of 530 men, landed on the 6th of September.

Considerable difficulty continued to be felt in procuring waggons and horses: 60 of the first, and 250 of the second was the extent of the scanty supply which could be obtained. Little hope of voluntary assistance from the inhabitants was perceived, for the Dutch seemed to place but small reliance on the ultimate success of their deliverers, and they were naturally unwilling to compromise their eventual safety. Equal disappointment was experienced in attempting to furnish the magazines along the Zype with bread and forage. Boats were wanting, and such as could be furnished were exposed to the daily storms and contrary winds of the Zuyder Zee; so that little provision could be made for the subsistence of the army in advance; and even while it was stationary its supplies were far from being certain.

A few insignificant skirmishes alone had taken place since the disembarkation, and both armies seemed anxiously to avoid the offensive till they could be confident of superiority. The Prince of Orange who on the first news of the successful landing of the English had sailed for the Texel, found little encouragement in the province of Overyssel, and transferred himself to the Helder where he endeavoured to arrange the Dutch deserters, who amounted to more than 3000 men, into effective regiments.

General Brune on the 10th of September, finding that he already outnumbered the English, resolved upon an attack before the arrival of their reinforcements should either restore the equality of power, or incline it in favour of his enemy. For this purpose he divided his corps into three columns. The right led by General Daendels was to march from St. Pancras towards Einigenbrug, and to endeavour to get possession of the dike. The centre, under General Dumonceau, had orders to advance by the Koedike and Schoreldam against Crabbendam, which it was to force. General Brune, having under his immediate orders General Vandamme with the column of the left composed of all the French troops, had reserved to himself the task of penetrating by Groet and Camp to Petten, which he meant to carry.

At break of day on the 10th, the Republicans marched forward in this order of attack. The French advanced with a bravery which it is impossible not to praise. After having moved along the bottom of the Sand-hills, they spread themselves upon the edges of the meadows which lay between the canal of Alkmaar and the Dromerdike. They principally directed their efforts against the

flank of the Slaperdike, and from that post, until within a mile of Petten; and while the *tirailleurs* endeavoured to silence the fire of the English, the grenadiers advanced to the assault of the entrenchments, which covered the head of the dike. In spite of the well supported fire of the two brigades of guards which defended this post under the command of Major-General Burrard, (the armed boats being at too great a distance to have any effect,) the French gained ground in the first instance, and some of their grenadiers even penetrated as far as the canal which borders the great dike. Almost all of them, however were killed there, and every effort which the column of General Brune made, was rendered ineffectual. After an hour and a half of the most violent contest, the French were finally repulsed on all sides, and about ten o'clock fell back towards Alkmaar. The Batavian division of the centre shewed not less courage, but met with as little success. A mistake in the direction of their march, or rather their unaccountable ignorance of their own country, caused some of the troops forming that division, to bear upon the village of Einigenbrug, upon which they opened a brisk fire, but where they were checked by a battalion of the 20th regiment. General Dumonceau, with the rest of his division advanced with the greatest rapidity along the canal, and straight upon Crabbendam, without allowing himself to be stopped by the fire of two pieces of cannon which enfiladed the road by which he moved. In a few minutes he had reached the first houses of the village in which the *tirailleurs* lodged themselves, while the principal body rushed forward to carry by assault the entrenchments raised upon the dike. This was a critical moment. Sir Ralph Abercromby felt it, and putting himself on foot at the head of five companies of the 20th regiment, which were the only troops on the spot, he encouraged them to make a desperate resistance: he sent, at the same time for the reserve, which was at some distance on the left. The enemy advanced to within a few paces of the breastwork, but could not withstand the incessant fire which issued from it. Not discouraged, they returned to the charge, but always met with a similar reception. At length the arrival of the first battalion of the 20th, decided the contest, and the enemy fled in the greatest confusion to Alkmaar.

While these obstinate conflicts took place on the centre and the left of the Republicans, their right did not act with equal vigour. General Daendels having found the road leading to Einigenbrug already occupied by a demi-brigade of the centre division, and consequently not being able to march that way, filed to the right, and attacked the village of St. Martin. He did it, however, rather in a hesitating and uncertain manner, improperly regulating his conduct by the direction of the fire which he heard upon his left, and by the intelligence which he received from that quarter. His success was confined to driving in the piquets from the village of St. Martin; and after having kept up for some time a distant cannonade, he retired upon the approach of

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the troops from Schagen, which threatened to take him in flank. Towards the end of the day his division was seized with a panick and fled in confusion from the villages which it occupied; part of it did not stop until it reached Alkmaar, and the artillery drivers pushed on as far as Haarlem.

This fruitless engagement cost the attacking army considerable loss: 2000 men were placed *hors de combat*, and one of their Generals (David) was mortally wounded. The British sheltered by their redoubts and covered by the fire of two frigates and some brigs which were stationed off the shore, purchased their victory at the expense of 34 killed, and 125 wounded.

The same reasons for inaction still operated on Sir R. Abercromby, and notwithstanding his repulse of the enemy he thought it imprudent to continue their pursuit. No farther action took place till the 15th, when General Dumonceau after a sharp skirmish dislodged an English piquet of fifty men from Warmenhuysen, a village near the centre of their line.

In the mean time the Duke of York with the remaining British force had arrived at the Texel, and was speedily followed by the first division of 13,000 Russians. When concentrated at the Zype, where His Royal Highness fixed his head-quarters at Schagenbrug, the allied army presented an effective force of 33,000 men, provided for the first time since the disembarkation at the Helder with a proportionate train of cavalry and artillery. No time was to be lost; for the unavoidable delays which had preceded the arrival of the Duke, had already manifestly affected the probable result of the expedition; and if any favourable issue were to be expected, it could only arise from the most prompt and energetic measures.

An immediate attack was accordingly decided on, and its plan was decided by the position of the enemy. The army was divided into four principal columns. The first, under the command of Lieutenant-General Herman, consisted of 9000 Russians, and 2500 British. The right of that column, in which there were 500 horse, and four pieces of light artillery, was to *déboucher* from Petten by the great Sand dike, following the sea shore, while a part of the infantry should gain the heights of Camperduyn, and taking in flank the villages of Camp and Groet, should open the way for the left column which was to march by the Slaperdike, and advance afterwards with that of the right by Groet and Bergen. Major-General Manner's brigade was to remain in reserve during this attack; and three battalions of Russians, with 100 chasseurs and some artillery, were posted at Crabbendam, to be able to co-operate from that post in the attack of Warmenhuysen.

The second column, commanded by General D. Dundas, was to attack the posts of Warmenhuysen and Schoreldam, one brigade advancing by Einigenbrug, and the other by Herenscarspel and Tuytgtenhorn. As soon as Warmenhuysen should be carried, the two brigades, together with the three Russian battalions above-mentioned, were to pass the canal and march against Schoreldam to cover

the left of General Herman, and favour the operations against Bergen; Prince William of Gloucester's brigade remaining in reserve on the dike between Einigenbrug and St. Martin. This column consisted of about 4500 English and 2000 Russians.

Sir James Pulteney, with the 3d column of about 5000 men, was destined to attack the Langedike. One brigade was to advance from Drixhoorn, and endeavour by the fire of its artillery to drive the enemy from the village, while the other brigade marching from Schagen by the Huygenwaard should take it both in front and rear. It could hardly be expected that this attack should succeed completely, this part of the enemy's position being, as has already been observed the strongest: but there was reason to hope that it would occupy the Dutch sufficiently to prevent their sending any assistance to the French. If, however, he should meet with success, Sir James Pulteney had orders to push it as far as possible; on one side threatening Schoreldam, to assist the operations of General Dundas; on the other sending forward strong piquets to scour his left, and open a communication with the 4th column. At all events, a battalion was to remain in reserve upon the LangeCalver dike.

The 4th column in which were 9000 English infantry, and 160 cavalry, under the orders of Sir Ralph Abercromby was destined to turn entirely the right of the position of the enemy, by penetrating between them and the Zuyder Zee. As this object required a much longer march than that of the other columns, it was determined that Sir Ralph should march on the 18th in the evening, in two divisions from Winkel and Aardeswoude, so as to arrive at Hoorn the following day, at the moment when the general attack would commence. He had orders to proceed afterwards straight to Purmerend. His further conduct was to be regulated by the event of the operations on the centre and on the right.

It had been ordered, that the attack should begin on all sides at break of day, but nearly two hours before that time the Russian Major General Southoff with his chasseurs and a battalion of grenadiers which formed the advanced guard, passed the canal in front of Petten, and advanced towards Camperduyn. Whether he thought it indispensably necessary to support General Southoff, or that he partook of his impatience, and that of his troops, General Herman, an hour after, caused the canal to be passed by the first line of his corps, and marched to the attack of the enemies entrenchments upon the Slaperdike. Although it was not yet light, the first Russian battalion advanced with the greatest boldness in column of divisions, and carried a traverse which the enemy had constructed on the dike. The latter still occupied a small work on the extremity of the dike which covered in part the entrance of the village of Groet, where they had a piece of cannon. The grenadiers, followed by the remainder of the first line, pushed on, without stopping, to the end of the dike, and with the same impetuosity carried the work and the piece of cannon. The French, surprised by the vivacity of this attack, opposed in front a slight

resistance, and fell back towards their right. The Russians suffered little from their enemy's fire, but much from their own; the obscurity being such that nothing could be distinguished. The chasseurs of the advanced guard, several of whom found great difficulty, in extricating themselves from the marshy ground which lies between the sea dike and the Slaperdike, also directed their fire towards the ground which was already occupied by their first line. The soldiers clamorously called for the support of their artillery, although it was impossible to direct its fire upon any distinct object, and it naturally did more harm than good. Part of the Russians, upon quitting the Slaperdike, proceeded in a very close column, and with very little order upon the road under the Sand-hills which leads through the village of Groet, while the rest filed to the right among the sand-hills, of which they never covered the whole extent, because the advanced guard, which was to march along the strand, in the dark confounded itself with the first line, with which it continued mixed the whole day. The first of these corps took no precautions to secure its left flank, nor the second its right flank. That which marched along the road, advanced rapidly, but in great confusion, and without forming or preserving any order: it soon reached Groet, carried that village easily, and continued its progress. The French troops which were in the village, not having time to fall back quick enough to join those who were attacked in front, and therefore probably apprehensive of being cut off, had thrown themselves upon the left flank, where without being further noticed by the Russians, they dispersed as *tirailleurs* in the enclosures, the hedges, and the ditches. The Russians suffered severely, both from their fire and from that of their own friends in the Sand-hills, who, although in fact rather behind them, nevertheless directed their fire in part of the left.

Unfortunately, immediately after the attack of the village of Groet, where his horse had been wounded, General Herman, with the greatest part of his staff had gone into the Sand-hills; and no officer, who was particularly entrusted with the direction of its movements, remained with the column which followed the road. On this were crowds of troops, which fatigued with marching in the Sand-hills, left them whenever a natural interval, or a path enabled them to seek for more easy ground. As soon as the village of Groet was taken, Lieutenant-General Herman had ordered the second line to advance, under the orders of Major-General Arbeneff; but this line, in opposition to his orders, either from its own impatience, or from the nature of the ground, instead of forming a reserve to support the first, soon mixed with it, and completed the confusion. The British brigade of Major-General Manners, with the 7th regiment of dragoons, and the horse artillery, which according to the orders of General Herman, were to follow this second line, were much retarded by the march of the Imperial troops, which occupied almost the whole extent of the road. When at last that brigade was enabled

to quit the Slaperdike, it directed itself to the left, and was soon engaged with that part of the enemy's corps, which had remained upon the flank of the Russian column.—Major-General Manners repulsed them; and as they retreated to Schoreldam, he was induced to take the same direction.

During this time, the Russians pushing on without hesitation, arrived at the village of Schorel, attacked it with the same bravery which they had shewn at that of Groet, carried it with the same facility, and marched towards Bergen; their ardour not being at all abated, nor their progress checked by the severe loss which they experienced. About a mile from Bergen begins an avenue of trees, which continues nearly in the same direction, until it reaches the Sand-hills above the village, where it turns short to the left, and leads in a straight line to it. A number of houses are scattered on each side of this avenue; and at about 300 paces from Bergen the ground opens considerably to the left. The French had placed, at about 800 paces from the avenue, a battery of several pieces of cannon, which was protected by a line of cavalry, mixed with some infantry. The enclosures here were more frequent and woody, than at the beginning of the avenue, and were lined on the right and left with *tirailleurs;* so that when the Russians reached this point, they found themselves exposed at once to the fire on their flanks, to that from Bergen in front, and to that of the battery which was likewise directed upon the head of the column; stopped for a moment by the destructive effect of this fire, and by the appearance of the French upon their flank, the Russians again called for their artillery, which there was great difficulty in bringing up, owing to the sandy nature of the ground, the rapidity of the march which had fatigued the horses, and the confused mass which had obstructed the road. The fire of the cannon checked the French, who were advancing on their left; and the Russians again pushed forward. At this point of the action, General Essen reached the head of the column, and immediately ordered the troops to halt and form —two pieces of cannon were placed at the above-mentioned opening, and another upon the road leading to Bergen. A battalion was sent into the fields to the left of the road; but the same precaution was not taken to cover the right; and the remainder of the troops proceeded in their march to Bergen. The column continued to be increased by a number of men, who quitted the Sand-hills, and it was at last joined by Lieutenant-General Herman, who also having hitherto been engaged there, was ignorant of what had been passing on the left. This brave officer was received with marks of joy by the soldiers who adored him; but nevertheless it was in vain that he used every effort to restore order among them: they seemed to be deaf to his voice, and no longer to acknowledge his authority, and the fire of the enemy, having in the mean time obliged the battalion placed on the left, to fall back into the avenue, the confusion was renewed. In the interval, the head of the column arrived

about eight in the morning at Bergen, penetrated into, and took possession of it. The troops being then protected by the houses on the right, and continuing exposed to the fire of the French only in front and on the left, the Russian General succeeded in forming a battalion of fusileers in front of the church almost opposite to the canal, and another of grenadiers, in a street a little on the right of the church. The rest of the troops were distributed between the houses and in the openings of the different avenues leading to the centre of the village. Such were the hasty dispositions of General Herman, to endeavour to keep the long but narrow extent of ground, of which the possession had been so rapidly gained, until it should be possible for the brigade of General Manners, and for the column of General Dundas to come up to his assistance.

The march, or rather the rapid and irregular progress of the Russians had, as may be imagined, surprised and disconcerted the French. Driven from post to post with an impetuosity which did not give them time for recollection, they had scattered themselves, as has been observed, on both sides of the road, less perhaps from design than from instinct, and less because it was the best, than because it was the thing most easy to be done. Thus they had suffered that impetuous torrent to pass before them. Generals Brune and Vandamme, seeing the left of their position pierced in all its depth, and the rear of their centre outflanked, and having reason to fear that in the end, their line might be entirely turned and cut off if they allowed the English time to support the Russians, had brought up their reserve from Alkmaar with all possible haste, and had likewise drawn from the Koedike, a detachment of the division of General Dumonceau. A part of these troops was directed towards the Sand-hills, and the rest joined those near Bergen. As soon as these reinforcements were arrived at their destination, the Republicans marched to the attack of the two Russian columns. That which was in the Sand-hills, and which till then had not ceased to advance with the same quickness, and the same confusion as that upon the left, found itself turned by a corps of the enemy which marched along the shore. Being in very little order, and having expended its ammunition, it fell back, and the French advanced between it and the column of the left, which had crouded into Bergen. The latter column, which for twenty minutes had been exposed to the most violent fire of cannon and musquetry, now saw itself threatened in the rear, while on the left the enemy was penetrating by the opening into the avenue. To secure that important point, General Herman immediately sent there the battalion of fusileers, which he had formed in front of the church; but the Republicans soon surrounded the village, under cover of a very severe fire from their artillery, which could not be returned, for out of three pieces of cannon which the Russians brought into the field, two were without ammunition; the third, which was placed at the entry of the village towards the Koedike, did

not stop the enemy, who got possession of it, and penetrated from that side into the village: General Herman, who had just gone from the church-yard to the troops upon the right, was cut off and taken prisoner with a part of his corps, after making a most vigorous resistance near the castle of Bergen, from which he endeavoured in vain to effect his retreat across the Sand-hills. Major-General Essen, whom he had left near the church, taking advantage of this circumstance which occupied the enemy, collected as many of his men as he could, and forced his way through the avenue to the Sand-hills, from which the French troops retired at his approach, and upon the ridge of which he succeeded in some measure in forming his men. After having halted there for a short time, he continued his retreat towards Schorel.

Such was the event of the attack on the right, and the unfortunate consequence of the inconsiderate and improvident bravery of the Russians.

The column under General Dundas had put itself in motion at break of day, and the three Russian battalions under the orders of Major General Sedmoratsky had advanced from Crabbendam against Warmenhuysen, while the first regiment of guards attacked it on the right, moving from Tuygtenhoorn. This village was carried on both sides almost at the same time, and 500 men, with three pieces of cannon, were taken in it. A battalion was then sent on the left of the column of General Herman, and the 3d regiment of guards, with a battalion of the 5th regiment were detached to the left, to keep up the communication with the corps of Sir James Pulteney, which they afterwards reinforced. The rest of Lieutenant General Dundas's column marched immediately from Warmenhuysen to Schoreldam, having the canal of Alkmaar upon their right. The Duke of York was in person with this column, and endeavoured as much as possible to hasten its march. It was, however, necessarily very slow, the enemy having destroyed all the roads, and the troops being obliged to pass as well as they could across the fields, where every furrow was a wide ditch, over which it was necessary to form communications, or even to throw bridges. Notwithstanding the greatest exertions, and although Warmenhuysen, had been carried between six and seven in the morning, they could not arrive before Schoreldam, until nine o'clock. This entrenched post was attacked at the same time on the side of Warmenhuysen by the corps of General Dundas, and towards Schorel by the brigade of General Manners, which, as has been already stated had marched to the left of the Russian column to keep in check the French troops which had spread upon its flank. Schoreldam was carried without loss of time, and a considerable number of prisoners was taken in it. It was necessary to pass the canal of Alkmaar, before any support could be given to the attack of the Russians. The enemy had destroyed the bridge, but before ten o'clock means were found to repair it, and part of the troops immediately crossed the canal, and marched to Schorel. At this moment his Royal Highness received

intelligence of the occurrences at Bergen, and soon after, he had the mortification to see that the Russians continued their retreat towards the Zype, and had passed Schorel, which the pursuing enemy had already entered.

His Royal Highness then adopted the only measure which could repair the disorder of the Russians, and renew the engagement. He immediately attacked the village of Schorel, with General Manners brigade, supported by the three battalions of Sedmoratsky, by the 1st brigade of guards, and the 35th regiment, commanded by Prince William. This attack had complete success, Schorel was carried, and the enemy were stopped in their pursuit. This advantage might have changed anew the situation of affairs, and might have decided the day in favour of the Allies, if the Russians could have been prevailed upon to discontinue their retreat, and to form upon the right of the English, upon the Sand-hills. But General Essen could not rescue them from the disorder and discouragement into which they had fallen, and was obliged to suffer them to continue their retreat through Groet to their former position in the Zype, in which they arrived about mid-day.

The English troops which covered this retreat, were then forced to extend themselves upon the right, and to embrace an extent of country out of proportion to their force. They however successfully opposed the reiterated attacks of the enemy between Schoreldam, Schorel, and the Sand-hills: they even made three successive attempts to get possession of Bergen; but their force was too small, and that of the enemy too great to afford them a possibility of success. Worn out by the difficulties of the march, and the length of the action, and wanting ammunition, they began their retreat about half-past three towards Petten and the Zypersluys. Schoreldam, though exposed to a most violent fire of artillery and musketry, and though nearly destroyed by the enemy, was long defended by the Coldstream regiment of guards, which had in reserve the 1st battalion of the 5th regiment. Lieutenant-General Dundas, who was there himself, did not evacuate the village, until the firing had ceased upon his right. He then retired by Warmenhuysen and Crabbendam, and proceeded to occupy his first position. Three gun boats, carrying each a twelve-pound carronade, which had been sent into the canal of Alkmaar to co-operate with the troops moving upon its right and left, contributed very usefully to the defence of Schoreldam: they were manned by a detachment of sailors under the command of Sir Home Popham, and of Captain Goddard of the navy.

While the event of the two principal attacks made between the Koedike and the sea thus deceived the expectations which had been formed, that which the third column had been ordered to make on the Langedike had been attended with greater success than had been hoped for. The two brigades under Sir James Pulteney assembled at the different points from which they were to march, at the break of day; that of Major-

General Coote at Nieudorp Verlaa, and that of Major-General Don at Drixhoorn. Sir James Pulteney who was with the latter, detached towards the left the 2d battalion of the 17th regiment; and marched with the rest of the brigade along the dike which leads to Gudescarspel. They easily drove back the advanced posts of the enemy; but were stopped by their entrenchments raised in front of Oudescarspel, on the head of the Langedike. This last village, and those of Noordeharwoude, Zuydshaarwoude, and Broeck, form upon this dike a defile so narrow, that in no place can it admit of more than eight men abreast: It is bordered upon the right in its whole length by a very deep canal. Lieutenant-General Daendels occupied with his division this almost unattackable position, and he had neglected no means of adding to its natural force. He had cut every road, and destroyed every bridge which led to the canal flanking the dike, and its approaches were defended by batteries. He had likewise constructed a double line of half redoubts to cover the head of Oudescarspel. His left was equally protected by entrenchments, and above all by the canals with which the meadows are intersected, and which rendered them absolutely impracticable. At a small distance from the front of the position of the Dutch, there was a canal, the bridge over which was broken, but still passable for one person at a time; and on this side of the canal, there was a dike almost parallel to the front of the enemy. This dyke offered to Sir James Pulteney an advantageous post; and he caused it to be occupied by the 1st battalion of the 40th regiment, by part of the 1st battalion of the 17th, and by some companies of light infantry which he placed under the orders of Colonel Spencer of the 40th regiment. By this disposition Sir James Pulteney effected the principal object with which he was charged, which was to gain the defile of the Langedike, and there to keep the enemy in check.

The advanced guard of General Daendels endeavoured several times in vain to dislodge Colonel Spencer, and succeeded no better in its attempts to drive back the 2d battalion of the 17th regiment placed on the left: a very brisk cannonade was kept up the whole time between the entrenched batteries of the enemy, and the English artillery posted behind the broken bridge, in which the latter suffered much, the Dutch having a commanding and superior fire.

Sir James Pulteney and General Don could not think of advancing a step farther, until General Coote should, as he had been ordered, have arrived upon the right flank and rear of the Dutch. He had driven back the enemies *tirailleurs*, but had not afterwards been able to pass the canal, of which mention has been made, and had been obliged to confine his operations to directing a cannonade, and a fire of small arms against the works on the opposite side of the canal. Unwilling to lose more time, Sir James Pulteney resolved to carry by assault the entrenchments in his front. He ordered Colonel Spencer to seize the first favourable opportunity of attacking; and having been at that time rein-

forced by the 3d regiment of guards, and the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, he sent General Don with the first of these corps, and four companies of the 40th, to attack, if possible, the left flank of the enemy. These troops got over several canals, but after all could not advance far enough; and Colonel Spencer appearing to be threatened with a serious attack, General Don was recalled. The enemy in fact came out of their entrenchments, and made a vigorous effort to break through the right of Colonel Spencer, who, however being supported by some companies of reserve, repulsed their attack. The enemy having renewed it, the English troops crossing the dike, behind which they had taken post, charged and pressed on so vigorously, that both parties entered the entrenchments at the same moment. Sir James Pulteney having immediately supported Colonel Spencer, the Republicans could not rally, and being closely pursued, they were successively driven from all the villages which line the Langedike; 900 of them were taken prisoners, and about 700 killed or wounded, 14 pieces of cannon, and a quantity of ammunition were found in their entrenchments. After the taking of Oudescarspel, Sir James Pulteney immediately proceeded to form a junction with Major-General Coote; which however the latter could not effect in any other way than by sending his men in small boats across the canal which separated the two brigades. After accomplishing this the Lieutenant-General was preparing to march to St. Pancras, and to co-operate on his side in the attack of the Koedike, when he received orders to retreat. In this he succeeded in good order, having first thrown into the canal the cannon which he had taken in the entrenchments, and which the badness of the roads did not permit him to carry off.

Sir Ralph Abercromby had marched on the 18th in the evening, and had arrived at Hoorn about two o'clock in the morning. This town was occupied only by 170 men, commanded by a Major, who opened the gates on the first summons, and surrendered himself and his men prisoners of war. Part of the English reserve took possession of the town, and the rest of the division remained under arms on the road leading from it to Waggenau. Sir Ralph Abercromby's orders were as has been before stated to push on as quick as possible to Purmerend; but he found the road so bad, and his troops already so fatigued, that he was obliged to abandon that object. He was preparing to march towards Schermerhorn on the right of the enemy, (which would have required much time, as there were many canals to pass, and the roads and bridges were broken up,) when he received intelligence of the ill success of the Russians, and orders to fall back to the Zype: he accordingly began his retreat about eight at night, and accomplished it without being at all molested by the enemy.

However much the failure of this day's attack is attributable to the blind precipitation of the Russians, it is impossible to withhold praise for the enthusiastic intrepidity which they displayed in action. General Herman's cap-

ture prevented them from rallying, or the error which they committed in the outset might probably have been retrieved. The Russians complained of want of support: but in so doing, they forgot that they had in the beginning by neglect of orders disarranged the whole plan of attack, and by placing themselves too far in advance, prevented the English from seconding them when they were pressed. The French report of the action was in the customary style of gasconade. "Our loss," wrote Brune, to the minister of war "is 50 killed, and 300 wounded. This statement does not appear credible, but it is correct." How far it was correct may be decided by the fact that 3000 prisoners remained in the hands of the allies. The same report accused the Anglo-Russians of the commission of the greatest exesses, of firing several villages and massacreing peasants, women, and children. The English it was added in particular, distinguished themselves by their cruelty. Eye-witnesses of the conduct of the British troops on their own line of march were not wanting to refute this calumny. Unhappily three villages were burned in the action. One, Crabbendam, intentionally by the English, because it was too near their position and covered the approach of the enemy. Its inhabitants, however, were indemnified. The second, Schoreldam, was accidentally set on fire by howitzers in the chance of battle, and Scherer, the third was fired by the French themselves in an attempt to dislodge the English. It was not possible to estimate the precise loss of the Republicans; that of the Russians was 1745 in killed and taken, among which were 44 officers, and the brave General Gerebzooff. In wounded was General Southoff who had distingushed himself greatly; 49 officers and 1176 men. Of the British, fell five officers. Colonel Morris of the Guards, was the chief. This brave soldier first had his cane shot from his hand, and afterwards having received a musquet ball which penetrated from the ribs to the opposite hip, he earnestly requested his own men to terminate his agonies. 109 rank and file were killed, 43 officers and 345 rank and file were wounded, and two officers with 490 rank and file were missing.

CHAPTER VII.

Positions of the two Armies after the Battle of Bergen. Objects of the Campaign. Battle of the 2d of October. Retreat of the French. Battle of the 6th of October. Retreat of the British. Motives which induced the Duke of York to abandon the Expedition. A Convention opened. Its Negotiation. The British and Russians finally evacuate Holland. State of Public Opinion in England.

Little change in the locality of the Gallo-Batavian position took place in consequence of the battle of Bergen; but considerable strength was added to it by the inundations with which General Brune found it advisable to protect his right. The Purmer, the Bemster, and the Scheimer were laid under water, and formed an

impenetrable barrier on the whole line between Alkmaar and the Zuyder Zee. New works were thrown up about Oudenscarpel and Schoreldam. Amsterdam was guarded by a flotilla of gun-boats, and, his defences being completed, the French commander resolved to await his expected reinforcements.

The Duke of York, on the other hand, became every hour more anxious to renew active operations. Victory was necessary for the very existence of his army, though victory now scarcely seemed to promise those ulterior advantages which it held out but a short time before. The season was advancing; fresh troops were pouring into Holland, and no appearance of any friendly spirit had manifested itself on the part of the natives. The loss which he had suffered on the 19th, was more than filled up by the arrival of the Russian rear-guard, and a small English reinforcement. The British, from their success, were panting for action, and the Russians were no less eager to wash out the stain of their defeat.

Meanwhile the naval armament had not been useless or unemployed, and Admiral Mitchell, by a series of diversions had materially benefited the operations of the land forces. A flotilla of small vessels, which he had equipped after the surrender of the Dutch navy, swept the shores of the Zuyder Zee, and reduced the islands of Vlieland and Schelling, the towns of Lemmar and Staveren in Friesland, and of Medenblick and Enckhuisan in North Holland. The western coast and Zealand were continually threatened: yet notwithstanding these active and powerful demonstrations on the part of the English, the Dutch, unless in those spots which were immediately occupied, continued in a state of listless submission to their Republican masters.

The weather, notwithstanding the strong wish for battle, prevented any efficient movement on land, till the 2d of October. The Russians had anxiously desired it on the day preceding, which was the anniversary of their Emperor's birth, and had it then taken place, they looked upon victory as certain.

The left wing of the enemy presented the only point which was assailable with reasonable prospect of success, and Bergen was therefore again selected as the great object of attack.

The army was divided into four columns.—That on the right consisting of 7,910 infantry and 1,010 cavalry, and commanded by Sir Ralph Abercromby, was to advance along the shore as far as Egmont-op-Zee, and from thence to Egmond-op-te Hoef, so as to turn the left flank of the enemy, and to fall on their rear in case of their obstinately maintaining themselves at Bergen.

Eight thousand Russians with their artillery and three hundred Cossacks, formed the second column, under the orders of Major General Essen. Of these troops 5,500 marching from the Slaperdike, were to advance along the road which skirts the downs of Camperduyn, and thence by Groet and Schorel against Bergen. The remainder, under Major General Sedmoratsky, moving from Zypersluys, were directed to cover the

left of the first, to support them in the attack of Bergen, and to co-operate at the same time on the other side in that of Schoreldam, which was to be made by the third column.

This, which was commanded by Lieutenant General Dundas, and which consisted of 6,130 men, had many objects to accomplish. Major General Coote's brigade, on quitting Petten, was to follow the advanced guard of Sir Ralph Abercromby, then to turn to the left at the village of Camp; and marching under the downs was to take the Slaperdike in *reverse*, to clear the road to Groet in order to favour the march of General Essen, and to cover that General's right by detaching some troops into the Sand-hills. A second brigade, that of Major General the Earl of Chatham, was to follow General Sedmoratsky's corps from Zypersluys, then to turn to the right to gain the road towards General Essen's rear, to join General Coote's brigade, and to advance conjointly with it to assist in the attack of Bergen. These two brigades were with this view to extend as much as possible to the right, and to endeavour to connect themselves with Sir Ralph Abercromby's column. The remainder of General Dundas's had orders to advance from Tuygtenhorn and from Crabbendam on the left of the canal of Alkmaar, and to concert with General Sedmoratsky the attack of Schoreldam, which was to be facilitated by seven gun boats acting upon this canal. This brigade was also to keep up a communication on its left with the fourth column.

The latter, commanded by Sir James Pulteney and consisting of 6,980 infantry and 150 cavalry, was charged to cover the whole of the left of the army as far as the Zuyder Zee and to threaten the enemy's right, thus preventing General Daendels from coming to the assistance of the French. It was left to Sir James Pulteney's discretion to take advantage of every favourable opportunity which might present itself.

About 30,000 men were in arms upon the occasion, on the side of the British; the Republicans did not oppose to these above 25,000, of whom two-thirds were French.

The state of the tide being such as suited the movement of the right column, it began its march at half past six and proceeded along the shore. Its advanced guard, formed by the reserve under Colonel Macdonald, without much difficulty drove the enemy from Camp and the Sand-hills above that village. Inclining a little to the left, it continued its march along the ridge of the downs which run from this point to Groet, and then extended itself upon its right with the intention of joining the left of Sir Ralph Abercromby, which however Colonel Macdonald did not succeed in effecting; the great extent of the Sand-hills having drawn his corps into engagements and operations which had not been foreseen. General Coote's brigade which followed the advanced guard, advancing to the extremity of the Slaperdike and as far as Groet, thus opened the rout for the column of General Essen. This filed from the Slaperdike and marched to Groet, but would not push further until the Sand-hills which were upon its right and in

its front, should be occupied by the brigade of General Coote, conjointly with the left of Colonel Macdonald. Meanwhile Major General Sedmoratsky had marched from Zypersluys, whence being followed by Major General the Earl of Chatham's brigade, by 158 dragoons, and by the artillery of reserve, he advanced across the canal of Alkmaar and the road which General Essen had taken, joining himself by his right to that General, and having his left protected by the fire of the gun boats and by the march of Major General Burrard.—The latter had advanced from the other side of the canal towards Schoreldam, whence he communicated by detachments with Sir James Pulteney, who having early began his movement, succeeded by the fire of his artillery and his *tirailleurs* in engaging the attention of the enemy's troops posted in the works of Oudescarspel and the Langedike.

At the approach of the different heads of columns which the centre of the Allies presented, the Republicans had withdrawn their advanced posts, and concentrated their forces from Schorel to Schoreldam, thus occupying the whole space between the Sand-hills and the canal of Alkmaar. Several batteries established on different points of their line opened a brisk fire to defend the approaches.

The centre of the Allies continued nevertheless to advance, General Coote very rapidly upon the Sand-hills, above and to the right of Schorel; General Essen very slowly upon the route leading to that village. General Sedmoratsky at the same time was penetrating across the fields between General Essen and the canal; but the number of ditches to be passed, other local difficulties, and that of bringing up the artillery, prevented him, notwithstanding all his exertions, from making any considerable progress: at length however after some delays, the enemy was driven, about eleven o'clock from his position between Schorel and Schoreldam, as well as from these two villages. The last was occupied by Major General Burrard, who, with the assistance of the gun boats, which had much contributed to its reduction, continued to engage the enemy posted in force upon the Koedike. The Russians formed between the two villages, whence they contented themselves with keeping up during the remainder of the day, a cannonade against Bergen and the Koedike.

The Republicans had retired towards Bergen, part by the Koedike, part across the country, and part by the high road. Most of their forces concentrated themselves in that strong position, lining the thick inclosures which surround it; but they nevertheless continued to occupy a part of the Sand-hills which command Bergen at a considerable distance. The Duke of York perceiving that while they continued in possession of these he could not reckon upon any solid success resolved to make a great effort to dislodge them.

Whilst then General Coote continued fighting to gain ground on the Sand-hills, upon which he covered a very large space, having on his right and front the 85th regiment which was warmly en-

gaged with the enemy and rather pressed, his Royal Highness drew from the plain the brigade of Lord Chatham, and ordered it to march, one battalion (the 31st) along the foot of the Sand-hills, to the left of General Coote, and the three others towards the opposite flank of that General. This movement was extremely well executed, and Lord Chatham having taken post on the right of the 85th regiment, so as to out-flank it by two battalions, that regiment, and three battalions of the 4th, found themselves nearly in a line. They immediately advanced to the charge, drove back the enemy for more than a mile, dislodged them from a little wood, and forced them to fall back to the ridge of the hills which command Bergen on the right. Meanwhile Colonel Macdonald with the advanced guard, (the troops opposed to whom had equally retired upon Bergen,) had pushed not less rapidly across the Sand-hills, where he soon joined the right of Lord Chatham. The 85th regiment took an advanced and advantageous position, by which it commanded the avenue and road leading to Bergen.

The Allies were now arrived at those points from whence they could make with advantage a decisive attack upon Bergen; and perhaps if General Essen had consented to advance in front against that place across the plain, the French column which was retiring and which was almost entirely turned, might have been cut off. But the Russian General having persisted in remaining stationary, and having even with difficulty been prevented from retreating to Schoreldam, the two brigades of the column of Lieutenant General Dundas, too weak to think of attacking Bergen alone, and besides not having been able to bring up their artillery through the Sand-hills, were obliged to content themselves with maintaining the ground which they had gained.

The Republicans who had retired in some disorder upon the heights of Bergen, finding that they were not attacked there as they expected, lost no time in acting offensively themselves. Under cover of a warm fire of artillery and musquetry, they advanced in two columns, that of the right against the 85th regiment, which repulsed it, and maintained its position; that of the left against the 27th regiment, which received it with no less bravery, and by a vigorous charge drove it back. Three battalions of Major General Coote's brigade had been sent for the security of this point, to the right of Lord Chatham's. Firmly established on the part of the Sand-hills already conquered, and which the enemy no longer attempted to regain, his Royal Highness now wished to make himself master of those which the enemy still occupied on the right: Lieutenant General Dundas sent in consequence the 29th regiment to support the left of the reserve, which was still engaged with the French. Upon the arrival of this reinforcement, Colonel Macdonald made a general attack upon the position of the enemy, which, although exceedingly steep and well defended, was carried with such vivacity, that the English in the end drove the French from the whole extent

of the Sand-hills. This operation was the last which took place in this quarter: the Sand-hills for three miles round Bergen remained occupied by 11 English battalions: two others were detached with Colonel Macdonald to the support of the left of Sir Ralph Abercromby.

The latter had advanced along the shore without at first meeting with much resistance, or any other inconvenience than that of being obliged continually to detach into the Sand-hills, to clear his left which remained exposed from the impossibility of Colonel Macdonald joining it. But when he arrived within a mile of Egmont, Sir Ralph Abercromby experienced a very serious opposition from a large body of French infantry which occupied the Sand-hills and which was supported by a considerable corps of cavalry and artillery formed across the beach. A long and most obstinate engagement ensued in which the English troops were forced to exert their utmost courage and firmness to resist the fire of musquetry and artillery which the advantage of ground on the part of the French rendered very destructive, nor was it without much difficulty and considerable loss that Sir Ralph Abercromby succeeded in repulsing the reiterated attacks of the enemy. Towards the close of the action, Sir Ralph wishing entirely to clear the Sand-hills in front of Egmont of the French infantry which still occupied them, caused them to be attacked by Major General Lord Cavan's brigade, which (owing to an unfortunate accident with which his Lordship had met,) was then under the orders of Major General Hutchinson. — This attack had complete success, and the French were forced to fall back to Egmont-op-Zee.—Night having come on Sir Ralph Abercromby could not advance further on account of the difficulty of the country, and the French cavalry favoured by the darkness which concealed their approach, made a charge upon the light artillery of the English, and took it, or rather only advanced beyond it. This misfortune was quickly repaired: Lord Paget at the head of the English cavalry, instantly charged that of the French, routed it and pursued it for near a mile, regaining possession of the cannon. This check discouraged the French, who did not return again to the charge; and Sir Ralph Abercromby having been joined soon after by the two battalions which Colonel Macdonald brought with him, took post at a little distance from Egmont-op-Zee, where his troops passed the night under arms, in the Sand-hills and upon the beach.

On the opposite wing Sir James Pulteney had continued during the whole day to amuse by his demonstrations and a well supported fire, the corps of General Daendels; and by preventing him from sending any considerable assistance to the French, had executed the object with which he was particularly charged. The young Prince of Orange was engaged in this feint, which continued till sunset.

The British slept under arms on the field of battle, after winning a great extent of country from

the enemy. The want of co-operation on the part of the Russians prevented them from following up their success; but General Brune perceived the danger of his position, and well knew that by retiring he should occupy one much stronger, and leave only a nominal advantage to the allies. In the night, accordingly, he withdrew: placing his extreme right on Purmerend, and his left on Beverwick and Vye-op-Zee. Oudernscarpel, St. Pancras, Alkmaar, the Koedyke, and Egmont, became the Anglo-Russian line. Seven pieces of cannon, and a great quantity of stores and ammunition, besides these posts, were the fruits of their victory, which was by no means bloodless; 237 were killed, 1102 wounded, and 193 missing from the British ranks; from the Russians, 160 killed or taken, and 423 wounded. Generals Moore and Emmé were among the wounded, and the brave veteran Abercromby had two horses shot under him. The French, who had defended themselves most obstinately lost not less than 3000 men.

This barren victory could but little amend the Duke of York's situation. The country between the Zuyder Zee and Egmont, was in his possession it is true, after three hard-fought engagements; but his enemies, at every step which they retired, gained an increase of strength; and an approach to the ultimate object of the expedition was only to be obtained by driving them from a position more difficult than that which had been forced heretofore. Victory was now just as indispensable to the Allies, as if none had yet been won by them; and a fresh attack was necessary, in order to obtain any substantial benefit from that which had just succeeded.

The 4th and 5th were employed in establishing positions preparatory to new operations. Advanced posts were pushed forward as far as Hegloo and Limmen. Sir James Pulteney extended himself on the left from Alkmaar to Shermerhorn; and Prince William of Gloucester entered Hoorn. Alkmaar was the great point of concentration. In order to clear the way for future operations, and to facilitate a general attack, the advanced posts of the right and centre were pushed forward on the morning of the 6th.

This operation at first met with little opposition or difficulty. On the left of the centre where it first began, the brigade of Major General Burrard, supported afterwards by that of Major General Coote, obtained possession of Ackersloot and of Limmen. The first of these places was carried by Colonel Clephane, who at the head of three companies of the 3d regiment of guards and one of the Coldstream, drove from it by a vigorous charge two battalions of the enemy, killing many of them and making 200 prisoners. Meanwhile the Russians took possession of Baccum and of the Sand-hills above it; those which extend from thence to the sea, opposite to Wick, were occupied by the English.

Thus far all had succeeded, and the loss had been insignificant; but the Russians after having taken possession of Baccum, wishing to gain a height beyond that village which would

have rendered the possession of it more secure, pushed on as far as Castricum, which it was not intended they should attack. The enemy believing that without doubt this event was to be followed by a serious attack on their main position, reinforced considerably the advanced guard, and retook Baccum from the Russians. The latter receiving new troops in their turn, dislodged the French a second time, who however becoming in the end more and more numerous, retook the post. The action then became so warm and the Russians supported it with so much obstinacy, that it was in vain that several attempts were made to withdraw them from the fire and to put an end to this affair, which had no longer any object; the one in view having been already fully attained. The engagement raged four hours with the greatest fury, each party gaining and losing ground alternately; at last General Essen being repulsed as far as between Baccum and Egmont; Binnen, seeing himself turned on the right flank, and the force of the enemy continually increasing, while almost the whole of his own troops were already in action, sent to demand assistance from Sir Ralph Abercromby.

The latter was likewise engaged with the enemy. His advanced guard having moved along the shore so as to keep in a line with the Russians, was vigorously opposed by the enemy, and had to maintain a very warm action. Sir Ralph nevertheless leaving two brigades for its support, although the day was very far advanced, marched with four battalions to the assistance of General Essen. He found the Russian infantry worn out with the length of the action and in much disorder; but his arrival rallied and reanimated them, and he having immediately made a vigorous attack with his troops, which permitted the Russians to advance anew, the enemy were compelled to retire to Baccum, and to confine their efforts to the preservation of that post. Night coming on put an end to the action in that part.

It had been general all along the line.—The right of the Republicans had marched against Generals Burrard and Coote, and had shewn an intention of dislodging them from Limmen. This post was, however, too good to be carried easily, and the enemy could only approach it in skirmishing on the flanks and even in the rear of it, when the Russians were driven from Baccum; but having been kept in check by the English until the moment when the arrival of General Abercromby enabled the Russians to advance again, the Republicans were then repulsed in their turn and driven far from Limmen—General Coote, with a view to enable the Russians to retake Baccum, (which however they could not effect) sent two battalions with some pieces of cannon against Castricum, from which they drove the enemy, making 100 prisoners. This forward movement made at the same time by the left of the English, by the Russians and by the two brigades sent to their assistance, put an end to the attack of the French on the left and centre of the Allies.

After Sir Ralph Abercromby had quitted the right, the engagement had been extremely warm

there, and (as must always be the case in open Sand-hills) very bloody. A strong column of French had taken advantage of the retrograde movement of the Russians to march upon their right in order to cut off their retreat to Egmont-Binnen, but had nevertheless taken no measures to oppose the march and attack of Sir Ralph Abercromby, and had contented itself with remaining upon his flank. This column having afterwards advanced with the intention of breaking entirely through the line of the Allies and of surrounding their centre, fell in with the brigade of Major General Hutchinson, who was advancing to fill up the void which had taken place in the line, and to put himself in a situation to support the troops which were engaged upon the right and left. He immediately attacked the enemy's column, and after having given it a close and very destructive fire, he charged it with the bayonet and dispersed it among the Sand-hills.

This circumstance was very fortunate for the advanced guard, which, under the orders of Colonel Macdonald, had sustained on the right, for the whole day, a very brisk engagement, during which some detachments pushed even as far as within a short distance of Wick-op-Zee. Two charges of cavalry were made by the English in the course of this action; in one of which a squadron of the 11th regiment under Major Cummings, distinguished itself much. The fire continued without any decided advantage on either side till near night-fall. This naturally brought on a great confusion in the Sand-hills, where friends and foes having no fixed or easy point to rally at, were frequently mixed and lost their direction. At last the French retired on all sides, leaving the English and Russians masters of the field of battle.

This accidental engagement, for such it was to both parties, occasioned a severe loss of men. 91 killed, and 725 wounded, fell on the part of the British. Among the last was Major-general Hutchinson. The Russians amounted to 385 killed and prisoners, and 735 wounded; six pieces of their artillery also were captured; and more than 600 English were missing; there is no reason to believe that the loss of the Republicans was inferior, but it was more easily to be repaired; while on the side of the Allies, the diminution of men effectually crippled the projected operations.

Five actions had been fought since their disembarkation. The field of battle, in four of them, had been gained by the Anglo-Russians; but this was the whole of their success; Beverwick and Haerlem were to be forced before they could even obtain sight of Amsterdam. Provisions began to fail; their communications were interrupted, the roads were impracticable; battle, fatigue, and sickness had thinned their ranks, and the approaching winter brought with it a necessity for cantonments more accommodated to the season.

These considerations, from which it appeared, that the object of the expedition was no longer attainable, were forcibly laid before the Duke of York, in a council of

war; and the result of them was a determination to abandon the present advanced position, and again to fall back upon the Zype. This latter post was nearer the magazines, less exposed to attack, and affording facilities for conducting the re-embarkation which was already contemplated.

The retreat commenced gradually on the 7th. A few wounded, not fifty, were left behind at Egmont. On the following day, the advanced guard of the enemy showed itself in the neighbourhood of Petten and Crabbendam, but was instantly repulsed. The left of the British was more formidably pressed by Generals Daendels and Dumonceau on the 10th. The numbers of the French were far superior, but Prince William of Gloucester defended himself with judgment and bravery, and after keeping his assailants in check, drew off his division with inconsiderable loss.

The whole of his force being concentrated in the line which it had occupied previous to the battle of the 2d, the Duke of York hastened to propose an armistice, which might prevent the hazardous operation of embarking in the very face of his enemy. To secure favorable terms, he had an army still formidable in numbers, and victorious in the field; and, above all, he had at his command a terrible power to which desperate circumstances alone could compel him to resort, by opening the sluices, and inundating the whole country in his front.

These recollections had full weight with the French and Dutch generals. The badness of the roads, and the weather, even if active measures had been projected, effectually withstood their completion: and this interval of repose enabled the Duke of York to secure the safety of an auxiliary body, which in case of farther disaster, would have been exposed to the utmost severity of vengeance from the Republicans. The Dutch corps of several thousand men, which was forming at the Helder, was embarked for England; and Sir Home Popham, to whom its transport was entrusted, at the same time conveyed with him the sick and wounded, and such women and children as had been permitted to follow the army. The British were relieved from great embarrassment by their dismissal, for the magazines on their first retreat to the Zype did not contain more than eleven days provision.

The Duke of York's alternative was now to remain on the defensive in the position which he occupied, or finally to evacuate it. Every motive of prudence opposed the first determination. His distance from home, the difficulty of procuring supplies and reinforcements, the diminution of his army by sickness and battle, which had already so far thinned his ranks, that on the 14th of October, only 17000 English were returned fit for service, and the great increase of force, which was placed at the disposal of the enemy, by the termination of the campaign in Swisserland, all strongly pleaded against a defensive war. If the position were once forced, the Helder alone remained for refuge; and in that, part only of the army could be sheltered. The season was far advanced, and the coast was

stormy, and it was not long to be expected, that the winds would permit embarkation, even if it could be tranquilly effected, without the presence of an enemy. In case of the pursuit which was more probably to be expected, the fortress of the Helder could have held out, at the utmost, no longer than three days; for the Sandhills in its neighbourhood, presented ample lodgments for the besiegers: and the garrison, of nearly 4000 men, to whom it would be necessary to intrust it, must certainly be sacrificed, in order to procure even a chance of safety to the rest of the army. If under these circumstances, the British had recourse to the only terrific expedient which presented itself, and by cutting the dikes, laid the country in their front under water, exclusive of the violation of humanity, and the horrible consequences to the inhabitants which this act would have occasioned, sound policy appeared to forbid so irreparable an injury to the interests of the family of Orange.

The threatened inundation of the country, however, was a powerful instrument in the hands of skilful negotiators; and the Duke of York thus employed it in a communication which he opened with General Brune, on the 15th of October. The hopes and fears of either army will be most readily determined by the original propositions of the French, and their subsequent modification. Brune, in the beginning, insisted upon the re-surrender of the Dutch fleet with its stores and crews, the release of 15,000 prisoners, the restoration and repair of the Helder, and the evacuation of the Zype within eight and forty hours. The first of these conditions was peremptorily rejected—5000 prisoners were offered—the restoration of the Helder was agreed to, and the occupation of the Zype was demanded until all measures for embarkation were completed. Brune was still unwilling to give up the hoped-for recovery of the fleet. It had been stipulated, as a *sine qua non* by the Batavian Directory; and although he acknowledged that the Duke of York could not accede to it, he sought to embarrass him by dictating the following answer — "The Commander-in-chief of the land forces having no connection with the fleet, can only transmit the demand to his Court." The Duke of York indignantly rejected this arrogant dictation. He replied that the answer relative to the fleet should on no account be changed. That if more was urged on the subject, the negotiation must instantly terminate; and that he would only agree to extend the number of prisoners to be released to 8000, provided every other matter was clearly and immediately arranged.

A convention to this effect was concluded on the 18th of October, and the measures consequent upon it were advanced as rapidly as circumstances would permit. The greater part of the troops were on board the transports by the close of the month; the Duke of York himself embarked on the first of November. By the 19th, the last division of British quitted the Texel. The Commander-in-chief, Prince William of Gloucester, and other officers who had been distinguished in the campaign, notwith-

standing its unfavorable conclusion, were received by very marked popular approbation on their return: for with a degree of justice not often dealt out to the unsuccessful, their failure was attributed not to themselves, but to circumstances, without their control; and their bravery was more remembered than their ill fortune. — Whatever difference of opinion manifested itself, either in Parliamentary discussion, or among the people at large, as to the policy of the expedition, one voice only was heard as to its conduct; and though the leading object of the armament had been frustrated, enough had been done in the field, to preserve the honour, and to satisfy the pride of a nation tenaciously jealous of military glory.

CHAPTER VIII.

Retrospect of East Indian Affairs since the Peace of 1792. *Triple Alliance. Causes of its Weakness. Tippoo seeks to strengthen himself by a Native Alliance. History of Zemaun Shah. Negotiations between him and Tippoo. Careful Instructions given to the Ambassadors. Tippoo proposes a Holy War against the Infidels. Cultivates his Connection with France. Establishment of a Jacobin Club in Seringapatam. Its Sittings. Grand Revolutionary Fete in the Presence of Citizen Tippoo. Denunciations against the English. Embassy to the Mauritius. Opinions of Tippoo's Ministers. Articles proposed to the French. Instructions to the Ambassadors. Conduct of Ripaud on the Voyage. The Governor of Mauritius receives them openly. Disgrace of Ripaud. Proclamation of the Governor. Advantage which it gave the English by disclosing Tippoo's Designs. Measures taken by Lord Mornington. Orders for assembling the Armies of Madras and Bombay. Difficulties with the Madras Army. Removed by Lord Mornington's firmness. The French Corps at Hyderabad surrounded by a British Detachment and disbanded. Landing of the French in Egypt. Intercepted Letter from Bonaparte to the Sultaun. Pacific Overtures to Tippoo. He seeks Delay. His fresh Embassy to France. The Madras Army advances to Seringapatam. Action between Tippoo and the Army of Bombay. His Disasters. He retreats within his Capital. Description of Seringapatam. Junction of the two Armies. General Harris commences his Works. Unsuccessful Sally of the besieged. Ultimatum proposed to the Sultaun. Assault and Storm of Seringapatam. Conduct of Tippoo. His Death and Funeral. Submission and Distribution of the conquered Country. Restoration of the Royal Family of Mysore. Character of Tippoo Saib. Summary of the War.*

The paramount interest of European history since the year 1792, has afforded us little room to advert to the affairs of the English government in the East. In that year, after a glorious and decisive

war, Lord Cornwallis dictated the terms of peace in the Capital of Tippoo Sultaun; and the vanquished Prince was compelled to sign a treaty which while it deprived him of the best and richest half of his dominions, confirmed and increased his hereditary enmity against the conquerors. In order to form a sufficient barrier against the future efforts of his ambition, the territories of the Nizam and of the Mahrattas were largely increased; and in the partition of its conquests the Company contenting itself with one portion only, strengthened upon the northern frontier of its restless enemy two native states, whose policy, equally with their own, demanded his coercion. The triple alliance thus cemented by mutual interest, it was hoped would establish a balance of power by which the peace of India should be permanently secured; and the happiest results were anticipated from the reciprocal checks which the new distribution had created.

Unforeseen causes, the weakness of the Nizam, and the ill-regulated ambition of the Mahrattas, tended however not a little to diminish the efficacy of this coalition. The mutual jealousy and jarring interests of the two native powers, ere long broke out into open hostility, and although the Nizam had a British resident at his court, and a British regiment about his person, he was exposed to the attacks of his predatory neighbours. This Prince, though himself faithful to his engagements, was oppressed with age and infirmities. He had to resist not only the encroachments of the warlike nations which sought to wrest the sceptre from his grasp; but to counteract also the intrigues of a revolutionary faction which had been established by the missionaries of French Jacobinism in the heart of his kingdom, and which had strengthened itself by the establishment of a considerable military power. The Mahrattas were shaken by intestine convulsions and the domestic quarrels of their feudatory chiefs; and the army, which their shadowy Sovereign ought to have directed against the Sultaun of Mysore or his allies, was employed to maintain the small remains of his own hereditary authority.

It was not likely that so implacable and so penetrating an enemy as Tippoo should be blind to these events by which the strength of the British power, as it affected himself, was so materially diminished; and the obvious policy which suggested itself to him, was to establish a communication with any of the native Princes whose views were coincident with his own; and to obtain the assistance of a powerful European subsidiary force, without which, experience had sufficiently warned him, that neither the valour nor the number of his own barbarian troops were likely to avail.

A dynasty which had existed for not more than half a century, but which, in that short space, had rapidly obtained a most formidable dominion, seemed to promise the assistance which he sought to find in India. Zemaun Shah was the grandson of Ahmed Kawn Abdalla, an Affghan chief, who followed the standard of Nadir Shah on his invasion of India in 1739. Profiting by the

confusion which ensued upon the murder of his Prince, Ahmed assumed the *chuttur*, and wrested both from Persia and from Hindostan some of their fairest provinces. From east to west the dominion which he carved out by the sword extended 650 miles; and ever restlessly bent upon its increase, he turned his arms no less than seven times to the invasion of India. The bloody carnage of the Mahrattas in his victory of Paniput is indelibly impressed upon the memory of that otherwise ferocious people: and the proverb of the country sufficiently betokens the dread which is still entertained of the cavalry of their conquerors. If his horse starts while drinking, a Mahratta checks him, and exclaims, "Dost thou see the shadow of an Abdalli?"

The population under the sway of Zemaun Shah was among the most intrepid and hardy of the East, and as horsemen they were excelled by none. Not less than 150,000 of these could be brought into the field. The infantry was esteemed much inferior, and their services were confined to the garrisoning of fortresses. To a Prince naturally ambitious, and who remembered that his ancestors had spread devastation to the gates of Dehli, and that he was allied to the house of Timour, the invitation of the Sultaun to fresh schemes of conquest could not be otherwise than most agreeable. As early as 1796, two ambassadors were despatched from the Court of Seringapatam to that of Cabul, instructed largely by Tippoo himself not only as to the political objects of their mission, but as to the observance of the minutest details of Oriental ceremony. Under his own hand he laid down the obeisances to be performed, and the *Nuzzur* to be offered in the first audience with the Vizier of the Shah. The envoys, unlike those which from our own climes have visited the Celestial Empire to such little purpose, were strictly enjoined conformity to the manners of the people to which they were deputed. They were to remain standing if custom so required it, to sit if such were the habit; and above all to pay due attention to the respective ranks of the parties whom they addressed. Having been admitted to the presence of the Shah himself, they were to lay their gifts at his feet, and then, according to the established forms of the Court, having offered the proper compliments, they were to stand up with their hands folded together. When they received an order to sit, they were to seat themselves accordingly; and they were most carefully to note and practice every different etiquette of the place.

The Sultaun, either himself strongly under the influence of Mohammedanism, and sincere in his anxiety to propagate the faith of the Prophet; or, as is more probable, well acquainted with, and determined to take advantage of the disposition of the Prince with whom he sought to establish an alliance, was profuse in his expressions of veneration for religion. The escort which accompanied the ambassadors was enjoined regular attendance on the five daily prayers, performance of ablutions, and a constant

offering of holy ejaculations while upon parade. The extirpation of infidels was assumed as the basis of the proposed alliance. It was proposed that the Shah, either in person or represented by an able commander, should march upon Dehli and depose the King; while the Sultaun himself, from his own quarter, should raise the standard of holy war, and make the infidels bow down under the sword of Faith. The Shah was complimented in the florid style of Oriental courtesy as the ornament of his throne, the promoter of religion, and the destroyer of heretics and oppressors; and he was assured that a hundred thousand Musulmen assembled on every Friday, the sabbath of their Prophet, in the two principal mosques of Seringapatam, who, after the prescribed forms of prayer, expressly supplicated the Bestower of all things to give Zemaun victory over his enemies.

The most exalted object of the Sultaun's ambition was stated to be fixed on a holy war; and a belief was expressed that in furtherance of this just design, the Almighty cut short the arms of the abandoned heretics, and protected, like the Ark of Noah, his single tract of Mohammedan dominion, though surrounded with infidels. An intercourse thus produced, was diligently maintained by the residence of agents at the court of Cabul; and the Sultaun's correspondence was extensively carried on both with the Sovereign and his ministers. The burden of each fresh communication was the invasion of Hindostan and the slaying the dividers of the Godhead. The knowledge of the Shah's determination to attempt the great design, was said to inspire the soul of Tippoo with confidence, and the Almighty in his bounty was prayed to, to effect their mutual desires. The Shah had indeed lent a ready ear to these propositions of aggrandizement. He applauded the well-directed mind of the Sultaun, which was thus encouraged to the destruction of heresy. He pledged himself soon to march his conquering army to wage war with the Polytheists, and to free Hindostan, by the edge of the sword, from the contamination of the shameless tribes which polluted it. He permitted the residence of accredited ambassadors at his Court; and having offered suitable presents in return for those which he had received, he requested the Sultaun to continue to gratify him by again communicating his situation and sentiments.

While thus connecting himself with a powerful native auxiliary, the Sultaun, on the other hand, had not neglected his European alliance; and in order to strengthen the bond between himself and the new government of France, he not only permitted, but presided over the celebration of Revolutionary orgies in the heart of his dominions. The Capital of an eastern despot for the first time beheld the singular and novel spectacle of the inauguration of a Club of Jacobins within its walls. A French corps of fifty-nine persons was resident in Seringapatam, in the pay of the Sultaun, and under the command of Ripaud, a lieutenant in the navy. In the beginning of the summer of 1797, this body met in their parish church

after the performance of Mass; for the Sultaun, notwithstanding his zeal for the religion of the Prophet, perceived the necessity of toleration among his friends. Their declared purpose was to concur with all their strength and power in the administration and establishment of the French Republic, and to ascertain their own rights; as if either of these objects could be effected by the deliberations of three-score obscure individuals, removed ten thousand miles from home, and surrounded by the satellites of Oriental tyranny. Ripaud harangued his fellow citizens upon their duties to the state, and having presented them with a copy of the Rights of Man, detailed the regulations by which it was customary to govern similar primary assemblies. The election of officers was then proceeded to; Ripaud himself being declared President. The kiss of peace and fraternity was offered to the citizen eldest in years, and the new President concluded the first sitting by reading a lecture on Republican principles, and by proposing a plan of laws, both which were received with joyous acclamation.

At subsequent sittings many revolutionary projects were entertained. The members, after hearing Mass, met unarmed in their church. The assemblies were opened and terminated by patriotic hymns. The discussions turned upon the propriety of destroying all emblems of Royalty, of enrolling themselves by oath to submit to the ordinances of the Convention, and to live free or to perish; and of accepting the laws now proposed for their assent. On the fifth of May, at day-break, the National flag was displayed in their camp for the first time, under discharges of artillery and musquetry. A deputation proceeded to the Sultaun, who awaited them on the parade of his Capital. Five hundred cannon from the batteries of the fort spoke their approach. As many rockets, and two thousand three hundred more discharges of artillery, with all the musquetry of the garrison announced their arrival in the presence. The Sultaun received the president with marks of distinguished regard. He acknowledged the standard of the Republic, which he termed his ally and sister. He promised it his continued support, and he granted his sanction to the festival which the French were on that day celebrating. The leader of the deputation replied in fitting terms of gratitude, and returning to the camp, there planted the Tree of Liberty, and surmounted it by the Cap of Equality.

The address pronounced by Ripaud on this occasion was full of bitterness against the English. He spoke of the outrages which they had encouraged and perpetrated in La Vendèe. He called upon heaven to avenge their atrocities, and upon his brethren to be the instruments of this vengeance. He denounced those false Frenchmen who had supported the cause of tyranny; and he boasted that they must tremble and turn pale with affright when they heard that the white flag, the god of their idolatry, had been burned in India, in the midst of the world, by Republicans who had vowed to exterminate them.

This harangue, florid, inflated, and abounding with invective, was terminated by the following memorable demand, addressed to each individual present, and describing the unlimited sovereign of Khoodadaud* by a style to which hitherto his ears had been strangers: "Citizen do you swear hatred to all kings except Tippoo Sultaun the victorious, the ally of the French Republic? War against all tyrants, and love towards your country and that of *Citizen Tippoo.*" Loud shouts unanimously replied "Yes! we swear to live free or die!" Salvoes of artillery announced the ratification of the oath. The "Hymn to Patriotism" was chaunted round the Tree of liberty, and a ball concluded the rejoicings of the festival.

But it was not to such mummeries as these that the attention of the Sultaun was confined. The exaggerated reports of Ripaud, a needy adventurer and the hero of the jacobinical farce which we have just described, induced him to despatch a secret embassy to the French governor of the Mauritius, soliciting his alliance and co-operation in his designs against the English. The rough sketch of the project still exists in the autograph of the Sultaun, and it displays a singular mixture of ambition, of sagacity, and of ignorance. He had carefully noted the form and divisions of the existing constitution of France, and the titles of honour by which its different branches were to be addressed; the five sudars who swayed the supreme authority, and the five hundred sudars who constituted the deliberative assembly; and he had possessed himself of the names of the principal French officers employed in their eastern colonies. His acquaintance with geography and history was not equally accurate. He wrote down the names of the three islands belonging to the English as Ireland, Guernsey, and Jersey, and he remarked that on the English island there was once the Rajah of a tribe called Coossea (*Ecossais*) a hundred years ago; whom the English Rajah put to death and took possession of his country. After an invocation to God, the merciful, the compassionate, he stated his intention of retaining Ripaud ostensibly as a servant, but of employing him really as a diplomatic agent; and, under the disguise of a mercantile adventure, he determined to send letters which Ripaud was to furnish, to the French government, and to negotiate with it for military aid.

This plan was adjusted after deliberation with the chief officers of the Sultaun's government. Each of these delivered his opinion in writing; and each concurred that the necessity of chastising the English was indispensable. Some difference, however, appeared in the estimates which the respective counsellors had formed of the reliance which might be placed upon the character and integrity of the French. Meer Meraun, the head of the military department, inveighed against their insincerity, faithlessness, and refractory dis-

* "The gift of the Almighty," a title which Tippoo gave his kingdom after the peace of 1792.

position; and insisted upon the making over of Calicut to the Sultaun as a preliminary stipulation, before they should be permitted to land or to receive provisions. Meer Assoss, the head of the revenue officers, recommended that a much larger auxiliary force should be demanded than the resources of his master's country could support; observing, with no little sagacity, that even if the French pledged themselves to afford this number, yet they would never bring the whole; since it was the practice of that nation outwardly to promise a great deal, and to fall very short in performance. The views of this minister appear to have been enlightened and statesman-like. He explained that no perfect union could ever be formed with France, as the entire aid of each country could never be afforded to the other: and he continued that an alliance with adventurers, indigent and unconnected, who carried their houses on their backs, was a business of no small delicacy. The Mullrak oo Toojar, or heads of the commercial department, did not place much confidence in Ripaud's declarations or powers. They called him in plain and strong terms an ass and a liar; and they thought it likely that when the French had once acquired possession of territory, they would not continue firm to their engagements. Nevertheless they agreed with the Sultaun that the one was to be employed and the other to be solicited. In a subsequent document, the whole of the members of the five departments of government bore testimony against Citizen Ripaud. They openly termed him a scoundrel and a low fellow, whose mediation would throw disgrace upon any transaction; and they accused him of self-interest, falsehood, chicane, covetousness of money, artifice and deceit. Yet this was the man by whose advice the Sultaun had been chiefly guided, and upon whose services he principally relied in the arduous negotiation upon which he was about to enter.

The ambassadors selected for the mission to the Mauritius were four persons high in the Sultaun's confidence and regard. They were invested with full powers, and were authorized to propose articles to the following effect:—it was proposed that friendship should be established between the Khoodadaud Sirkar and the French nation as long as the sun and moon should endure; that 10,000 Europeans and 30,000 Negroes, with ships of war suitable to the number of troops, should be furnished by the French government, and supplied and commanded by Tippoo. Goa was to be the place of landing; and so confident of victory was the Sultaun that he previously arranged the distribution of spoil. Goa was to belong to Tippoo, Bombay to the French, and the whole of the English territories in Hindostan were to be halved equally between the conquerors; with the exception of the fort of Madras, which was to be razed and overwhelmed by the sea. If the Commander at the Mauritius did not feel himself authorized to enter into formal engagements to this effect, the envoys were instructed to proceed to Europe, and to lay their pro-

positions at the feet of the Directory itself.

From a memorandum preserved in Tippoo's own hand writing, he appears to have determined upon the details of these articles with extraordinary solemnity. The moment at which they were finally resolved on is noted astrologically; and before they were committed to paper, Ripaud is described to have stood up of his own accord, and to have taken an oath by kissing the insignia of his nation, the cockade which he had planted in his hat.

The instructions to the ambassadors were marked with the profoundest duplicity. Their good fortune in being employed as negotiators was strongly impressed upon them; they were reminded of the engagements which they had solemnly contracted in the Aksah Mosque, and they were excited to obedience and fidelity by mystical citations from the Koran; above all they were ever to bear in mind that golden precept, that "Heretics and all their brethren, dogs and all their tribe, swine and all their race are equally impure." On their arrival at the Mauritius they were to profess themselves to be merchants; and having obtained permission to hire a house, after reposing themselves as from a long voyage, they were to proceed as if to the sale of their goods. After having communicated their secret to the French authorities, they were urgently to request that all outward attentions and open marks of friendship, which might betray the purpose of their mission, should sedulously be dispensed with. All their meetings were to be private and unattended. On the delivery of their credentials they were to take care so to adapt their discourse as to flatter the persons whom they addressed, and thus to promote the success of their embassy. The secresy which it was so necessary to observe was to be pleaded in apology for the omission of customary presents, which they were to urge should be by no means wanting in future and more advanced stages of negotiation. For themselves they were all enjoined to study the French language, but by no means to converse in it with the French Sudars. On the contrary, they were always to use an interpreter; whereby this manifest advantage, it was said, would be obtained, that while an interpreter was employed, the French could not tell whether (to use the expressive literal term of the original document) they said *any thing more or less;* whereas, if the French Sudars said *any thing more or less*, the ambassadors knowing their language might easily detect it. For this purpose, and in order to obtain a knowledge of the real sentiments of those to whom they were sent, they were to affect profound ignorance of their tongue.

With these instructions as their secret but real guide, and with a separate paper of fictitious commercial orders under which they were ostensibly to act, the ambassadors were ordered to quit Seringapatam in April 1797. The unfavourableness of the season and some apprehensions of capture prevented them from sailing till October, and then two only (Hassan Alli and Shaik Ibrahim) out of the four who had been originally selected, proceeded on the

mission. In conformity with the orders of the Sultaun they each minutely journalized the occurrences during their voyage and their residence in the Mauritius; and it is by a comparison of these singular papers that we are enabled to frame our narrative.

The ambassadors embarked at Mangalore on the fifth of December, and were no sooner at sea than they found reason to complain of the insolent violence of Ripaud. This crafty adventurer had perceived that it was his interest to fall in with the ambitious views of Tippoo: and accordingly he had encouraged much stronger hope of obtaining French assistance than it was in his power to realize. Conscious of having misled the Sultaun, he felt a natural suspicion that himself might be duped also in return; and in order to secure himself against the risque of being made the messenger who was to acquaint the French with his own duplicity, he determined at all hazards to obtain possession of the despatches which the envoys were instructed to deliver. Remonstrances were useless; the envoys, as themselves admit, were entirely helpless: he took the letters by force, and even appears to have violated the Khereelahs*, which the bearers informed him that they respected as their own lives. He then demanded money for his expences, with a threat that unless it was given he would run towards Bombay for plunder, and instead of completing the object of the voyage, would coast piratically for five or six months. The accommodations which he assigned to the representatives of the Sultaun, his patron, were of the meanest kind: at first they slept and lived with the Lascars, according to whose allowances they were rated throughout the voyage; and latterly they obtained the indulgence of a small boat for their separate quarters, in which they were exposed, with little protection, both to the weather and the sea. "It is impossible" says one of these persecuted diplomatists, "to describe the distress we suffered from the rain and the motion of the waves of the sea: however, by the favour of God, and your Majesty's auspices, we survived." On the 20th of January they anchored in Port Nord Ouest; and, in opposition to their wishes, their instructions, and their remonstrances, they were received with distinguished honours as the accredited Plenipotentiaries of the good ally of France, the Sultaun of Mysore. Five hundred † guns saluted them on landing, and they were conducted through long lines of sol-

* Silken bags, in which letters to persons of rank are usually inclosed in the East. There is here a little discrepancy in the accounts of the two envoys: Hassan Alli says that Ripaud tore open the leathern envelope which enclosed the Khereelahs, and wanted to open these last also, but restored them after a declaration from the ambassadors that they would sacrifice their lives rather than open them before their arrival at the Mauritius. Shaik Ibrahim says that they gave up the letters (which could not have been done unless the Khereelahs had been previously opened), that Ripaud read them, and found his mind relieved from apprehension by the perusal.

† Hassan Alli says 150. This wide difference induces a suspicion that the number of guns discharged at the celebration of the Jacobinical fete, described before, is much exaggerated.

diers to the residence of General Malartic, the governor. The royal letters were delivered and received with strict attention to Oriental ceremony; and both the first and all the subsequent interviews were studiously arrayed so as to gratify the feelings of the ambassadors. Ripaud was not allowed to partake in the conferences: Malartic received him with displeasure, and offered to send him in custody to Mangalore, and the French officers did not hesitate to affirm that the representations upon which he had induced the Sultaun to despatch the embassy, were false and delusive: that four months sooner, one thousand Europeans who since had been placed at the disposal of the Dutch in Batavia, and two ships of war, might have been furnished to Tippoo; but that at present little could be done without a communication with Europe, whence doubtless, in the end, large and efficient succours would be provided.

The ambassadors, in pursuance of their instructions, had at first been extremely solicitous to keep the object of their mission secret. When the French government neglected this precaution, they in return threw off disguise: and the object of their voyage was openly avowed. Ten days after their arrival General Malartic published a proclamation by beat of drum, and affixed it in all places of resort, acquainting the inhabitants with the designs and propositions of the Sultaun: that he had despatched an especial embassy, and written particular letters to the Colonial Assembly, to himself and the other Generals, and to the Executive Directory, desirous of forming an offensive and defensive alliance with the French; offering to maintain any force with which they would assist him, and avowing that he only waited the moment of their arrival to declare war against the English, whom he ardently wished to expel from India. The Governor, in conclusion, invited all citizens who were so inclined, to enroll themselves as volunteers under the banners of Tippoo, by whom they were moreover insured an advantageous rate of pay.

This premature disclosure of the Sultaun's designs was contrary to every principle of policy and prudence. It gave the first alarm to the British Governor General Lord Mornington, who had just landed in Bengal; and who was so forcibly struck by the want of discretion in the declaration, that he was at first inclined to view it as a forgery. Nevertheless, without loss of time, he forwarded precautionary orders to Madras; and soon after became convinced of the authenticity of the proclamation, by official intelligence from the Cape of Good Hope, and by the evidence of some eye-witnesses who had been present at the Mauritius during its distribution.

The eagerness with which General Malartic sought to precipitate Tippoo into war with the English, was far greater than any means which he possessed to assist him when engaged in it. He readily despatched a vessel to Europe with the letters of the Sultaun to the Directory; but his uttermost exertions were unable to procure more than an incon-

siderable force to return with the ambassadors to Mangalore. Their stay was prolonged for eight and forty days, in the course of which they were entertained with every European spectacle which it was thought might contribute to their pleasure, and their expences were defrayed from the public treasury. Of the insight which they obtained into the politics of the great contending nations in the West, the following may be accepted as a specimen. The words are those of Shaik Ibrahim, and the transactions which they record appear to be the Revolution of the 4th of September, 1797, and the rupture of the negotiations at Lisle.

"A Danish ship had arrived at Mauritius with letters from Paris. —All the chiefs of the council of Mauritius being assembled, and having read the letters, remained during one day overwhelmed with fear and anxiety. We enquired of * * * why all the gentlemen had remained a whole day in consternation. He, replied, that after the French King was killed, a new system had been established: that there were five chiefs of the first order: that there was a Council of Ancients, consisting of 250, and a third order of young men, whose number amounted to 500: that these chiefs consulting together, conduct the affairs of the state: that the Germans had made peace with the French, but that the English having bribed the former with millions of money, had separated them from the French, and brought them over to their own party: that through the means of the Germans, they had also brought over to their interests two of the chiefs of the first order, (the Directory) and a great number of those of the second and third orders: and that they secretly determined to bring about a peace between the French and English: that this being discovered by the other chiefs who were not engaged in the intrigues of the latter nation, they thereon asked the chiefs who were in the interest of the English, for what reason they were intriguing to accomplish a peace with that nation? They replied, that they had been seduced into this error by the instigation and artifice of the Germans: they in consequence put all these French chiefs, the partizans of the English, into close confinement, and appointed 5000 horse as a guard for the custody of them. The English Vakeels, (agents or ambassadors) who had come to favour the scheme, took to flight; that in consequence of this circumstance, a misunderstanding had again arisen between the Germans and the French, and that peace at this time could by no means be established between the French and English. This account was a matter of public notoriety at the Mauritius.

"The French declare to the English, that peace can be established with them only on condition, that they should be content to be placed in the same situation that they were in forty years ago; that on those terms they certainly might have peace. The English are reduced to the greatest difficulties and distress: they are burthened with an enormous debt, and there is no money in their country: how long will they be able to subsist on the resources which they draw from Bengal,

and elsewhere? There being so much reason to believe that the English are in a weak and shattered condition, the kings of Constantinople, of America, Spain, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, have united with the French; and their Vakeels (ambassadors) are assembled at Paris."

Scarcely 150 officers and privates could be raised on the Mauritius and the Isle of Bourbon; and with this scanty force the ambassadors re-imbarked on the 7th of March. They bore with them the strongest protestations of amity from the authorities of the Mauritius; and they were conveyed by a French frigate, La Preneuse, fitted up for their express accommodation.

The danger which now threatened the British empire in the East, was no longer to be doubted; and to avert it required the speediest and most active exertions. Authentic intelligence of the Sultaun's engagements with France and Zemaun Shah, and the proceedings consequent upon them, was conveyed to Lord Mornington in the course of June. Without a pretext of grievance, but, on the contrary, under the guise of most friendly profession, it was well known that Tippoo had been long and actively employed in military preparation; that his troops were already equipped for service, and that a large portion of them was encamped under his own personal command. The admission of a French subsidiary force into his army was a substantial proof of hostile intention; and the eagerness with which his offers of alliance had been accepted, in the first instance, rendered it probable that, under the progressive operation of new treaties, large accessions of strength might be afforded by the aid of France to an ambitious, implacable, and treacherous enemy of the British dominion in the East.

Considerations of this nature could not escape the watchful eye of Lord Mornington. The safety of the Carnatic demanded some more certain protection than was afforded by the faith of treaties concluded with a Prince proverbial for his disregard of them. To await his movements with a blind reliance upon his precarious forbearance, was both to increase his means of offence, and also to give him choice of the most favourable opportunity for attack. No doubt could be entertained of his prospective, if not of his immediate, hostility, and self-defence loudly dictated the necessity of speedy prevention.

Final orders were accordingly issued by the Governor-General on the 20th of June (1798) for assembling armies on the coasts both of Coromandel and Malabar; with the intention of attacking the Sultaun on each side of his dominions, and of anticipating his objects by a vigorous and instantaneous blow.

The circumstances of the Madras army it was feared, however, would preclude the execution of this design; a false spirit of œconomy had curtailed its allotments of carriage and draught cattle; and had prevented the establishment of magazines and depots without which it was impossible that it should take the field. To remove these defects it was stated would be a tedious and difficult

operation, and till they were removed, no force equivalent to the risque of the service could be directed against the Mysore. Lord Mornington, was not discouraged by the representations thus made to him. He insisted on a prompt execution of his orders, and by his firmness he succeeded in accelerating the requisite preparations, and in bringing them to a close at a far earlier season than his military advisers conceived possible. He had been invested with an absolute though a responsible power over the British Councils in the East, and he exercised it with dignity to himself, and advantage to his country, by peremptorily forbidding all discussion at Madras, and enjoining strict and punctual obedience. The army of Bombay was speedily concentrated: and until that of Fort St. George was in readiness to act in conjunction with it, the Governor General occupied himself in rendering more effectual the alliances already concluded between the Company, the Nizam, and the Peshwah.

Of these two native powers, who by the treaty of Seringapatam, in 1792, had been supported as especial barriers to the encroachments of Tippoo Sultaun, neither, as we have before stated, was at present in a condition to fulfil its engagements with the British government. The corps officered by Frenchmen, which, originally under the command of Monsieur Raymond, had been employed in the service of the Nizam during the late war with Mysore, had materially improved in discipline, and its numbers were gradually augmented from fourteen hundred to as many thousand. The ascendancy obtained by this force over the councils of Hyderabad, was a source of continual alarm to the Nizam; who, though he acknowledged his danger, was unable to check the destructive growth of an overweening power, by which his independence was hourly threatened. To counteract this formidable influence, and to prevent the effect which the existence of so large a force in the interest of France, and in the very centre of the Decan, might produce upon the approaching war, a proposal was made to, and accepted, by the Nizam, for an increase of the British subsidiary troops serving in his dominions, on a stipulation, that he should dismiss the corps commanded by the French. For this purpose, a detachment of 4000 men, under the orders of Lieutenant Colonel Roberts, marched upon Hyderabad, and on the 22d of October, co-operating with the Nizam's cavalry, surrounded the French camp, and disarmed the sepoys without resistance. In this bold project, they were fortunately assisted by a mutinous spirit which had manifested itself in the camp on the preceding day; when the sepoys had confined their officers. Eleven thousand men were disbanded on the spot, and the remainder, who were dispersed over the country in small divisions, speedily surrendered. Thus without bloodshed, and at a single stroke, the French ascendancy in the dominions of the Nizam was entirely subverted; the connexion between his Highness and the Company was re-established on a basis

of increased mutual benefit, and the cordial assistance of a useful ally was secured at a moment in which it was most likely to be called into action.

The distractions of the Mahratta empire prevented the court of Poonah from affording hopes of an equally vigorous and effective alliance; but the intentions of the Peshwah were manifestly favourable to the British interests. About the middle of October, the necessity of immediate explanations on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, became materially increased, by the announcement of the French invasion of Egypt. It required little sagacity to conjecture, either that there was a connection already existing between the projects of Bonaparte, and those of the Sultaun, or that Tippoo would speedily profit by the comparative neighbourhood of the French. The letters addressed by Bonaparte to the Sheriffe of Mecca, and to Tippoo himself, in the following January, and intercepted by the English cruizers, sufficiently evince the anxiety felt on his part for co-operation with the arms of Mysore. In these despatches, the innumerable and invincible troops which Bonaparte had brought to the borders of the Red Sea, were described to be full of the desire of delivering the most magnificent Sultaun, their greatest friend, from the iron yoke of England. Inquiries were made relative to the political situation of the peninsula, and overtures were proposed for the establishment of a confidential intercourse through a resident at Suez and Cairo. The event of the campaigns both in India and in Egypt, nipped this growing connection in its very bud; and Bonaparte surrendered his dreams of Oriental conquest, and the Sultaun paid the forfeit of his life without either having obtained a knowledge of each other's desire for alliance. It was well known to the British government in India, that the Straits of Babelmandel were unprotected, and that no English ships of war were in the Arabian gulph; and the facility with which communications could be effected between Mysore and Egypt, induced Lord Mornington to hasten his dispositions.

The news of the battle of the Nile, however, enabled him in the first instance to try the chance of negotiation; to which a favourable opening seemed afforded, by the naval disasters of the French, the destruction of their party at Hyderabad, and the forwardness of the British military preparations. The Sultaun was well acquainted with all these circumstances, for Lord Mornington, in a special despatch, had detailed to him the victory of the Nile, and it was not improbable that all circumstances combined together might powerfully influence him towards a renunciation of his ambitious designs.

The policy of the Sultaun plainly was to gain time, and for this purpose he returned ambiguous and equivocal replies to three separate despatches addressed to him by Lord Mornington, relative to the admission of an Ambassador. In one of these, dated the 18th of December, he expressed his joy at the disasters of the French fleet, the notification of which, he assured Lord Mornington, had given him more plea-

sure than he possibly could express. He declared his hope, that the English, who ever adhered to the paths of sincerity, friendship, and good faith, and were the well wishers of mankind, would always be successful and victorious, and that the French who on the contrary were of a crooked disposition, faithless, and the enemies of mankind, might ever be depressed and ruined. In respect to the acquaintance which Lord Mornington declared himself to possess of the intercourse subsisting between the Court of Mysore and the French, Tippoo offered the following apologetic explanation, for which by the fictitious instructions furnished to his ambassadors he had already, with the most consummate artifice, prepared an opening: that a mercantile tribe in his dominion had purchased a two-masted vessel, and laded her with rice for traffic. That it so *happened*, that she sailed to the Mauritius; whence forty persons, French and dark coloured, a few of them artificers, the rest servants, paying their own passage, embarked for Mysore in search of employment. Some had remained, having obtained service, others had already quitted the Khoodadaud. The whole transaction was represented on both parts as the private adventure of individuals, and the reports of a public and official mission which had reached Lord Mornington's ears, were attributed to the vice and deceit of which the French were said to be full.

Jan. 9th. Lord Mornington in reply, detailed the circumstances of the embassy to the Mauritius at full length. He inclosed a copy of General Malartic's proclamation, translated into Persian, in order to shew the conclusive evidence which he possessed of the perfidy of the Sultaun; and with unexampled moderation, he again pressed the reception of an ambassador, by whom it was probable the existing differences might be explained and adjusted. In order to develope the true policy of the French government, Lord Mornington, at the same time, forwarded the manifesto of the Sublime Porte, issued on the landing of Bonaparte in Egypt, and a letter expressly addressed by Selim to Tippoo. He then forcibly drew the Sultaun's attention to the conclusion which might be deduced from these papers, namely, that the French despised and profaned all maxims of public law, honour, and religion; considering all the thrones of the world, and every system of civil order and religious faith, as the sport and prey of their boundless ambition, insatiable rapine, and indiscriminate sacrilege; that they had insulted and assaulted the acknowledged head of the Mohammedan church, and had wantonly raised an unprovoked war in the heart of a country revered by all true Musulmen; that an alliance subsisted between the Grand Signor and the English, for the express purpose of opposing a barrier to the excesses of the French; and that the Grand Signor, fully aware of the baneful influence exercised by French counsels over the head of Tippoo, offered him the benefit of his experience of the ruinous effects of the intrigue, treachery,

and deceit of that nation; and admonished him, that even if their army escaped the valour and skill of the British forces, it could never reach Mysore without profaning the tomb of the Prophet, and overthrowing the foundations of his religion.

The continued evasions which Tippoo practised, did not abate the exertions of the Governor-General; and on the 3d of February, 1799, he notified, by proclamation, that the British Government must be considered at war with the Sultaun; and issued orders to Lieutenant General Harris, to enter the territories of Mysore, and to Lieutenant General Stuart to co-operate from Malabar. A new and characteristic artifice was practised by Tippoo on learning this determination. In a letter, written with somewhat of affected carelessness, he invited Major Doveton, the officer whom Lord Mornington had proposed as the British Envoy, to come to him, *unattended;* for that being devoted to the chase, he was preparing for a hunting excursion. It was obvious, that farther delay was sought for by this proposition. The hunting of an Asiatic Prince is the march of his court and army. The constant change of place and occupation would necessarily have rendered the progress of business slow; and would have furnished abundant pleas for the protraction which, until succours from France could arrive, was the Sultaun's chief object. Lord Mornington's reply was firm and dignified. He spoke of the Sultaun's long silence, and tardy assent; he informed him of the advance of the armies; and he declared that General Harris, their Commander, was now the only person who could be authorized to treat with him. If farther proofs were wanting of the treacherous and faithless conduct of the Sultaun, they might be found in a transaction which he was directing at the very moment in which he consented to receive Major Doveton at his Capital. Among the volunteers from the Mauritius, was Dubuc, a naval officer, whose services Tippoo had resolved to employ in a direct embassy to Paris. As far back as July, 1798, he had furnished him with credentials, and bound himself by a formal instrument arranged with due attention to the novel diction of Jacobinism, to ratify all engagements into which citizen Dubuc might enter in his name with the French Republic one and indivisible. The propositions made in the letter, of which Dubuc was to be the bearer to the Directory, were precisely similar to those which had before been conveyed through the Governor of Mauritius. The despatches breathed the most virulent hatred against the English, and the most positive assurances that the Sultaun panted to take the field in the heart of their possessions. On the very day on which Tippoo finally admitted Lord Mornington's pacific overtures, the Plenipotentiary who was to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive with France, embarked for Europe.

General Harris's force, consisted of 40,000 men, exclusive of the Nizam's cavalry, amounting to 6000 more. Its appointments were complete, and its discipline perfect; and among it were nearly

5000 Europeans. The Nizam's contingent, serving under Meer Allum Behander, was strengthened by several of the Company's battalions. To these, in order to confer additional respectability, was added the entire 33d regiment; and in the command of this part of the army the future Hero of the Spanish Peninsula and of Waterloo was to sow the seeds of his rich harvest of glory. The instructions given by Lord Mornington to the Commander in Chief, were directed to a single definite object; he was to penetrate from Vellore, the *point d'appui* of his troops, to the walls of Seringapatam. General Stuart, on the other hand, at the head of between 6 and 7000 men, after assembling at Cannamore, was to occupy Sedaseer, until the approach of the Madras army enabled him to effect a junction with it at the Capital. His assigned post was in his possession on the 2d of March. As the main army advanced by the route of Talgautporam and Cankanelli, parties of Mysore horse were actively employed in laying waste the country around them. Frequent skirmishes ensued as they hung upon the flanks and rear of the march. The progress of the British troops was necessarily slow, but concentration gave it security, and forage was abundant. From the 4th of March, the day on which the frontiers had been passed, till its approach to the village of Mallavelly, on the 27th, the enemy had never shewn himself in force. On that morning a brisk engagement took place along the whole line. After a cannonade of some hours, and a brilliant charge commenced by the 33d regiment, and followed up by General Floyd's cavalry, the Sultaun's army retreated among the heights. Without farther opposition, though with the Sultaun himself continually in sight, General Harris pitched his camp under Seringapatam, on the 5th of April.

Previous to these movements, the Sultaun, on the 6th of March, had commenced his operations, and committed the first act of hostility against the army of Bombay. His original position near Maddoor appeared to have been chosen for the purpose of opposing General Harris; but by a rapid march on Periapatam, with a force of more than 11,000 men, the flower of his army, he succeeded in attacking the division of Colonel Montresor in the woods of Coorga. This gallant detachment, not exceeding 2000 men, sustained and repulsed the charge; and General Stuart having brought up the remainder of his dispersed force, the enemy fled with precipitation through the jungles. Tippoo remained at Periapatam, till the advance of the Madras army recalled him nearer his Capital.

The losses of the invading force in both these actions had been trifling. On the part of the Sultaun, little less than 3000 men must have been killed and wounded. A memorandum relative to the battle of Coorga has since been discovered in his own hand writing. His victorious army is described in this singular document as putting the Christians to flight; but it is admitted, that five of his chief officers "devoted themselves and drank the cup of

martyrdom," while a sixth was wounded and taken prisoner by the infidels. It is plain, that his failure in these first attempts disconcerted and dejected him; dispositions for a renewal of his attacks were frequently formed and again suddenly counter-ordered; and there can be no doubt, from the numerous personal reconnoissances which he was distinctly seen to make, that he would have taken advantage of the nature of the country over which his foes were advancing, if he had not been deterred by a recollection of their recent superiority. Accordingly after a gradual retreat upon his Capital, he withdrew entirely within its walls.

The river Cauvery, which forms the island of Seringapatam, covers the fortress of that name upon the northern and western sides. The island itself is about three miles and a half in length, and a mile and a half in breadth; and the fortress occupies two thousand yards of its western extremity. The rampart which surrounds it is of granite, varying in height from twenty to five and thirty feet, and the ditches are excavated from the solid rock. The town is of mean appearance. The palace of the Rajahs of Mysore is in ruins, having long been occupied as a storehouse; and the Sultaun's own palace, though in other respects partaking of Asiatic magnificence, is deformed by the unfinished and dilapidated buildings which environ and almost overwhelm it. The most striking object which the fortress presents is its grand mosque, the lofty minarets of which are covered with chunan, the white and polished stucco of the East, which yields little either in beauty or durability to the most costly marble.

The fortifications had been considerably strengthened since the year 1792, and the southern face presented a front of complicated masonry, which seemed to forbid all attempts on that side. On the west, many advantages presented themselves to the besiegers from the weakness of its flanking defences; and from a long extent of curtain wholly exposed to the line most obvious for the erection of breaching batteries. The fresh traces of cattle and human feet which appeared on the banks of the river in this part, convinced General Harris, that it was fordable without difficulty; and fixed his resolution of making the north-west angle the chief point of attack.

The few first days were employed in driving in the enemy's outposts and marking out ground: the cavalry was marched to join the Bombay army; and having effected its purpose on the 14th, took up a position to the north of the Cauvery. Hence it was enabled to prevent the enemy from retaining a height which enfiladed the west front of the fortress, and which might have harassed the approaches of the besiegers. After a gallant affair, a redoubt which had been diligently constructed upon this eminence was left in possession of the British. Beyond this point, at the village of Agrarum, General Stuart established a battery, and successfully defended it and his other posts against a general sortie which took place on the morning of the

22d. Lally's French corps, and about 6000 native infantry advanced to the very trenches; nor did they retire till after an engagement of several hours, in which many of their men fell upon the bayonet, and the total loss in killed and wounded had amounted to 6 or 700.

While the works were rapidly advancing, Tippoo endeavoured to renew his vague and insidious negotiations. General Harris demanded four of his sons as hostages, the renouncement of the French alliance, the cession of a large territory, and the payment of two crores of rupees; and to these terms, proposed upon the 22d, an unequivocal answer was required in 48 hours. Six days afterwards, the Sultaun replied, that the points in question were weighty, and needed the intervention of ambassadors, for whom he asked safe conduct. A refusal on the part of the English Commander to deviate from his original propositions, terminated this artful and unsatisfactory correspondence.

On the evening of the 3d of May, the breach was declared practicable, and the assault was resolved upon for the following afternoon. About 2500 Europeans, and 1900 natives, were destined to this service, under Major General Baird. At half-past one o'clock, the storming party stepped from the trenches in two columns. The plan of attack was to gain the rampart in the first instance, and then that the two detachments filing off separately by the right and left at the breach should meet and unite on the opposite eastern face. A heavy fire of rockets and musquetry was poured upon the assailants as they crossed the bed of the river; but in six minutes the forlorn hope displayed the English colours on the walls, and the breach was crouded with men. The defences on the right and left having been silenced by the besieging batteries, the breach became in fact a place of safety, and the chief danger was to be encountered in reaching it. The column which filed to the right, drove every thing before it; the panic of the enemy was general, and works which might have opposed formidable resistance were hastily abandoned. The walls were thronged with fugitives endeavouring to lower themselves by their hands or turbans into the rocky bottom of the ditch, and numbers were dashed to pieces in this perilous attempt.

The defence on the left was for a short time far more obstinate; every traverse brought the front of the attacking column to a stand, and the enemy's fire was most harassing and destructive. The Sultaun fought here in person, and it was for no less a stake than for his kingdom and his life. He had walked the ramparts in the forenoon without suspicion of the intended attack. The astrologers indeed had warned him that the day was inauspicious, for it was the last of a lunar month; and he so far attended to their predictions as to distribute oblations among them, and to hold his head over a consecrated iron pot filled with sacred oil, in order, that by observing the reflection of his face, he might avert misfortune; a rite in which he appears to have

placed great confidence. But to the reports of Syed Goffar, that the trenches bore a suspicious appearance, he replied with carelessness; nor was it till the death of this chief was announced to him during his mid-day repast, that he seemed to express alarm. Even then, while buckling on his sword amid the tumult of the storm, he said with calmness, "Syed Goffar was never afraid of death," and gave the necessary orders as to the successor whom he appointed to fill the deceased officer's place. Then, hastening to the north rampart, he found the breach occupied by the assailants, and was borne down by his own flying troops. Having taken post behind a traverse, not two hundred yards from the breach, he brought down more than one European with his own carbine: till, being left almost single, he was compelled to retire, slowly indeed, and disputing every foot of ground which he quitted. A favourite horse was at hand, and, springing upon this, he made for a sally port leading into the town; probably with the intention of gaining the palace, and there defending himself to extremity. The bridge which crossed the inner ditch was choked with bodies, and the dead and dying impeded his progress. The light troops of the besiegers had already penetrated beyond him, and a cross fire met him as he advanced under the gateway. Two balls struck him about the same instant in the breast, and his horse also was disabled. Faint and exhausted, he lost his turban and fell; but was quickly raised by the few attendants around him, and placed in his palanquin under the arch. At this period, Rajah Cawn, who had been with him from the first, and who himself was wounded, advised him to discover himself and surrender. "Silence, are you mad!" was his indignant answer: as he finished the words, some Europeans entered the gateway under which the firing had ceased. One of them, a grenadier, ignorant of his prize, and attracted by the gold buckle of the Sultaun's sword-belt, attempted to tear it from him: the wounded Prince still grasped his sword, and raising it with all his remaining power, struck the rude assailant deeply on the knee. The soldier enraged, instantly levelled his musquet, and shot the Sultaun through his right temple. He fell and expired at the moment.

The death of the Sultaun was for a long time unknown; General Baird being in full possession of the fortress, prepared to summon the palace, into which it was supposed that Tippoo had thrown himself in despair. The officer who bore this summons (Major Allan) upon his admission was introduced to two of the younger Princes, who readily surrendered themselves, but were unable to communicate any information respecting their father, beyond a solemn assurance that he was not within the walls. The Princes having been conducted to head-quarters, a guard was placed within the palace; and one of the chief officers soon afterwards admitted that the Sultaun had been wounded, and pointed out the gateway under which he fell. General Baird proceeded to search the

ground closely. Hundreds of slain were piled on each other in this narrow spot; and the bodies being drawn out separately, and examined by torch light, after a long and anxious investigation, the Sultaun was discovered not far from his palanquin. His eyes were yet open, and for some moments there was a doubt whether he might not be alive; his countenance was by no means distorted, and had an expression of stern composure. He had four wounds; three in the body, and that which caused his death in the head. His turban, sword, and belt were gone; but on his right arm he wore an amulet, consisting of a metallic plate and some slips of MS. in cabalistic and Persian characters, sewed up in pieces of rich flowered silk. The body was placed on the palanquin and carried under a guard to the palace.

All violence ceased with the conflict, but the slaughter had been dreadful during the time it lasted; nearly eight thousand of the garrison fell by the sword. The loss of the besiegers, from the first opening of the trenches, did not much exceed 300 in killed, nor amount to 1100 in wounded; among these must be counted 67 officers, 25 of whom were killed or wounded in the assault itself.

The total garrison of the island at the time of the assault, consisted of 22,000 men. On the fortifications were mounted 287 pieces of ordnance; and vast quantities of arms of all kinds, ammunition, stores, and provisions were found within the fort: 120 French, the officers holding commissions under the Directory, were taken prisoners; and the value of the treasure captured, in money and jewels, amounted to one million, one hundred and forty three thousand, two hundred and sixteen pounds sterling.

On the morrow after the capture, Abdul Khalek, the Sultaun's second son, voluntarily surrendered himself. He was ignorant of his father's death, and when informed of it expressed no emotion, but requested to see the body. The younger brothers were sensibly affected when similar intelligence was communicated to them. Preparations for the obsequies of the Sultaun having been completed, in the afternoon they were performed with great military pomp. The bier was supported by the attendants of the palace, and preceded and followed by English grenadiers. Abdul Khalek, as chief mourner, rode immediately behind it, and the leaders of the Nizam's army closed the procession. The streets through which it passed were lined with inhabitants, who prostrated themselves before the body with vehement lamentations till it reached the mausoleum of Hyder. Here, close to the remains of that Prince, his son was deposited; and the solemn reflections which the ceremony could not fail to awaken, were materially heightened by the fierce burst of a storm which closed the evening: floods of rain deluged the attendants, and some lives were lost by the strokes of lightning.

The submission of all the Sultaun's troops speedily followed the reduction of the Capital; and they were as promptly disbanded. Various forts surrendered themselves, the cultivators returned to

their agricultural pursuits, and tranquillity appeared to be re-established. Lord Mornington's chief care, accordingly, was directed to the settlement of the conquered country. The province of Canara, and the districts of Coimbatoor and Daraporam, together with the territory lying between the British possessions in the Carnatic and Malabar, were retained by the Company. To these were added the forts in the passes of the Ghauts, the district of Wyhaad, and lastly the island of Seringapatam. The Nizam received Gooty and Gurromcondah, with a tract of country along the line of Chitteldroog and Colar. To the Peishwah a minor portion was allotted; it comprised Harponelly, Soonda, Anagoondy and some other districts. The families of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun were removed to Vellore; a munificent stipend (80,000*l.* per annum) was granted for their maintenance; and pensions proportioned to their rank and deserts were assigned to the chief officers of the late Prince.

A large territory still remained unoccupied after this partition;—it formed a powerful barrier against the Nizam and the Mahrattahs; and was bounded on the east, west, and south by the Company's dominions. In this it was resolved to establish a central and separate Government; and both humanity and policy dictated the restoration of the ancient line of the Rajahs of Mysore to its musnud. Hyder had usurped the government from this family in 1759; and, until his death, the descendants of the then Rajah had been elected in succession to nominal power; though strictly watched as State prisoners, and exhibited in public annually on a single occasion. Tippoo forebore to nominate a successor on the decease of the last acknowledged Rajah in 1796; but his son, Kistna Rajah Oodiaver, at the time of the Sultaun's overthrow, was living and about five years of age. The deposed family pined in a state of indigence and obscurity; and received the unlooked-for news of its intended exaltation with the liveliest gratitude. The Bramins were consulted to choose a fortunate day for the restoration of the young Prince, and his investiture took place amid a vast concourse of Hindoos, and a brilliant assemblage of the British army, on the very spot on which, forty years before, his unhappy ancestor had been deprived of his kingdom. The court and residence of the Rajah was transferred to its original seat in the town of Mysore, and Colonel Wellesley was appointed to the command of Seringapatam and its dependencies.

Thus terminated the existence of a dynasty, which, for nearly half a century, had been implacably hostile to the English interests. The power which Tippoo wielded was not only taken from an enemy, but was transferred as a weapon of strength into the hands of the Company. The annual revenue of British India was augmented by nearly a million sterling. The territory of the Company was contracted in frontier, while it was increased in extent. The connection between the Nizam and the French was totally dissolved; and a new central power was created, bound by

the strongest ties of gratitude, to preserve its fidelity to those who gave it being.

The Sultaun Tippoo appears to have been quick in decision, and prompt in execution; but variable and unsettled in his plans; accomplished in all bodily exercises; a brave soldier in the field; a keen censor of morals in his domestic government; scrupulously attentive to the ordinances of his religion; magnificent in his court, and liberal in his bounties. War was his pastime; a register of his dreams, discovered in his palace, shows that even his sleeping thoughts were occupied with views of conquest; and a maxim frequently on his lips was, that he had rather live two days like a tiger, than two hundred years like a sheep. Revenge upon the British was the great object of his existence. To keep his defeats by Lord Cornwallis more fresh in his remembrance, he adopted a coarse cloth bed, binding himself by a solemn vow, not to sleep in a cotton one till he had been again victorious. Temperate and active himself, he demanded from his attendants the minutest regularity; and vehement and precipitate in his determinations he brooked no opposition. Not less faithless than ambitious, he was never more to be dreaded than when in seeming repose; and the State papers, found among his archives, amply illustrate the systematic treachery with which, during a period of profound peace, he was secretly labouring to overthrow the power of England. In literature, he seems to have been many degrees beyond his countrymen. He wrote much and was fond of reading. The foulest stain upon his character is left by acts of wanton barbarity. An order was found under his own hand, to throw five hundred Coong prisoners, in parties of fifty, into ten forts, in which they were to be so dealt with as to ensure their death within a month: and it is well ascertained, that thirteen European prisoners were deliberately murdered, during the last days of the siege of Seringapatam. The place in which these unhappy victims were interred, was pointed out to Colonel Wellesley, and the body of one of the soldiers was immediately recognized. Three or four, as he was informed, were brought out on successive nights, and their bodies being held fast by slaves, their necks were twisted round by Jetties, a cast of Hindoos, who perform feats of strength. The motive of this detestable cruelty can be found only in the Sultaun's despair; as his fall approached, he indulged in impotent caprice and fury; for though superstitiously impressed with a belief, that his Capital was impregnable; he was too clear-sighted not to have some tacit and involuntary misgiving of his danger. "Who can take Seringapatam?" was his hourly exclamation; and yet he openly confessed his ignorance of the art of defending a fortress, and pledged himself to learn it at the conclusion of the siege. He fell in the 45th year of his age.

That an opportunity of thus adding to his hostile power was not afforded him is mainly, under Providence, to be attributed to the vigilance, the energy, and the perseverance of Lord Morning-

ton. If the Government of India had been less keenly attentive to the Sultaun's intrigues with the French in 1798, less immediately active in its preparations for offensive warfare, or less unbendingly decided in carrying it into the heart of Mysore, a tedious and doubtful, if not a most disastrous conflict might have ensued. The result of a vigorous and determined policy on the other hand was alike honourable and beneficial to England, and the splendid success with which Lord Mornington's operations were crowned, not only advanced the glory, but confirmed the safety and secured the tranquillity of British India.

CHAPTER IX.

Retrospect of the Events in Egypt which succeeded the Battle of the Nile. Policy of Bonaparte. Measures of the Turkish Government. The Porte declares War against France. Critical Situation of the French Army. Their Distresses and Murmurs. Bonaparte secretly resolves to return to France. Scientific Establishments at Cairo. Geographical and Antiquarian Researches of the Savans. Republican and Mohammedan Pageants. Bonaparte receives the Title of Ali. Assembly of the Divan. Insurrection at Cairo. Death of General Dupuy. Massacre of the Turks. Movements in Syria. Combined Plan of Djezzar Pacha, the Mameloucs, and the English. Bonaparte marches on Syria. Capture of El Arisch. Of Jaffa. Massacre of the Prisoners. Poisoning of the Sick. Communication with Djezzar Pacha. His spirited Reply. He is supported by Sir Sydney Smith, who captures the French Artillery. Situation of Acre. Position of the Besiegers. Repeated Assaults. General rising of the Natives. Bonaparte resolves to give Battle. His Victory at Fouli, and Success along the whole hostile Line. He returns to Acre. Is supplied with Artillery. Death of Colonel Phelipeaux. Arrival of Reinforcements to Djezzar. Grand Assault. The Breach is manned by the English. Chivalrous Valour of Sir Sydney Smith. Repulse of the French. The Attack renewed unsuccessfully. Dreadful Slaughter among the French. Obstinate Attempts of Bonaparte. Contagion from the dead Bodies. The Siege is abandoned. Desertion of the French Transports. Cruelties and Sufferings of the retreating Army. It reaches Cairo. Transactions in its Absence. Appearance of the Angel El Madhi. Operations of Bonaparte against the Mameloucs. Arrival of a Turkish Force at Aboukir. Complete Victory of the French at Aboukir. Bonaparte prepares to return to Europe.

The Victory of the Nile, completed the great series of naval triumphs which had been won by England during the course of the revolutionary war, and left her nothing to contend with on the sea. Glorious as it was in itself, by destroying the last hopes of maritime hostility, in its consequences as effecting a new confederacy, it was of

immeasurably greater importance. The question of peace or war, on the continent of Europe, was decided by the cannon of Aboukir. The wavering counsels of Austria and of the Porte were fixed. The negotiations which subsisted between the Cabinets of St. James's and St. Petersburgh were matured; and the re-establishment of the Neapolitan throne being confirmed by the deliverance of the Mediterranean, a most useful ally was restored to his full powers of co-operation, either on the shores of Egypt or of Italy. It would be no easy task to describe the loud and universal burst of national enthusiasm with which the intelligence of this mighty atchievement was received at home. The long period of suspense and doubt which had preceded it, the anxiety of the pursuit, the perpetual evasions of the enemy, the uncertainty of his destination, and the reasonable fears of ulterior and still more dangerous projects, when his course was at length ascertained, all contributed to enhance the glory of the conqueror, by whose unwearied perseverance the hostile fleet had been tracked, and by whose unequalled genius and matchless bravery it had been swept from the waters. We have been induced in the former part of this volume to anticipate the absolute course of events some little in the order of time: and that we might be enabled to follow the tide of European events in an uniform current, we have hitherto omitted to notice the operations in which the invaders of Egypt were engaged after the battle of the Nile.

The greatness of the disaster at Aboukir permitted no concealment, and Bonaparte dexterously employed it as a stimulant to revive the ardour of his followers, which already had been much diminished by the unprecedented hardships of their novel warfare. He represented that Egypt was securely in their possession after a short and brilliant campaign; that the permanency of their conquest depended solely upon a continuance of the same prowess which had won it; that by the destruction of their naval armament, they were now wholly separated from Europe; and that while the necessity of self-preservation dictated activity and vigilance, the glory of France equally demanded the completion of their projects, by the firm establishment of the new Empire, the foundations of which they had already succeeded in planting. Thus without dissembling the impossibility of present retreat, he addressed himself to the two strongest passions which animate human nature; and converted the hopelessness of external assistance into a motive for renewed exertions from themselves.

His situation, indeed, admitted of no other course which could promise a chance of escape from entire discomfiture and disgrace; and the only choice which remained to him, was between unconditional abandonment of his enterprize, and a daring and almost desperate perseverance. The latter of the two, perhaps, was the more safe; for his negotiations, if he had entered upon them, must have been carried on with an enemy justly irritated, little versed in the practices of civiliza-

tion, careless of the Laws of Nations, and regardless of the faith of treaties, if he could but compass that revenge which he ranked highest among all moral duties. On the other hand, the French commander relied upon the impression which the rapidity of his conquests must have produced upon the native powers; he weighed his little band of disciplined veterans against the rude and ill-organized multitude opposed to it; and he trusted, that by suddenness of movement, and superiority of tactics, he might still overthrow in detail, and before they could unite their forces, the numerous hordes which were arming against him on every side.

The occupation of Cairo, and the victories previous to it, had placed Lower Egypt, for the present, under his controul. But, though defeated, the Beys were neither exhausted nor even discouraged; and the professions which Bonaparte had uniformly held out, that the invasion of this province was undertaken chiefly to overthrow their dominion, to demand reparation for pretended insults which they had offered to French merchants, and to rescue the Egyptians from a tyrannical aristocracy, left them no opening, if they had sought one, for treaty; and reduced them to the alternative of war or of extermination. After the battle of the Pyramids, Mourad had rallied his Mameloucs in Upper Egypt; and appeared in sufficient force to give full employment to the division under Desaix, which it was found necessary to detach in observation of him. Ibrahim also, after protecting the caravan of Mecca, the capture of which Bonaparte had confidently anticipated, retreated upon Gaza, and met there a favourable reception, with promises of vigorous support from the Pacha Djezzar. Nor was it from the Beys only, that hostility was to be dreaded. The Divan of Constantinople had long complained of the revolutionary principles disseminated by French agents in Anatolia, the Morea, and the islands of the Archipelago; and had received with marked expressions of dissatisfaction the ambiguous replies with which the Directory met its representations. On the first intelligence of the invasion of Egypt, the Sublime Porte stated in dignified and energetic language, that, on whatever pretext the occupation of this province might be founded, the smallest attempt on Cairo would be considered as a declaration of war; and that the Ottoman Empire would not suffer the loss of a single handful of sand in its Egyptian territory. The interference of France with the chastisement of the Beys, (the natural subjects of the Grand Signor, to whom, if it were required, their punishment properly belonged), was exposed as a frivolous and perfidious apology for a direct violation of the Rights of Nations; and if the ulterior object of the Directory was to facilitate the approaches to the possessions of Great Britain in India, the Porte forbad all passage through its dominions for this purpose, which it declared to be directly at variance with the amicable relations subsisting between the Cabinets of London and Constantinople.

These remonstrances had been answered with the uttermost duplicity: the expedition of Bonaparte was at one time admitted and excused; at another, peremptorily disavowed; and both assertions were made with the same grave show of official formality. The Sublime Porte, in the progress of these discussions, had betrayed no want either of political foresight or of courage; and latterly, when the operations of Bonaparte had removed all doubts as to the perfidy of the French Government, the victory of the Nile confirmed the policy of an immediate declaration of war. In a manifesto, far more enlightened than any which heretofore had issued from an Oriental court, the Grand Signor, on the 11th of September, denounced the ambition and the bad faith of the French; accused them of a desire to banish all orderly institutions from the face of the world, to overset human society, and by an alternate play of secret intrigue and open hostility to derange the constitution of every established independent state. The officers of the French mission were committed to the seven towers; an embargo was laid upon French property; and to destroy the common enemy by sea and land was declared to be a precept of religion by which all faithful Musulmen ought to feel themselves animated.

The internal condition of the French at this moment, was one of acute suffering and proportionate discontent. The troops had been deceived by big and sounding declarations, that Egypt was the Land of Promise, the Paradise of the East, and the key of the treasures of the Indies. Equally fallacious hopes had been held out to their credulity, their avarice, and their ambition, and they had been taught to expect a country easy to be acquired, and still more easy to be kept. The march from Alexandria to Cairo, had fearfully evinced the falsehood of these representations. Melancholy pervaded the ranks, and the recollection of the climate and the luxuries of Italy, aggravated their present sufferings. Food was almost wholly wanting. Bonaparte, in person, bivouacd in the midst of the army, and the meal served to himself and his Staff was a dish of lentils. The soldiers passed their evenings in angry complaints and political discussion. Their murmurs were directed by turns against all who held office or power; and fortunate was it that an occasional bitter jest relaxed somewhat of the severity of their complaints. The band of scientific professors which accompanied the march, was supposed to have instigated the expedition, in order that it might prosecute its philosophical researches with greater facility; and in derision, the baggage-asses were stigmatized as *demi-savans*. General Caffarelli was accused of having first prompted the Directory to the conquest of Egypt. He had lost a leg in a former campaign, and it was sarcastically remarked, that he cared not what happened to others, since himself was sure to have one leg in France. Nor were these complaints confined to the ranks only. More than once, some of the leading officers, such as Lasnes and Murat, dashed

their caps on the sand in the presence of the soldiers, and trampled upon them in fits of momentary rage. On one occasion, Bonaparte rushed amid a group of discontented officers, and remonstrated with vehement threats. "You have held mutinous language," he cried, "take care that I do not fulfil my duty!—your five feet ten should not save you from being shot in a couple of hours."

Nor after its repeated successes and ultimate arrival at Cairo, was the state of this devoted army much ameliorated. Little union was to be found in its ranks, none in its councils. All perceived that they had been cajoled by false hopes. Provisions still were scarce, money was wholly wanting; and an army without food or pay was not likely to remain long in subordination. The baggage for the most part had been left at Alexandria or lost upon the march; and so effectually were the communications cut off both by the Nile and the Desert, that for three weeks no intelligence from Cairo had been received on the coast. Those who looked forward, perceived that the wars of Europe had nothing in common with this of Egypt; that the Mameloucs, though beaten, might re-assemble every moment, for that no obstacle existed to prevent them from again occupying the district from which they had just been driven. It was true that they had not shewn a knowledge of tactics, nor of the art of war; but neither of these were requisite for ultimate success, in a country in which no importance being attached to positions, it was impossible to pronounce that ground was really gained, though repeatedly won. Admirably mounted, and completely appointed in arms, they rode upon the hostile line, careless as it were of death. If thousands fell, the survivors were in their own homes, and their numbers could be speedily recruited, while every fresh success thinned the ranks and diminished the confidence of the invaders. In six weeks from their landing, one only of the original Staff of the French army remained fit for duty: all the rest had been killed, wounded, or taken: and besides this destructive warfare, the apprehensions of the plague were already beginning to be realized, and the listlessness and inactivity arising from the nature of the climate, rapidly enervated those who escaped from the sword and the pestilence *.

* A similar contrast of situations (between Hannibal and the Romans) has been drawn by Livy, in his usual vivid manner.

"In Italiâ bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro, omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt, armis, viris, equis, commeatibus juvant, juvabuntque, id jam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt, meliores, prudentiores, constantiores nos tempus diesque facit. Hannibal contra in alienâ, in hostili est terrâ, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo, procul ab patriâ. *Neque illi terrâ, neque mari est pax*: nullæ eum urbes accipiunt, nulla mœnia: nihil usquam sui videt: in diem rapto vivit. Partem vix tertiam exercitûs ejus habet, quem Iberum amnem trajecit, plures fames quam ferrum, absumsit: nec his paucis jam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi sumus eum qui senescat in dies, *non commeatus non supplementum, non pecuniam habeat?*—Lib. xxii. 39.

One single question appeared to burst from all mouths—what is the object of our sufferings?—we have abandoned our homes, we have crossed the seas, we have braved the English fleets, we have invaded an unknown country, we have carried the horrors of war among an unoffending population, we have ruined a land which nature seems to have separated with unusual care from our violence and our ambition, we have exposed ourselves wantonly to a daily hazard of dying by new ways of death—and all for what? It was far easier to propose than to answer this demand; and murmurs like these were too general and too open to escape the ears of Bonaparte. He already had planned that abandonment of his army, which for awhile the calamity of the first of August prevented, and which he afterwards effected by a fortunate daring. It is recorded on his own authority, three days before the battle of the Nile, that he proposed to be in France in two months; and that he instructed his brother Joseph to procure him a country seat for the winter, either in Burgundy or in the neighbourhood of Paris. But the destruction of the fleet at Aboukir, and the vigilant observation of the whole Mediterranean by the English, rendered hopeless any immediate attempt to return. Part of his troops had been eye-witnesses of the blow which had swept their naval armament from the ocean, and the triumph of the British had been swelled by the emotions which agitated the spectators in Alexandria and Rosetta. The fate of a mighty nation was again decided as at La Hogue, in the presence of those for whose interests the dye was cast, and who were unable to mingle in the contest themselves. The fleets were distinctly seen in their first positions of battle, from the eminences on the coast of Egypt; and the strong anchorage which Brueys had chosen, led his favourers to augur well of the contest. For four hours, they listened to an unintermitted cannonade; then, from a pitchy darkness, on a sudden the whole horizon burst into flames; and as these augmented, and the explosion of L'Orient was heard, from their ignorance, to which party the suffering vessel belonged, the terrible magnificence of the blazing sky and the fiery shower was contemplated more as a scenic spectacle than as a reality. At midnight, and till morning, the fury of the battle seemed to increase, and frequent detachments were dispatched by Kleber to reinforce the crews. The first dawn shewed several vessels dismasted, and one on shore; but the fleets were so intermixed, that it was as yet impossible to determine to which side victory had inclined. Noon arrived, and all still was impatience and perplexity. At two o'clock the firing ceased, and the French learnt the annihilation of their navy.

Thus utterly cut off from Europe and thrown solely upon the resources which he could create, Buonaparte's first care was to strengthen the positions in his occupation, and to provide for the future support of his troops. The army obtained a large reinforcement from those who escaping from the ships destroyed in the

battle of the Nile, took refuge on land. Nearly 4000 men were saved: about half of them formed a Nautical Legion, and the remainder were distributed among various corps. Many pieces of artillery and the salvage of timber was stored in the arsenals of Alexandria. Formidable batteries and redoubts were thrown up at Alexandria; and at Cairo, the ancient castle which commanded the city, was fortified according to the rules of modern art. The stores of the Delta were collected in magazines; ovens were built, and windmills were constructed, for the country itself afforded none but such as are worked by hand. Attempts were made to extract a spirit from the date-tree, which should supply the deficiency of wine and brandy; and a foundery and a manufactory of gunpowder were placed under the superintendance of the Chemists attached to the corps of Savans. It was however far easier to decree the formation of these establishments than to secure their utility; and it is to be believed that little success attended any of the experiments which the Professors of Cairo undertook in their several departments. An Institute on the model of that at Paris was formed at head-quarters, and the Commander-in-chief not unfrequently inspected its Library and Laboratory, and presided at its sittings in person. To divert the thoughts of his troops from the difficulties which environed them, appears to have been the leading object of his policy. The Institute attracted some by its experimental investigations. Its sittings were held in the grand hall of what had once been the palace of a Bey. The natives observed it with astonishment, and learning that these meetings were not held for any purpose connected with Religion, they persuaded themselves that they were assemblies of alchemists in search of the secret of transmutation. In one sense they were not wrong in the supposition. The direction of the Mint was under the care of the Institute, and by debasing the standard of the *paras* which it coined, a profit of 60 per cent. accrued to the treasury. Each detachment of the army was ordered to connect antiquarian research with its military operations: the resolution of geographical doubts, the measurement of ancient buildings, and the survey of undescribed districts formed part of the labours of the campaign: and the ignorance of minds which came ill-prepared to these employments, occasionally broke forth in amusing contrast to the fantastic pseudo-science which it was not only fashionable but necessary to affect. The discovery of the line of the canal which was once projected to connect the Red Sea with the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, was an object of Buonaparte's peculiar and personal anxiety; and its traces were followed to some distance from Suez. The Pelusiac mouths were sounded, and charts of Damietta, the Borghass, Cape Boyan, and the Lake Menzaleh were constructed with as much precision as the harassing attacks of the Arabs would permit. Amusements of another kind were provided for lighter tastes. A sort of Tivoli was opened in the garden of Cairo, in which, like that of

Paris, were illuminations, fireworks, and promenades. In the evening it was the rendezvous of the natives as well as of the French. Every opportunity for the display of pageantry and pompous exhibition was eagerly seized. The General, with his own hand, at the season of the inundation of the Nile, made the cut which opens the communication with Cairo; and the flow of the waters enabled Kleber to undertake the more substantially useful task of transporting his artillery from Alexandria to Gizeh. On the 23d of September, a pageant was prepared to celebrate the anniversary of the French Republic, and especial care was taken to interweave among its shews devices which might be agreeable to the prejudices of the populace of Cairo. Salvoes of artillery announced the rising of the Sun, and a circus erected for the purpose in the place of Elbecquier, was dedicated to military parade. Here, engraved in letters of gold on tinsel pedestals, might be read vows for the endurance of the French Republic and for the expulsion of the Mameloucs. The doxology of the Prophet was conspicuous among heathen altars and civic crowns, and a Christian hymn was chanted to martial music. The birth day of Mohammed was celebrated with like honours, and at a public banquet given jointly to the Turkish authorities and the French Staff, Buonaparte having avowed himself the protector indifferently of all religions, received and assumed by the general consent of the Faithful, the distinguished title of Ali. Yet his respect for the Koran was not without bounds. "That book contains all human knowledge," said the Scheik el Fayour one day to the French commander: "Does it tell us how to cast cannon and make gunpowder?" asked Napoleon: "Yes, replied the Musulman, but then you must know how to read it."

It has been distinctly admitted by Bonaparte himself, at a time in which the sincerity of his confession cannot be doubted, (for no private interest, nor political advantage was to be served by it,) that during his residence at Cairo he seriously proposed that the whole army under his command should make a solemn profession of Islamism. From the commencement of the Revolution, all Christian worship had been suspended among the French military; and he eagerly seized the "advantage" which this desecration afforded him. The Sheiks of the Grand Mosque of Gemel and Azar, who form the convocation of the Mohammedan Church were daily received at sun-rise at the General's levee. Marks of distinguished respect were shewn to them. The army was represented as disposed to embrace their tenets; and Bonaparte himself frequently discussed the incidents of the Prophet's life, and sought explanations of the Koran. The stumbling blocks were circumcision and abstinence from wine; and these obstacles the scholastic ingenuity of the Muftis undertook to remove. They decided that the first rite being only "a perfection" was not indispensable, provided a sincere believer would consent to forego his hopes of Paradise: and a licence to drink

wine was granted on condition that one fifth instead of one tenth of the convert's income should be bestowed in charity. With this compromise the *fetam* of obedience was issued by the Sheiks, and Bonaparte was declared a friend of the Prophet, and under his special protection. Thus, to use his own words, did he reconcile his determination to remain in the religion in which he was born with the occasions of his policy and ambition. The farce ended in a single conversion; and perhaps the renegade Abdallah Menou was the only soldier in the French army who paid homage to his Creator under any form of worship.

One other mockery remained to be performed, and the invader had yet to proffer the fraternization of Republicanism to the people whose institutions he had destroyed. A form of provisional Government, framed on the first seizure of Cairo, had already melted down the various local regulations of Egypt into a stern military despotism. Thus the Divan of seven which was to watch over the interests of each province, was instructed "to enlighten the people as often as shall be requisite:" and the instruments provided for this purpose were the armed force under the French commander. An Aga of the Janissaries to reside constantly with the same French commander, an intendant to collect the revenues, and an agent to correspond with the administrator of finance, formed the only remaining officers under this simple code; which appears to have been directed solely to the coercion and the plunder of the conquered. At length a general Divan was summoned to assemble at Cairo on the 8th of October. The deputation of each province consisted of three men of the law, three merchants, and three Sheiks; and all these were to be selected by the French officers. A stipend was allowed for their support, and as a mark of distinguished honor they alone were permitted to wear the badge of a tri-colored shawl. An Arabian chief, Abdallah Kezkaoni, presided under the guidance of two French commissaries, and this great Council of all Egypt employed itself with becoming gravity in passing the decrees of Buonaparte into national laws. The organization of a police to prevent insurrection, and the levy of imposts to recruit the French treasury appear to have been their chief occupations; in the last was included a house tax upon all the cities, and a land tax upon all the estates throughout the country.

But these juggles could not long deceive a people hourly smarting under the lash of military oppression; and the discontent though smothered for a time, burst out at length with a violence which well nigh threatened destruction to the oppressors. On the morning of the 21st of October the different quarters of Cairo were filled with a tumultuous mob, which with loud murmurs shewed evident signs of insurrection. General Dupuy, commandant of the garrison, rode at the head of a regiment of dragoons to the Grand Mosque, in which the principal crowd was collected. He was received with the most terrific yells; an immediate relief from

the imposts was demanded, and when he attempted to disperse the insurgents by force, he was attacked and mortally wounded in two places. His escort, after the loss of some men, abandoned all hope of quelling the tumult, and conveyed their commander to his quarters in which he died a few hours after. Meantime the crowd had increased, the Grand Mosque was barricadoed, and troops of men rudely armed with lances, pointed stakes, and a few musquets, paraded the streets; every Frenchman whom they met was put to death on the instant; the house of Caffarelli the commandant of engineers was forced, and its inhabitants were slaughtered. As the drums beat to arms and the French garrison began to assemble, the insurgents showered stones from the roofs of the houses and fortified themselves in their different Mosques.

It was against the chief of these that the fire of the citadel was heavily and murderously directed. Within the narrow area of its sacred precincts scarcely less than ten thousand Turks were collected, with little power of defence, and not enough confidence in the faith of their beseigers to surrender. The shells which from time to time pierced the dome, rapidly diminished their numbers, and at length, when the gates were burst open, every man of these devoted victims was put to the sword. The same horrible carnage was repeated at the lesser Mosques as each successively yielded to assault; night only suspended the massacre. On the following morning every Turk in whose hands even a stick was found paid the forfeit of his life. All who were suspected fell, and in the general abhorrence of the French name it was difficult to find any to whom suspicion failed to attach. A few who had abandoned the town were pursued by cavalry, and the Arabs completed the destruction of such as could not be overtaken. After two days of blood tranquillity appeared to be restored on the evening of the 23d, and the miserable remains of the insurgents, who by concealment had escaped butchery, abandoned their attempt in despair.

While these scenes of carnage occurred at Cairo, the remainder of Egypt was no less disturbed. Damietta, the Cataracts, and Thebes witnessed, though in less degree, a series of murderous conflicts: and the blood both of the natives and of their invaders was shed from the Mediterranean to the Desart. But it was to Syria that Bonaparte at this moment looked with most apprehension. The intentions of the Porte were no longer doubtful: the Pashalics of Damascus and of Egypt had been confided to the government of the active and unwearied Djezzar: a plan was already combined, by which this enterprising chief was to attack Egypt on the frontier of the Desart, supported by a powerful force already in motion from Damascus, and assisted by a series of diversions on different points by the Mameloues of Murad Bey. The English Commodore, Sir Sydney Smith, in the Tigre of 84 guns, was to direct the naval operations, and a few previous arrangements alone were wanting for the commencement of offensive war.

Bonaparte resolved to anticipate this attack. A profound calm had succeeded to the insurrection at Cairo, and the successes of Desaix in Upper Egypt had for a time at least insured tranquillity in that quarter. The last months of the year were employed in active preparations, and towards the close of January, after providing for his internal security by strong garrisons in Cairo, Rosetta, Damietta and Alexandria, Bonaparte advanced upon Syria in four divisions, which were to effect a junction under the walls of El Arisch. Kleber, Bon, Lannes and Regnier held the respective commands. Murat headed the cavalry; and the numbers employed on this hazardous service scarcely amounted to 13,000 men. The obstacles to be encountered in the passage of the Desart did not admit any attempt to transport heavy artillery by land *; and in spite of the English blockade it was resolved to risque the embarkation of the cannon which were destined for the siege of Acre, in three frigates from Alexandria. The village of El Arisch stands in the form of an amphitheatre; its houses are of stone, and in the usual eastern form with battlements, which form defences to the flat roofs; it is protected also by a fort. The town itself was soon carried by the bayonet, and a division of Mameloucs who had encamped near at hand for its relief was surprised and routed in a night attack. About 1600 men, who had thrown themselves into the fortress, surrendered as soon as a breach had been opened, on condition of being permitted to retire on the Desart; and Bonaparte obtained possession of all its defences by the 20th of February.

After a painful march of four days, during which the divisions of Kleber, Bon, and Lannes were led astray by their guides, and endured the utmost extremity of thirst, the army again united at the entrance of Palestine. Passing over the cultivated plains which environ Gaza, the French troops drove back Abdalla Pasha, who occupied the heights of Korsum in considerable force; and in his despatch to the Directory the conqueror boasted with an unseasonable levity of allusion, that he had beaten the enemy on the very spot where Samson carried the gates of Gaza. The town itself had been evacuated, and was taken possession of without resistance from the inhabitants; the ammunition and provisions within it were most necessary supplies, since great difficulty was experienced in communicating with the magazines at Cathick, and the weather had already become tempestuous.

Jaffa opposed a more vigorous defence: the town, containing 8000 inhabitants, though unprovided with a fosse or counterscarp, is strongly walled, and flanked by towers. Two forts protect its harbour, and it was necessary to invest it by regular approaches. The batteries in it were ill constructed

* Notwithstanding these difficulties Bonaparte transported a carriage and six horses as far as St. Jean d'Acre. The skill of his coachman in driving them through the narrow streets of Cairo was a subject of great wonder to the natives. This coachman's name is worth preserving; it was *Cæsar*.

and the artillery was unskilfully placed, so that a practicable breach was made in 48 hours, and two sallies of the garrison were repulsed. The motley crew which composed the defenders of the town is described as consisting of men in various costumes, and of all colors, Maugrabins, Albanians, Kurds, Natolians, Caramanians, Damascenes, natives of Aleppo and blacks from Tekrour. Under a severe cannonade which could not be silenced, the French made a lodgement on the ramparts, and advancing from street to street, stormed the forts with great slaughter. The conquest cost little less than a thousand men.

Two events which occurred while Jaffa was in possession of the French, have occasioned more controversy than any others which distinguish the extraordinary life of Bonaparte. The narrative of them was originally presented to the world by Sir Robert Wilson, and after repeated denials and assertions, as the feelings of opposite partizans induced them to fashion their belief, they have both been confirmed (the one entirely, the other in part,) by the admission of the chief actor himself. We shall first lay before our readers Sir Robert Wilson's statement, divested of its invective; and we shall then give as a commentary Bonaparte's explanation of it.

Five thousand prisoners fell into the hands of the conqueror. In the heat of the assault such of the garrison as threw themselves into the Mosque were spared by the soldiery. Bonaparte inspected these prisoners in person three days after their capture, and having expressed much resentment at the compassion manifested by his troops, and set aside such persons as belonged to the towns in his future line of march, he ordered the remainder, 3800 men, to be removed to a rising ground about a mile from the town. Here the division of Bon formed against them, and at a given signal vollies of grape and musquetry played on the devoted mass, till the bayonet completed the destruction which the fire could not wholly effect. Bonaparte viewed the massacre through his telescope, and broke out into exclamations of joy when he saw the smoke ascending. It seems that he dreaded the refusal of his troops to participate in the butchery, that Kleber had earnestly remonstrated, and that the officer of the *etat major* who commanded had required a written instruction, which was refused to him. The bones of these miserable victims still lie in heaps, and are shewn to every traveller apart from those of the besieged who perished in the assault.

Such is the charge which Sir Robert Wilson advanced on the authority of French officers present at the dreadful scene, and who partly furnished him with the details. For fifteen years the horror of the accusation prevented its general reception. In his despatch to the Directory, at the time, Bonaparte had expressed himself strongly as to the severities which he had inflicted at Jaffa, "For twenty-four hours, he said, the town was given up to pillage and to all the horrors of war, *which never before seemed to me so hideous.* Four thousand of Djezzar's soldiers were put to the sword, 800 of them were cannoneers, part

of the inhabitants were massacred." But on a later occasion, since his downfall from power, he has admitted and attempted to justify the main articles of Sir Robert Wilson's accusation: differing only as to the numbers who were massacred*.

The hospitals at Jaffa (after the failure before Acre, which we must here be permitted to anticipate) were crowded with sick. The danger of contagion from the plague, spread consternation among the soldiery; and Bonaparte having ascertained from his medical Staff the idleness of these fears, effectually banished them by himself entering the wards and handling the infected. Sir Robert Wilson's second charge arises from this point: he affirms "that Bonaparte proposed to a physician the destruction of his patients, in order to check the progress of the disorder: that the physician indignantly rejected the suggestion: but that an apothecary was found who at night distributed opium in gratifying food among the sufferers, and that before morning 580 soldiers perished by the orders of their commander. The apothecary is said to have confessed the crime, and the physician to have denounced the proposer of it before the Institute of Cairo.

Desgenettes:—his name is worthy of being transmitted to posterity, though he has been stigmatized as a *bavard* by the master to whose calculating cruelty he refused to minister.—Desgenettes was the high-minded physician who replied, when Bonaparte recommended opium, that his province was to cure not to kill. The rest of the charge is denied; the number of infected is diminished to three or four in the conversations with Lord Ebrington, to seven or eight in O'Meara's report, to about twenty in the "minute, official, and authentic details," which are the result of Las Cases' inquiries. It is admitted on all hands, that the proposition was made by Bonaparte, and was rejected by Desgenettes, and the unhappy men ultimately were left to their fate.

Before he quitted Jaffa, Bonaparte formed in it a Divan, and took the necessary measures for restoring its walls to a state of respectable defence. His magazines also were concentrated in it, and it became the receptacle of the supplies which were conveyed from Alexandria and Damietta. He then addressed a proclamation to the Sheiks, Ulemas, and other inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces, informing them of his arrival in Palestine to destroy the Mamelouc and Djezzar Pasha. Against him only who had provoked war he continued to de-

* We subjoin his own words, spoken to and recorded by an English Nobleman (Lord Ebrington) while in the Isle of Elba. "C'est vrai—J'en fis fusiller à peu près deux mille—Vous trouvez cela un peu fort—mais je leur avoir accorde une capitulation á El Arish à condition qu'ils retourneroient chez eux. Ils l'ont rompue et se sont jettés dans Jaffa où je les pris par assaut. Je ne pouvois les emmener prisonniers avec moi, car je manques de pain, et ils etoient des diables trop dangereux pour les lacher une seconde fois, de sorte que je n'avois d'autre moyen que de les tuer." It is of two thousand lives (according to his own statement) that he uses this tone of levity. We purposely abstain from all farther commentary.

nounce its horrors; all others were to be respected. This document was couched in Oriental phraseology, and in its allusions to Fatalism, was purposely adapted to the prejudices of the followers of the Prophet. From God, it stated, all good things come; it is he who gives the victory. "It is proper that you should know that all human efforts are useless against me, for all that I undertake is destined to succeed. Those who declare themselves my friends prosper: those who declare themselves my enemies perish. The example of Jaffa and Gaza ought to teach you that if I am terrible to my enemies, I am kind to my friends; and above all, I am benevolent and merciful to the poor."

At the same time he directed a final despatch to Djezzar Pasha, disavowing all hostile intention against him personally; representing that the Mamelouks alone were the enemies of the French; that to the conquerors a few miles more of territory were of little value, and that they by no means wished to deprive an old man, with whom they were unacquainted, of the brief remainder of his life; that it was the clear policy of the Pasha to oppose himself to the English and the Beys; and that any messenger authorized to complete such an arrangement would be gladly received. The Pasha, in a verbal reply, declined all communication, expressed himself prepared for the reception of an attack, and that he was resolved rather to bury himself in the ruins of his fortress than tamely to surrender it.

During the preceding autumn and winter Sir Sydney Smith had been vigorously hastening his naval preparations in the Levant. He had been received with unusual honors at Constantinople; and when informed of Bonaparte's first movements on Syria, he attempted to bombard Alexandria in conjunction with Commodore Hood, who was employed in its blockade. To effect any material diversion, however, required a considerable military force, and no farther injury was done to the French flotilla than the destruction of two transports: in the mean time Djezzar received positive information of the near approach of Bonaparte, and Sir Sydney hastened to his assistance. The French in their march were severely harassed among the mountains of Naplousia, by large bodies of the natives and by the cavalry of Abdallah. Kleber's division having extricated itself from the defiles of Carmel, marched upon Caiffa. The town had been already abandoned, and it was immediately occupied by the French: the port, which would have been a most important acquisition, was secured against attack by the presence of the English squadron.

While the French army was on its march, Sir Sydney Smith observed the coast of Palestine, and on the evening of the 16th of March, after a chase of a few hours, captured off Cape Carmel the whole of the flotilla which was conveying the siege-artillery to Acre. This seasonable capture not only deprived the enemy of his chief immediate means of attack, but materially strengthened the defences of the besieged. The heavy guns were mounted with all

speed on the ramparts of Acre which had been invested in form on the 20th.

The Metropolis of the Latin Christians retained little of its ancient splendour. Its strong and stately buildings, its aqueducts, and its artificial port, had yielded to the rage of war, or to the slower but no less certain waste of Time. Yet the severity of the former conflicts which ages since had deluged its walls with blood, was destined to be renewed, and the mount of the Lion-hearted Prince was again to be crowned with the standard of England. The French army was encamped on an insulated eminence, parallel to the sea, commanding a plain to the northward terminated by mountains; the neighbouring castles of Nazareth, Saffet, and Schaffams were occupied as out-posts; and the trenches were opened within 150 yards of the fortress. On the part of Djezzar the arrangement of his defences had been intrusted to Colonel Phelipeaux, an emigrant engineer of considerable talents and experience, who had conducted the stratagem which restored Sir Sydney Smith to liberty, and was now a sharer of his friend's glory. By a singular trick of fortune, the officer who was now destined to assist so much in frustrating the deadly object of Bonaparte, had been in early life his contemporary and class-fellow in the Military School of Paris. They had been examined at the same time, previously to their first appointment in their respective corps. Two sides of the town are protected by the sea, and from these the English flotilla was enabled to direct a constant and most destructive fire on the flank of the enemy's approaches.

In ten days a breach was reported practicable on the north-east, and the French attempted their first assault. The fire from the fortress was tremendous; the assailants had miscalculated the height of the rampart which they had to scale; a mine which they had branched out produced only partial effect; stones, grenades, and combustibles of every nature were showered from above, and the division which had gained the foot of the breach was driven back with the loss of many of its officers.

Much was still to be apprehended by the besieged from the mine, and it was necessary that it should be destroyed. For this purpose a sally was made by two thousand Turks at break of day on the 7th of April; their impetuosity and noise rendered all attempt at surprise useless; but while they employed the enemy in his trenches, the English pioneers and pikemen succeeded in pulling down the supporters of the mine: this hazardous service was not completed without loss; Lieutenant Wright, who led the pioneers, was disabled in the trenches; and Major Oldfield of the marines died in the hands of the enemy. But the destruction of the mine was of the utmost importance, both to quiet the apprehensions of a garrison unused to the regularity of an European siege, and also to gain time for the arrival of reinforcements which were hourly expected.

For many succeeding days sorties and assaults were repeated on

either side with various immediate success and little ultimate effect. In the mean time the emissaries of Djezzar had operated powerfully among the neighbouring provinces, and hosts of men were pouring from Aleppo, Damascus, Sayd, and the fastnesses of Naplousia. The Maugrabins, the Mameloucs of Ibrahim Bey, and the Arabs of the surrounding districts were gathering with rapidity round Acre, and the bridges of Jordan had already been passed by more than one column. Junot, who was posted near Nazareth, had been surprized and surrounded; after much hard fighting his detachment fell back upon Kaftcana. Kleber, who advanced to his assistance from Acre, saved himself from a similar check by diverting the attention of the hostile cavalry at the moment of its charge, by a bold attack on a village, Sed Jarra, in his front. The Turks retreated, but Kleber was unable to pursue; and on the plains of Esdraelon a rude force of not less than 15000 men was concentrated and united. The inhabitants of the country who took up arms and joined them increased this body to 40,000 strong, and they were sufficiently confident in their numbers to ravage the country about Saffet, to attempt an assault of its castle, and, even though repulsed, to continue its close blockade.

This species of warfare in which the superior numbers had the choice of coming to or abstaining from action as they pleased, was greatly to the advantage of the motley and ill-disciplined force which had assembled for the relief of Djezzar. Bonaparte saw that it was necessary to hazard a decisive battle; and yet that it would be too dangerous to engage immediately under the walls of Acre. He determined therefore to attack simultaneously every point of the hostile line. The continuation of the siege was intrusted to Regnier and Samuel: Murat was directed to march on the bridge of Jacob, where part of the enemy was encamped to relieve Saffet, and by manœuvring on the enemy's rear, to effect a junction with Kleber. Kleber was to place himself between the Syrian position and Tiberias; and, if possible, to surprize the enemy's camp by a night-attack.

On the night of the 26th of April he advanced for this purpose: but the difficulties of his march and the intricacies of the defiles which he had to pierce, entirely frustrated his original design. The sun had risen for more than two hours before he approached the camp at Fouli, and the Turks were already prepared for his reception by their sentinels on Mount Hermon. Some ruins in his front presented the only hope of advantage from position, and under cover of these he drew up his little band in two square columns. The village of Fouli was occupied by the Naplousian infantry, with two small pieces of cannon mounted on the backs of camels. To withstand these, and the overwhelming clouds of horse by which he was surrounded, Kleber had scarcely more than 2000 men. Yet he maintained the unequal contest with coolness and gallantry; and the repeated charges of 20,000 cavalry were unable to break in upon

his squares. It was during the heat of this perilous conflict that Bonaparte, who had been under arms all night at Saffarie, with the division of Bon, eight pieces of artillery, and such cavalry as could be spared from Murat, disengaged himself from the gorges of the Samaritan mountains. The plain of Esdraelon lay before him as he descended the last height, and Mount Tabor bounded the horizon of the field of battle. Kleber's extreme danger was apparent on the instant. Bonaparte formed three divisions; one was to attack the camp; the second to interpose between the camp and the enemy's line; the third to advance in flank. A signal gun announced his arrival to Kleber, but the Turks, from the nature of the ground, did not perceive their new opponent till the moment in which they found themselves cut off from their camp. Their masses of cavalry began to waver; the Naplousians were panic-struck; and Kleber, pressing forward, carried the village of Fouli by the bayonet. The Mameloucs fled at all quarters towards Damascus; some gained the fastnesses of Mount Tabor; some threw themselves into the Jordan, and were drowned from ignorance of the fords. In the camp which was stormed by the column of cavalry, 500 camels and about half as many men were taken. In the mean time Murat had been not less successful in surprizing the other camp at Jacob's bridge: its garrison was put to the sword, with the exception of a few men, who were pursued and harassed in their retreat. The castle of Saffet was relieved and provisioned, and the fort of Tiberias, in which military stores of all kinds for more than a year's consumption were found, fell into the possession of the conquerors.

It was one leading part of Bonaparte's policy to strike terror deeply, and for this purpose he inflicted the most frightful severities upon the wretched inhabitants of the captured villages. EVERY THING which was found in Noures, Jennin, and Fouli was KILLED OR BURNED *. Nazareth, Saffet, and Tiberias were committed to the observation of Kleber; and Bonaparte, after ravaging the neighbouring districts, returned to the camp before Acre, with his cavalry and the division of Bon. In his short expedition he had beaten a very superior force on a line extending more than eight leagues; and although victory over the irregular bands to which he had been opposed could add little lustre to his military fame, yet their dispersion, and the possession of their magazines, enabled him to renew the siege without inquietude or fear of molestation.

Thirty pieces of heavy artillery had arrived from Jaffa whither they had been transported by sea during Bonaparte's absence, and with this additional strength, the operations were most vigorously renewed on his return. A tower near the breach was the scene of many bloody conflicts; partly demolished by the batteries, it still resisted the explosion of a mine which blew up on one side of it.

* Berthier's Narrative.

More than once a small body of French grenadiers succeeded in lodging themselves under the ruins of the arch of its first story; but the burning materials which were hurled upon them by the sentinels who still maintained the upper parts, as often compelled the assailants to retire. The breach was hourly widened; but whatever out-posts the French at one time gained, they were almost as instantly compelled to abandon. The mine was again constructed, and again counterworked. Every night the troops both in the garrison and the trenches were labouring to repair the destruction which had been mutually effected in the day. The marines of the Tigre and the Theseus, under a heavy and incessant fire, threw out two ravelins within ten yards of the enemy's approaches; and the French continually worked at less than half pistol shot from the walls. The casualties on both sides were consequently numerous; but the chief loss which the besieged had to lament was that of their skilful and indefatigable engineer Colonel Phelipeaux, who fell a victim to constant exertion and exposure to the sun on the 2d of May.

The French now had been led nine times to the assault; and in spite of the utmost valour, nine times they had been driven back with slaughter. "We see the fortress defended by Europeans, and we attack it like Turks," was the bitter sarcasm of Kleber; and the taunt was never forgiven. But Bonaparte had been spoiled by success; and he had yet to learn that to will is not always to conquer. The siege hitherto had been a continual battle; and for more than fifty days scarcely one had passed without an attempt at sortie or storm. In many of these the commander-in-chief had been exposed to unusual peril. No less than four horses were killed under him at different times of the siege; and on one occasion while he was in the trenches, a shell fell at his feet. Two grenadiers who were close by rushed up, and placing him between them raised their arms above his head, and sheltered his whole body. The shell exploded, and no one was injured.

At length on the evening of the 7th of May, the long expected fleet of corvettes and transports, with a powerful reinforcement to Djezzar under Hassan Bey, anchored in the road. On its approach the fire of the besiegers rapidly increased, and Bonaparte seemed resolved to make one more desperate effort to gain the town before fresh troops could be thrown into it. All night the cannonade was ceaseless. The French had protected themselves in great measure by new traverses from the flanking fire of the English ships; and they gained ground materially. The upper part of the tower on the breach had fallen in, and they mounted on its ruins to the second story. The approaches to this lodgement were constructed by sand-bags, on which the bodies of the dead were piled, and the bayonets of the occupants only were visible above this unnatural rampart. At sunrise the standard of the French floated on the outward angle of the tower, and their troops were pressing forward to the breach.

Hassan Bey's force as yet was

but half way to shore, and ere it could disembark and form the town might be lost. To meet this sudden danger, Sir Sydney Smith hastily armed the crews of his boats with pikes, and hurried from the shore to the breach. Here, with the few Turks who remained, the fight raged man to man; and not a foot could be withdrawn lest the spot left vacant should be filled by an enemy. So close were the combatants, with eager hope from the advantage gained on the one hand, and desperate resistance lest more should be lost on the other, that every blow which fell was armed with destruction. The ruins between the two parties formed a sort of breast-work to both *, and the spear-heads of the separate standards were locked in each other. As the Turks rolled heavy stones upon the assailants, and overthrew the foremost, a fresh line succeeded to that which had been swept away; and the ascent was well nigh choaked with a confused mass of the living and the dead.

The most enthusiastic shouts from the garrison greeted and announced the approach of the English. Sir Sydney Smith mounted the most exposed spot; the Turks who had given way, returned to their posts, and as the besiegers did not relax their daring, the combat only increased in fury. The Pasha who was dealing out cartridges with his own hands, and distributing rewards from his station, according to national custom, to all such as brought him the head of an enemy, rushed to the breach exclaiming that if any harm happened to his English friends all was lost, and endeavoured to force them away. During this amicable struggle Hassan Bey's troops had disembarked and formed. Sir Sydney Smith, in spite of the Pasha's repugnance, posted the Chifflick regiment, which had been disciplined in the European manner, in the gardens of the seraglio. This indeed was no fitting season to indulge the fastidious scruples of Eastern jealousy; for the enemy was partly on the rampart which the gardens commanded, and out of the 1000 Albanians of Djezzar's guard who at first had occupied them, scarcely 200 remained alive. As the breach became more crouded with defenders it was less tenable by the assailants. A favorable moment seemed to present itself for a sally on the enemy's flank: the gates of the seraglio were thrown open, and the Chifflick regiment rushed impetuously to the charge. It was unequal to the attempt and gave way with loss, but its return was protected by a heavy discharge of grape from the English vessels. Pressed on all sides, and thinned by the length and obstinacy of the struggle, the enemy's column now wavered in turn. A shower of grenades increased its confusion; its hesitation was soon converted into retreat, and the few who remained on the lodgement were killed to a man.

Murderous as this unsuccessful

* Such was the case also at Saguntum, in the siege of which with the wide exception of the termination, the classical reader will find many striking parallels: "captum oppidum eâ ruinâ crediderant Pœni, quâ, velut si pariter utrosque murus texisset, ita utrimque in pugnam procursum est."

assault had been, Bonaparte still meditated its renewal. He was distinctly seen on Cœur de Lion's Mount, in the centre of a groupe of officers, who more than once had been dispersed by shells from the garrison, pointing with angry gesticulations to the tower, and despatching aides-de-camp for a reinforcement. The enemy had scarcely been beaten back, when new batteries opened upon another part of the curtain, and brought down whole sheets of wall. The breach, already before sun-set, was sufficient to admit fifty men abreast; and at the close of day, a fresh massive column was observed to advance upon it. The rampart was now left wholly unprotected; for, in this instance, the Pasha resolved to defend himself according to Eastern tactics. Not a sentinel appeared upon the wall, and not a shot was fired; but when the French advanced to the gardens of the seraglio, the Turks rushed on armed doubly with the sabre and the dagger. The contest lasted a few minutes only, and in the deadly grapple, hand to hand, the bayonet proved unequal to these more habile weapons. Scarcely a man of the enemy escaped, and the few who remained unwounded precipitately fled. General Lasnes was carried off with difficulty, severely hurt. General Rombaud was left dead in the breach; and a pause, as by tacit agreement, succeeded to a series of attacks which had continued for twenty-five hours.

Bonaparte's obstinacy, however, appeared only to be confirmed by disappointment; and his frequent repulses seemed but to increase his desire of attack. Early on the morning of the 10th, he advanced in person to the foot of the breach: the outposts of the garrison were surprized and put to the sword; but new entrenchments with which the besiegers were unacquainted, forbad all further progress. In the afternoon of the same day, the assault was renewed, and with a similar event; a second and even a third line of artillery presented itself; and after encountering a most destructive cannonade, the French again retired.

Kleber's division, which had been summoned from the fords of Jordan to take part in the offensive operations of the siege, found other employment. The Turkish Chifflick regiment, eagerly sought an opportunity of redeeming the character which it had lost by its former unsteadiness, and in a night-sally it penetrated as far as the enemy's third parallel. This vigorous and unexpected attack diverted Kleber's force which had been ordered to the breach, and the affair concluded with the recovery of their works by the French, after the destruction of some guns in their batteries, and the loss of many lives on both sides.

In conflicting accusations of mutual treachery, it is difficult to attain the truth. The French charge the Turks with firing on a flag of truce which was sent to propose a suspension of arms for the burial of the dead. Sir Sydney Smith, on the other hand, affirms, that a cannonade commenced from the enemy's lines, while the answer to this proposal was under consideration. It is

probable that accident or mistake in both parties led, in the first instance, to an unintentional violation of the laws of war. But the same apology cannot be offered for the atrocity of two attempts at assassination, which were made against the person of the English Commodore; and we are compelled to admit, that a spirit which could prompt if not participate in one crime so black, would without hesitation perpetrate the other.

The protraction of the siege, and the unexpected resistance which had for the first time stemmed the torrent of French outrage, revived the sinking courage, or confirmed the wavering determination of the native chiefs. The Sheiks of the Druses, and the Princes of Lebanon, were called upon by Sir Sydney Smith to arm themselves against an invader who had made the impious boast of overthrowing all Christian establishments. They obeyed the summons with alacrity; and while their ambassadors professed not only friendship but obedience, the warriors themselves made good these declarations, by intercepting all supplies, and by placing the numerous prisoners whom they captured at the disposal of the English. Even if Acre fell, no hope could now remain to Bonaparte of proceeding farther northward; for a people of warlike habits was opposed to him in an impenetrable country. That it *should* fall, became every day more improbable. The breach was practicable indeed, and the town never from the first had been defensible by the rules of art; but on the part of the sea, it was provisioned and supported by a force which itself could not be attacked: the intrepidity of the garrison gave an assurance, that till their fortress was reduced to a heap of stones, no force could win it, and even if these ruins had been won, they could not have been long maintained under the fire of the shipping. Added to the common diseases of the climate, which had caused great havoc among the enemy, a contagious disorder was raging from the stench of the unburied corpses: it was destructive on both sides, and a few hours terminated, by delirium and death, the sufferings of those who were seized by it. Deeply wounded in his pride, Bonaparte still pressed on; but his officers were indignant at the repeated sacrifice of lives for an unattainable object, and the grenadiers, it is said, refused to advance to that certain destruction of which they were warned by the putrid bodies of their comrades yet lying on the breach. To preserve subordination, an abandonment of the enterprize became necessary on the moment, and Bonaparte decided upon immediate retreat. His first operation was to withdraw the wounded and such artillery as could be removed to Jaffa. Here they were embarked; but the vessels being incomplete in crew, and ill-provided with water and provisions, voluntarily directed their course towards the English squadron which had been despatched in pursuit of them.

The days occupied by these preparatory movements, on the part of the besieging army were employ-

ed by the besieged in a most vigorous cannonade. In the bitterness of his disappointment, the French leader resolved to destroy to the utmost of his power, a fortress which he was unable to conquer; and he ordered all the remaining siege-ammunition to be directed to the demolition of the palace, the fortifications, and other public buildings. Even yet, however, he had to protect himself from sorties, and to the latest moment, he was harassed by the bold attacks of the garrison. At length such artillery as could not be carried off, having been thrown into the sea, the convoys of the hospital-train being in advance towards Cantoura, and the magazines and harvest in the surrounding country being reduced to ashes, at nine in the evening of the 20th of May, just sixty-one days after the first opening of the trenches, the siege was raised. The retreat was conducted in silence and in order, but not without difficulty. The road between Acre and Gaza was strewed with dead bodies; for of the wounded, none but such as had been wholly disabled were allowed to embark; and injuries which, under other circumstances might have admitted cure, proved mortal from fatigue. The English row-boats harassed the van of the retreating army on the line of the beach, and unnumbered Arabs swarmed upon its rear. Devastation and massacre marked its course. Every village was burnt, the grain was scattered and destroyed, the cattle were driven off. At Jaffa, during a three days' halt, the fortifications were blown up, the artillery on the works destroyed, and a contribution of 150,000 livres pillaged from the inhabitants. On reaching Kan Jounisse, that immense plain presented but one blaze of fire. Gaza had conducted itself peaceably, and the fate of places which had shewn signs of hostility may be guessed at from the moderation vaunted as shewn to this unhappy city, which, even by the admission of its marauders, was "entitled to protection of persons and property." All its defences were razed to the ground, and three of its wealthiest residents were compelled to furnish 100,000 livres. Even the poverty of the Desart failed to protect it from these indiscriminate ravagers: the scanty harvest which in a few green spots supplied subsistence, and the scattered camps which over a space of eleven leagues afforded shelter to its wandering Arabs, were burned; and the cattle and the camels which might have enabled them to seek the means of life elsewhere, were annexed to the train of an army, in which defeat had only aggravated the thirst for plunder and for vengeance.

Between El Arisch and Cathich, the divisions though marching in succession, suffered acutely from want of water. A single well only, the supply of which is brackish, occurs about midway of a Desart stretched out for two and twenty leagues. With the loss of strength which it was impossible to recover, and, what was still more detrimental to his interests, with the diminution of that impression of irresistibility which hitherto had accompanied his name, Bonaparte found himself

once more in Cairo, on the 15th of June.

The five months of his absence from Egypt had not been passed in inactivity by the native powers who chafed under his yoke. His departure was a signal for renewed attempts throughout the interior, and the French troops which remained in it were harassed by almost continual action. The provinces of Gizeh and Charkie, broke out into open revolt; and it required more than one engagement to enable General Dugua's division to drive back and disperse the hordes of Arabs who had joined the inhabitants. Nor was the hatred of unjust aggression the only passion which was roused against the French. Religious fanaticism added its powerful stimulus. The Koran had announced a time in which, while believers were labouring under difficulties, the Angel El Madhi was to appear on Earth. The name and functions of this mission were assumed by a stranger from the deserts of Derne. The fame of his arrival spread rapidly over Egypt; and the list of his disciples was largely swelled both by those who were deceived, and those who sought to profit by his pretensions. The impostor had all the qualities adapted to excite the fanaticism of the populace. He succeeded in persuading them, that by the special grace of the Prophet, he was enabled to live without food. His sole nourishment was taken every day at the hour of prayer, in the presence of the assembled Faithful: a bowl of milk being presented to him he dipped his fingers into this and passed them over his lips. His first adherents were a body-guard of 120 men of his own tribe well armed, and drunk with zeal. At the head of these, he repaired to the Great Oasis; and there having met with a caravan of 400 Maugrabin pilgrims from Fez, he announced himself as the promised Angel, and obtained their belief and assistance. Thus supported by nearly 600 men and numerous camels, he marched upon Damanhour. Here he surprised 60 men of the French Nautical Legion, killed them, and took their musquets and a four pounder. His partisans were increased by this success; and by the declarations of the invulnerability of himself and such as should follow him to battle, which he loudly affirmed in the Mosque of Damanhour and its neighbourhood, he largely and rapidly added to his numbers. Few could refuse obedience to the Angel El Madhi; the incombustible and ball proof, before whom all human weapons were to fall powerless from the grasp of his enemies! 4000 enthusiasts joined him from the Behirah. About an eighth of these were completely armed. The others received pikes and shovels, and were trained to scatter dust before them, the blessed grains of which they were assured would be sufficient to overwhelm the infidel invaders. General Lefebvre marched from Ramanieh with an inconsiderable force, 200 men, to retake Damanhour, and to check the progress of a revolt which had now become formidable. The French were outflanked and surrounded by numbers; and after fighting till night-fall, were driven back once more to their fortress.

In this engagement, many of the Impostor's followers were killed and wounded; the survivors murmured and reproached him with deception; but his ingenuity converted the very event which ought to have destroyed his power into a strong confirmation of it. He remonstrated in turn, and appealed to the Koran for his truth. None of those, he said, who had rushed on with full confidence in his promises had fallen before the enemy. They were the weak and wavering, the inconstant or the heretical in faith who had been punished by the Prophet. The whole of Bahireh gave assent to his pretensions, and it was apprehended that the revolt would be general even among the neighbouring provinces. The French hastened to anticipate or to suppress the spreading disaffection. Lanusse arrived with powerful reinforcements. He gave battle at Damanhour: 1500 of the fanatics were put to the sword, the remainder fled, and the death of the Impostor himself restored the province to the dominion of the French. Meantime, the Mameloucs who had been dispersed in the western desarts, bore down in small parties, and re-assembled in Lower Egypt. To encourage their disposition to resistance, an English man of war and a frigate, under Admiral Blanket, appeared off Suez; but the respectable state of defence which this town presented, forbad a descent, and the English commander retired, after leaving a brig to cruize before the port.

A few weeks sufficed to Bonaparte for the refreshment and reorganization of his army; and he again prepared to put it in motion. The Mameloucs still hovered round the French divisions, and their activity in different quarters portended some plan of more than usually combined operations. Le Grange surprised one corps at Sababian, which was endeavouring to form a junction with Ibrahim Bey, by penetrating to Gaza. The whole of the baggage, and 700 camels, were the prize of the victors. A second body, under Mourad Bey, was anticipated on the Natron lakes by Murat; and to cut off the retreat of this division from Gizeh, whither it had countermarched, was the object of the first movement of Bonaparte himself.

For this purpose, early in July, Murat was dispatched with a picked corps from Cairo to Lake Natron. Mourad Bey retired before him, and sought safety in the desart. In his flight, he ascended the great Pyramid, and remained part of the day gazing with a telescope at the possessions which he had lost. Bonaparte, in person, endeavoured to overtake him, but during the preparation for pursuit, intelligence arrived that 100 sail of Turkish vessels had anchored in the bay of Aboukir, on the 13th; that they had landed 3000 men; that the redoubt of Aboukir had been carried by storm, with the loss of several hundred French; and that the fort itself had surrendered.

The hazard to which Alexandria was exposed, demanded prompt attention; for the siege of this city was the most probable object of the Turkish expedition. The victorious troops had landed

their artillery, they had entrenched themselves upon the peninsula, and had destroyed the pontoons which communicated with Rosetta; and as every day added to their force they waited only for the junction of Mourad Bey to invest Alexandria in form.

After forming his dispositions for the observation of Mourad Bey, and the protection of Upper Egypt and Cairo, Bonaparte ordered the main body of his army to concentrate itself at Ramanieh. His own movements were rapid, for he apprehended the arrival of an English as well as a Turkish army; and notwithstanding the difficulties of the country, he passed over 40 leagues in four days. As yet he was unacquainted with the intentions of his enemy, and it therefore became necessary, that he should assume a position which offered itself against all possible objects. His army, when assembled, consisted of 25,000 men, including 3000 excellent cavalry, and 60 well horsed pieces of artillery. In order to obtain this number, it was necessary to withdraw Dessaix from Upper Egypt, which was left to be defended by its inhabitants, and to leave little more than 800 men, (in which number the sick were included), as a garrison for Cairo. The village of Birket, on one of the angles of the lake Madie gave him equal facilities of marching on Lecco, Rosetta, Alexandria and Aboukir; it formed a barrier against any advance of the Turks from the neck of land which they at present occupied; and it interposed between their lines and the reinforcements which were hastening to them from the interior. In this post, he reconnoitred their works; and having viewed the fortifications of Alexandria, and established wells half way between this city and Aboukir, he resolved to profit by the inactivity of the Turkish commander, and to commence an immediate attack. The Turkish force, under Mustapha Pacha, amounted to somewhat more than 20,000 men. He had no artillery horses. His ordnance consisted of 30 pieces of cannon, chiefly of French make; and his whole cavalry consisted of two or three hundred horses belonging to his officers, which had been formed into companies to do the duty of advanced posts. The disasters of Mourad Bey, were a severe source of disappointment; for Mustapha had confidently expected a reinforcement from him of several thousand cavalry and camels; and he not only was deprived of this seasonable aid; but he found also, that the confidence of the Arabs was diminished, and that they dreaded exposure to the vengeance of the French army. The strength of Alexandria, seemed to forbid an assault, by an army so destitute of artillery, horses, and cavalry; and the Turkish General, overpowered by these unexpected obstacles, while deliberating upon his future measures, lost the only time in which success might have been attainable.

On the 25th of July, at daybreak, a strong advanced guard of cavalry, under Murat, with three battalions, under D'Estaing, preceded the army: the main body followed in two columns;

Lannes commanded on the right; Lanusse on the left; Kleber, who was known to be at Foua, and who was following the movements of the army, was expected in the course of the day to supply the reserve. Davoust was posted in the rear to observe the probable approach of Mourad Bey and the Arabs, and to protect the communications with Alexandria; while Menou occupying the extremity of the bar of Rosetta, was to cannonade the Lake of Madie, and to employ the left of the enemy.

Mustapha Pacha had not yet completed his entrenchments, but his position was in some points strong. A double line of troops defended the gorge of the peninsula. The right of the first line, nearly two miles in front of the fort of Aboukir, was flanked by the sea; and protected by 1000 men on a mount of sand: 1200 men in the centre occupied a village with four pieces of cannon; and on the left, 2000 more, with six pieces of cannon, were posted on a detached sand-hill, advanced about 1200 yards in front. The chief object of this position was to cover the wells; but its works were ill constructed, and it was of little importance to general objects. In the interval between it and the second line, a few gun-boats were ranged along the shore. The main position about 600 yards in rear of the first, was far more advantageous. The redoubt which had been stormed, was in possession of the centre, and had been connected by an entrenchment with the sea, along which was posted the right. The left stretched itself on sand-hills to the shore, supported on either flank by the fire of the redoubt and the gun-boats; and the whole line presented a formidable array of 7000 men, and twelve pieces of cannon. In the village and fort of Aboukir, was a reserve of 1500 more, and the naval squadron was anchored in the road somewhat more than a league from the land.

Two hours march brought the armies in sight of each other. D'Estaing's battalions carried the mount of sand on the enemy's right with the bayonet. Lannes at the same moment turned the left, which gave way without resistance; and the cavalry of Murat, closing in upon both wings, put to the sword or drove into the sea all but a few who retired upon the village. This was vigorously defended; and a mass of cavalry was detached from the second line to its relief; after an obstinate contest it was carried, though not without severe loss to the assailants.

After a short breathing-time, a cannonade was opened upon the right of the Turkish second position, and the redoubt in its centre. In this last consisted the main strength of the line; and Bonaparte formed his dispositions accordingly. A reserve was drawn up in front of the redoubt, with orders to attack it at the moment in which the wings of the enemy should waver. Against the entrenchments on the Turkish right, Fuguieres marched his infantry. The cavalry pressed upon their left. Here repeated charges were made without effect. Through the terrible defile between the redoubt and the gun-boats, no va-

lour could force its way, and each charge thinned the French ranks without shaking the constancy of their oponents. Duvivier, a Chief of Brigade was killed on the very ditch of the redoubt; and it became necessary to demand a reinforcement of infantry.

The contest at the entrenchments was equally obstinate. As the French approached, the Turks rushed out from their right: having fired a single volley, they slung their musquets behind them, and fought only with their sabres and pistols; from time to time, grappling with the bayonets of the advancing column, man to man. As they gave way, the French pursued; but the fire from the redoubt, which flanked the entrenchment, was irresistible. Fugnieres received a ball in the head, and soon afterwards lost his arm. The column fell back upon the village which had been stormed in the first line; and Le Turcq, the adjutant-general, while endeavouring to rally his men, rushed forward without support, and was shot dead in the entrenchment.

The French, notwithstanding their success on the first line, had been repulsed on both wings from the second; and but for the undisciplined impetuosity of the Turks, the fortune of the day might still have been in their favour. In spite of the fire from the village, they sallied forth from their entrenchments. The error was not lost upon Bonaparte. He ordered Lannes to the redoubt. The ditch and parapet were rapidly passed; and the work itself was stormed. At the same moment the charge was resumed by the column which had retreated to the village. Murat, who watched these movements, now traversed the positions of the enemy with the remainder of the infantry, and by extending himself as far as the fortress of Aboukir, effectually cut off all hope of retreat. The Turkish infantry was overpowered by its sense of inferiority to cavalry in the plain. The route was complete. Flying on every side, the Turks escaped from the pursuit of the cavalry only to plunge into the sea. The artillery poured upon them murderous showers of grape, and it is said, that scarcely twenty men reached the shipping. Nearly 10,000 men perished on the field or in the waves.

Mustapha Pacha fought with desperation, but his efforts were ineffectual. He was still in the redoubt, and by a well imagined sortie, he separated the French right from the left. Bonaparte himself advanced with the centre, and kept the Turks in check till the cavalry had gained their rear. Mustapha was wounded in the head, and taken prisoner, with not more than 200 men who survived the action. Baggage, tents, and cannon; every thing belonging to the Turkish army was captured. The victory, however, was won with difficulty, and at the expence of much blood to the conquerors. Guibert, Bonaparte's aid-de-camp; and Cretin, a Chief of Brigade, died after the battle; and Murat, whose coolness and skill had not a little contributed to the success of the day, was himself among the wounded.

The fortress of Aboukir, sustained a bombardment of eight

days; the castle was reduced to ruins, and every thing was prepared for the assault, when the Pacha's son, who had defended himself to the utmost, surrendered with the remains of his garrison.

Bonaparte returned to Alexandria immediately after his victory. Cairo had been undisturbed during his absence; and for a time at least there was a promise of repose. But the prospective state of Egypt, afforded too uncertain and too limited a field for the loftier hopes which he already encouraged; and he soon resolved to abandon this barren harvest, for the enterprize of far greater promise, through which we have already conducted him.

It is not a little singular, that the return of Bonaparte to Europe, and his consequent attainment of the Imperial Crown, may in some measure be attributed to the same hand which had checked his career of Oriental conquest. It was after the battle of Aboukir, that Sir Sydney Smith sent into Alexandria the English and French Papers, containing accounts of the victories of the Allies on the Rhine and in Italy. The opening which, from these documents, Bonaparte perceived was afforded to his ambition by the distracted state of France, and the imbecility of the Directors, confirmed the purpose of return, which his failure in Syria had already suggested. It was by the battle of the Nile, and the successful defence of St. Jean d'Acre, that the destinies of the world were changed. The preservation of the French fleet would have rendered the Syrian expedition comparatively easy; and the conquest of Djezzar Pasha, would have secured the submission if not the friendship of the Ottoman Porte. The way was then open to the Ganges and the Indus: and imagination has an unbounded field in speculating upon the consequences of the new Empire, which might have been established by the Conqueror on the banks of those mighty streams.

CHAPTER X.

Opening of Parliament. The King's Speech. Debates on Foreign Policy. No Amendment proposed. Speeches of Lords Lansdowne, Mulgrave, Holland, and Grenville. Speeches of Sir John Sinclair and Sir Francis Burdett, in the House of Commons. Navy and Army Estimates. Motion for Peace. Speeches of Messrs. Tierney, Canning, and Jekyll. Great Effect produced by Mr. Canning's Speech. It silences Opposition for the Session. Message from the King relative to a Subsidy to Russia. Speeches of Messrs. Pitt, Tierney, and Windham. Similar Debate in the House of Lords.

Parliament commenced its session on the twentieth of November 1798; and the King's Speech, if from the naval events of the recess, it bore a more cheerful aspect than that with which the former session had been closed, was still more warlike in its tone. In recapitulating the beneficial effects of the Victory of the Nile,

it touched not only upon the immediate advantage produced by the destruction of an unjust, perfidious, and extravagant enterprise; but adverted also in strong terms to the opening thereby afforded to a Coalition with the Continental Powers, for the general deliverance of Europe. The wisdom and magnanimity of the Emperor of Russia, and the decision and vigour of the Ottoman Porte, were said to have lent powerful encouragement to other States yet struggling under the yoke of France. At home the extent of our domestic preparations, and the zeal and spirit of all ranks, had effectually deterred the enemy from executing his vain threat of invasion. In Ireland the spirit of rebellion had been curbed, the troops landed by the enemy for its support had been compelled to surrender, and their farther intended armaments had been captured or dispersed. After a brief allusion to the satisfactory produce of the Revenue, and the flourishing state of our Commerce, the Speech concluded with an expression of reliance on the continuance of those exertions, which hitherto had been rewarded with such distinguished success, and which alone could lead to a safe and honorable conclusion of the mighty contest in which we were engaged.

Little was to be collected from the general terms in which this Speech was conceived, except that Ministers were resolved to profit by the opportunity now afforded them of renewing Continental Alliances. On the existing state of such negotiations, and their probable issue, it would have been premature and impolitic to throw more light; but, in regard to domestic administration, it is a singular circumstance, that the Speech from the throne was wholly silent on the two most important measures of internal policy which were about to occupy the attention of Parliament—the new mode of raising supplies, and the Union with Ireland.

In the Lords the customary address was moved and seconded by the Earls of Darnley and Craven, who respectively detailed the leading heads of the King's Speech. No amendment was proposed; but the Marquess of Lansdowne combated at some length the intention which Ministers so clearly announced of prosecuting the war, after the experience of five years failure. The noble lord pressed the duty of drawing from victory the highest advantage which it could secure. He deprecated in strong terms, the course of havoc and devastation, the unprincipled and detestable tyranny, the corruption and baseness of the French Directory: but at the same time he lamented our utter inability to check the progress of their atrocity by farther opposition. Ministers, he observed, had not brought forward any well-organized plan by which the chief powers of Europe were incorporated in a great and disinterested league. They held out nothing upon which confidence could be reposed.—What could be augured from a conjunction between Russia and the Porte? The one, uniformly coveting Constantinople as part of its inheritance; the other, the most helpless country upon earth; not only incapable of ex-

ternal operations but even of domestic defence. Defeated in more than thirty attacks upon one rebellious Pacha; unable to resist the rebellion of a subject—was it from such a country that we were to expect a vigorous co-operation? upon such a league that we could place our confidence? Experience ought to teach us caution; and impress upon our minds the conviction of the hollow principle upon which combinations of this kind were formed. When a Court was so little actuated by motives of honor and justice, as to forfeit its obligations, could we afterwards rely on its fidelity? If we should advance to a man in necessity a sum of money to enable him to carry on a just claim to estates which were withheld from him, and by such succour he had succeeded in his law-suit, should we not say that his first duty was to repay those persons who had saved him from ruin? What was true of an individual was true of a Court. We had assisted the great Powers of the Continent: one of them had contracted large engagements with us, and was enabled by our succour to make valuable acquisitions. It did not appear, by his Majesty's speech, that this great Power had come forward to discharge its obligations: it had not given any assurance that it would discharge them. The loan was raised under the guarantee of the British Government; and, if a new combination should be made with Courts that had hitherto looked to their own distinct and individual interests only, and deserted the common cause the instant they had obtained some miserable acquisition to themselves, we could have no prospect of advantage from a league with such nations.

Nothing was said of any confederacy with the Northern Powers whose accession was indispensable. If it was asked how could we make peace? If it was said, it was impossible to negotiate with the directory,—the Marquess would reply that he knew not whether our ministers were sincere in their attempts; but if they were, their measures were ill imagined, and worse conducted. If they were not so, this country was involved in disgrace, and laid open to the reproaches of all Europe. It was an open, an unequivocal mode of conduct which he had always recommended; and it particularly behoved their lordships to testify that they would support any Government which would act upon this upright principle. It would be giving dignity to England to make this declaration at a moment of conquest. He did not mean that this country should humiliate itself, nor was he acquainted with the present dispositions of the French Directory; but it could not be attended with bad consequences to make the avowal of a liberal system, and this being done in the moment of victory would ascertain our sincerity.

Lord Lansdowne, in conclusion, pointed out the present moment as peculiarly favorable for negotiation. The French of yesterday might not be the French of to-day, and at home opposition was dead and buried.

Lord Romney, in reply, expressed himself satisfied with an alliance with Turkey and Russia, and he thought it not too late for a power-

ful coalition to stem the ambition of France. He urged our financial prosperity, and the unanimity of the nation; and he called for general confidence in the policy of ministers.

Lord Holland differed from the Marquess of Lansdowne, who, he said, had so well described the impracticability of any junction between Prussia and Austria; although he recommended another combination upon more honest principles. So far was he himself from recommending any further continental connections, that he thought our influence hitherto operating upon the German Courts had been the cause of all the mischief which had taken place, and of the mortifying situation in which the continental States in alliance with the French Republic found themselves at this moment. Promises had been from time to time held forth, and uniformly broken. He meant not to depreciate the glory of the victories which we had gained: but if the only advantage we were to obtain by them was to be a revival of the horrors of war, England had little cause to rejoice. The Speech from the Throne held forth the probable success of a powerful confederacy against France. We had heard such language before, but we had only seen, in consequence of these confederacies, devastation extended over the surface of the globe, with less and less prospect of procuring tranquillity. The former confederacy of Princes was the chief cause of the calamities produced by the French revolution. Experience might teach us that it was impossible to derive any advantage to this country from them. We might recollect that we never had an alliance with any of them, who had not deserted us. Austria, the most considerable, was only a drain upon us, and a temptation for the conquest of the enemy.

He then urged ministers, on similar grounds with Lord Lansdowne, earnestly to think of pacific measures. He felt, he said, the difficulty of succeeding in the hour of victory in any attempt to moderate desire. It was an unwelcome task even to address their lordships on the subject of peace; but he so far coincided with his noble friend (the Marquess of Lansdowne) as to think that the greatest victories were useless unless employed to obtain the legitimate end of war.

Lord Mulgrave was surprised, that any Englishman should think that this was a moment for proposing peace, especially to such an enemy as we had to contend with. It was not sound policy, at a moment when a prospect had arisen of securing the independence of Europe, to throw away our advantages, and to seek, by crouching at the feet of France, a precarious, hollow, and fallacious peace, without endeavouring to turn the glory we had earned into an universal benefit to the world.

It was his opinion, that ministers, instead of omitting any favourable opportunity of bringing the war to an honourable conclusion, had carried their desire for peace too far: the enemy had mistaken it for inability to maintain the contest, and their insolence and ambition had increased: their obstinacy indeed had deluded them, and led the way for this

country to obtain the most splendid successes. In that proud eminence which we now occupied, we ought not to forget our superiority, by renewing negotiations which presented no prospect of honourable termination: it was not by extenuating our successes, it was not by magnifying our petty losses, that a stable peace could be promoted: Britain stood high amongst the nations of Europe; she ought to invite them to combine under her auspices, to resort to her banner for protection, and to confide in her efforts for security. It had been said, that jealousies and rivalships subsisted between several of the Powers that were confederated against France. Austria and Prussia had entertained them, and had separated; but they had reason sorely to repent their conduct; the events which succeeded plainly proved, that there was no safety but in union. No evil could compare with that of giving way to France; and, in fact, had we not seen these little dissensions laid aside? Russia and the Ottoman Porte (an example beyond all former speculations, because the occasion was beyond all former precedents) were now cordially co-operating in the same cause. When we considered the different situations of this country and of France, there was every thing to animate us. On the one side was glory, the respect and love of subjects, and the sinews of war; on the other, hatred, insubordination, and the exhausted resources of rapine and violence. The moderation so highly extolled, after they had pillaged a great part of Europe, had carried them as far as Egypt in search of new sources of plunder; in a moment like this, therefore, it would be the highest of pusillanimity to abandon other Powers, to whom experience had taught the wisdom of fidelity; and to pursue selfish measures, when so bright a prospect was before us of an honourable termination of the contest.

Lord Grenville disclaimed any backwardness on the part of Government in negotiating; and showed by the situation of those Powers who had already purchased a precarious peace at the expence of their honor, the danger of the shifting, selfish politics which had that night been recommended to him.

Lord Lansdowne rejoined in a few words, in which he ridiculed the idea of England ever standing at the head of an European confederacy, (a position which was combated by Lord Sydney) and, after a languid debate, the address was agreed to, *nem. diss.*

In the House of Commons the debate was not so closely confined to its original topic. Lord Granville Leveson Gower proposed the address, and Sir Henry Mildmay seconded it. The former of these gentlemen made a very lucid enlargement of his Majesty's Speech. He argued upon the necessity of vigorous war from the contempt with which all propositions of peace had been received by the enemy. The facility with which we had raised our supplies, and the zeal which had been shewn in voluntary contributions, added to the deep and universal impression produced upon Europe by Lord Nelson's victory, were, he thought, sufficient encouragements to a hope that we might

subdue by the force of arms, a perfidious Government with which peace on other grounds was impracticable.

Sir John Sinclair and Sir Francis Burdett each delivered observations upon almost every subject but those contained in the speech from the throne. Sir John Sinclair compared the battle of the Nile with that of La Hogue, and blamed the Admiralty for all the steps which had led to Lord Nelson's victory. If ministers had not frittered away the great commander's strength, then, said Sir John, Bonaparte would have been brought prisoner to London. He next launched into an invective against the policy pursued in the East and West Indies, and their general measures of finance. He expressed pleasure at the failure of the assessed taxes, and was interrupted in his farther progress by a call to order while he was refreshing the memory of the House as to the dispute in the last session which had led to the duel between Messrs. Pitt and Tierney. Sir Francis Burdett lamented the ambiguity of the speech, and commented upon all which it omitted to say. The worthy Baronet alluded to the unhappy state of Ireland, and the many and weighty grievances of England; and dwelt at considerable length upon the numerous starving wives and children of the miserable persons confined in those Bastilles called Houses of Correction. No notice was taken of either of these speeches, nor was any amendment moved.

It was by no means clear from these debates to what extent the members of Opposition intended to carry their disapprobation of warlike measures. From their weakness in point of numbers, they were unwilling to press a division within doors; and without, the enthusiasm which the splendid achievement at the Nile had excited in the nation at large, had divested the war of much of its former unpopularity. On the 26th November, 120,000 seamen were voted in the Committee of Supply, after a few solitary objections from Sir John Sinclair, which General Tarleton pointedly disclaimed in the name of the whole body of Whigs. (Nov. 30.) The Army Estimates were agreed to with equal facility. The estimates, as stated by Mr. Windham, amounted to somewhat more than nine millions, making an excess of one million above those of the preceding year. This excess the Secretary at War referred to the increase of supplementary militia, provisional cavalry, volunteer corps, and barracks. Mr. Tierney regretted that the removal of the dread of invasion had not yet produced a retrenchment in our military expenditure; to which the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied, that however chimerical the threat of invasion might be in itself, it was suspended rather than abandoned: and that it ill became us to diminish our means of defence, while we had yet to deal with an enemy unlimited by rules of law, justice, or prudence, or by any of the maxims which governed the policy of regular States. No farther conversation passed on the subject, and 52,051 men (including 5760 invalids) were voted for the service of the ensuing year.

One effort however was yet to be made by the unseceding Whigs —more with the view of shewing their sentiments to the nation, than of producing any change in the foreign policy of Government. On the eleventh of December Mr. Tierney moved the following resolution: "That it is the duty of his Majesty's ministers to advise his Majesty, in the present crisis, against entering into engagements which may prevent or impede a negotiation for peace, whenever a disposition shall be shewn, on the part of the French Republic, to treat on terms consistent with the security and interests of the British Empire."

The honorable mover supported his resolution on the following grounds: He was well aware, he said, that this motion was an encroachment on the prerogative of the Crown, which unquestionably possessed the power of making war or peace: but it belonged to the House to grant supplies; and, as one of its members, he had as good a right to say that the supplies granted to the Crown should be granted exclusively to England, as to vote against them: a right which no one would attempt to deny.

But it might be objected, that this motion tended to damp the rising spirit of Europe. If that spirit was likely to animate all Europe against the common enemy, he should be the last man in the country to wish it discouraged; but there was no spirit arising from a good principle in any quarter; and on its principle alone must depend the value and the duration of any spirit. What had been the conduct of the powers of the continent? Had a systematic course of opposition to the ambitious projects of France ever been pursued by any of them? Prussia had been at peace for three years. The Emperor had no dispute with the French at present. Russia made professions in our favour; but this was all. The Ottoman Porte had expressed some resentment against a sudden act of injustice; but the opposition of the Porte to the Republic would discontinue on the instant at which it could obtain for itself that which it wanted: it would then take no share in the general deliverance of Europe. A general spirit to resist the French was not to be seen; nor a general confederacy to be expected. The greatest confederacy against France was at the time when the unfortunate Monarch was under trial, and at the time of his death. France had then no settled Government; all that she possessed was employed to resist invasion. Her troops were undisciplined; and she had nothing to depend upon but the energy of the people. It was then that a confederacy was most formidable. But what had been its effect? Total discomfiture of the confederates! Whether it was produced by the skill of the French, or by their own jealousy and indecision, the consequence was the same. And was the skill of the one less, and the union of the other greater, than before? Were the French Generals weaker now, and the allies more attached to each other? Was it to be believed that Austria would place more confidence in Prussia (supposing a new combination was formed) than she did formerly? Could England have

more confidence in either of them, after having been deserted by both? Ought we to vote for larger supplies than any that had yet been voted, for the purpose of adjusting this or that point which might belong to the left or right side of the Rhine? Were these matters essential to the welfare of Great Britain? Could we derive any hope from the prompt action of the Ottoman Porte? Would any man say, that any of these combinations could be of real service to England?

But what was the object of the war? Was it to reduce France to her former boundaries? Was it reasonable to expect, after having obtained Mantua, Luxembourg, and other places, that France would be more easily driven within her ancient limits? or could this great object be accomplished without a greater evil happening to our own country? in short, without such consequences to our finances as could not be calculated without dismay? But where was the line of demarcation to be drawn? Were we only to attempt to reduce France within her former boundaries, the other powers would not assist us. They would not aid us in restoring to each other what had been lost.

His Majesty's declaration after the breaking up of the conference at Lisle, in a speech which did honour to his councils, expressly affirmed, that while any such determination prevailed, his earnest wish to restore peace to his subjects must be fruitless. He renewed before all Europe the most solemn assurance, that in spite of repeated provocations, and at the very moment when Providence had blessed his arms with success, he was ready to conclude peace on the same terms which he had before proposed. The rejection of such an offer demonstrated the implacable animosity and insatiate ambition of the enemy, to whom alone must be attributed the consequences of this direful war.

Mr. Tierney observed, that this noble declaration was made after the brilliant victory of Lord Duncan, and clearly manifested that even exultation and triumph did not stand in the way of his Majesty's pacific dispositions to Europe. But, alas! we now were told that the last splendid achievement of Lord Nelson had changed them!

The last objection which he should anticipate was, that this motion might intimate to France that we could not any further co-operate with our allies. But we did co-operate by our naval exertions; we had co-operated effectually by our naval victories; and it was his ardent desire that we should continue to co-operate by the force of our fleet; but not by sending troops or subsidies to the continent. We were carrying on a war, the expence of which, by estimate, was 30 millions a year, which was two millions and a half every month. We had added in six years 150 millions sterling to our debt, by which we had created the necessity of adding eight millions to our annual burdens: a sum equal to the whole of our expenditure when his present Majesty came to the throne. Were he to affirm that the real addition to our debt at the end of the year would be 180 millions, he should not exceed the point,

It was firmly his opinion, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer knew that our affairs could not be wound up for a peace establishment without the greatest difficulty, and therefore he was willing to prolong the war. But, to what a state were we reduced when the tenth of every man's income was demanded under one head, independent of all other imposts, to support the establishment? We were called with too much reason an armed nation; for, though he felt the pride which an Englishman ought to feel at the attachment of his countrymen to their country, evinced by their qualifying themselves to defend it, this measure must increase the influence of the Crown, which was a great evil in its nature, besides the bringing under military discipline so many men who were more useful in the civil offices of life. The law had silenced every man in the country, (excepting in that House) by the suspension of the habeas corpus act; and when all these circumstances were added together, was it probable that the Constitution of England, or the purses of the people, could support this system of destruction much longer.

Let us consider the situation of the enemy: they had now, if not the first, certainly the most successful General in Europe: he was now at the head of a large army in Egypt, where he had remained many months without having received one check. Should he come back again to France, and turn his mind against this country, Mr. Tierney said, he hoped we should be able to meet him; but it would be a very serious hazard: and surely, with all these prospects, we had enough to do, without embarking in any intermediate scheme for the deliverance of Europe!—He concluded with wishing that the energy of this country might be directed to the interest of Great Britain, and not be wasted in visionary projects of ideal conquests. To himself it would always be a consolation to reflect that he had lifted up his voice, unsupported and feeble as it was, in the cause of patriotism and truth.

Mr. Canning's answer was a most brilliant and elaborate specimen of eloquence. In a keen and searching tone of irony he characterized Mr. Tierney's speech as an anticipation of objections rather than as a series of arguments. On the first of these Mr. Canning said he was not inclined to lay the greatest stress; the nature of this motion, though extraordinary, was not unprecedented; much less did he mean to deny the right of the House of Commons to offer its advice to his Majesty on the subject of negotiation or of war. It had several times interfered in both; though a fatality had always seemed to attend these interferences, as almost in every instance from the Revolution to our own time, they had been either nugatory or mischievous. But, whatever might be the force of precedents, these alone would not be sufficient to justify the motion, unless it could be proved that some necessity existed which called for such an interference of the House of Commons. And this could only arise from some opening for peace now presenting itself, of which ministers did not

show themselves disposed to take advantage, or from their having evinced a disposition hostile to it at former periods.

That any such opening now existed, the honourable gentleman had not urged; his motion therefore must be attributed to a false impression on his mind of the conduct of ministers in former negotiations: he seemed to retain a confused recollection of what had passed at Lisle; he remembered that an embarrassment had been thrown in the way by a question about *allies*, but he utterly forgot that the allies, who had created this embarrassment, were the allies of France, and not of Great Britain; and under this mistake he was applying to this country a cure for the misconduct of the enemy. Yet, Mr. Canning said, he was prevented from admitting even this foundation for the proceeding, by the approbation expressed of the manifesto published at Lisle, which Mr. Tierney had acknowledged exhibited undoubted proofs of the pacific disposition of the ministers. Yet what had been that gentleman's conduct under this avowed belief? Convinced (as he himself expressed) that his Majesty had done all in his power to obtain peace—that he had exceeded all that could have been expected of him in forbearance and moderation—that he had displayed, even after the victory of Lord Duncan, the most decided dispositions for tranquillity—convinced that the abrupt conclusion of the negotiation had been the act of the enemy—that his Majesty had no choice, and must of necessity carry on a war which the ambition of France would not allow him to terminate—in this conviction Mr. Tierney *had voted against the supply!* He meant not to impeach this conduct; doubtless Mr. Tierney had his reasons for it; but he submitted it to the judgment of the House, whether (if no solid advantages were derivable from supporting this extraordinary motion) it was worth while to adopt an unnecessary and mischievous measure to evince our wish for peace merely to secure *a vote against the supply for carrying on the war!* The interests of Great Britain were to be considered with relation to the different circumstances of the enemy, and of Europe. What might be a secure peace for England with France when reduced in power, and Europe at liberty, would be highly unsafe against France in her present state of aggrandisement, with great part of Europe at her feet, and the resources of other nations at her disposal. It would also be more difficult for us, single and unassisted, to extort from France such terms as would be consistent with our interests, than to obtain the same, if backed by a powerful confederacy in Europe.

A declaration conveyed to France by this motion, that we were determined at all events to treat singly, would inflame her pride, and increase her demands—to affirm publicly that we would make no common cause with other nations, would necessarily place those nations at her mercy, or on her side. The effect must therefore be to deprive us of the probable advantages of the peace to be obtained, and our power of obtaining it; it prescribed a more

arduous task with less efficacious means.

At the same time this motion did not hasten the conclusion of any peace; for it left not ministers at liberty to conclude any which they did not think consistent with the security of the country; and if they thought (as laudably they might think) that no peace would be such which did not provide for the safety of Europe, what assurance did this motion afford against a hopeless prolongation of the war?

It is told us, that we should not succeed in effecting a "general deliverance;" nor did he pretend to affirm that we should do so: but that this was the object which we ought to have in view he always would contend, even if we had reference only to our own safety. This deliverance he willingly acknowledged could not be effected by our exertions alone; and unless other powers were disposed to co-operate sincerely, we had no chance of attaining our wishes. But he would ask, if there were no such dispositions evident, what was the necessity of the motion? Why should Parliament interfere to prevent his Majesty's ministers from taking advantage of intentions which did not exist, and of co-operation which never would be offered? But if, on the other hand, these Powers were ready to take a part in a common salvation, and only waited for our encouragement to begin, was it the dictate of our duty and our interest to save France from her merited destruction, and, by such a proceeding as was here recommended, to extinguish the resentments which her aggressions had enkindled throughout Europe?

If, however, this co-operation should be offered, we ought, it was said, to receive it with suspicion and distrust, and judging from the manner in which we had been duped before, we ought to conclude henceforth that no fidelity was to be expected. Surely this was illiberal and unjust! What, because Austria and Prussia had been unfaithful to our alliance, and inconsistently with their own interests had made peace at different times, were Russia and the Porte to be considered as Powers on whom no reliance could be placed, and from whose exertions no advantage could be gained? Are the errors of the guilty to furnish ground of presumption against the innocent? The words in his Majesty's speech, mentioning "the vigour and decision of the Ottoman Porte," seem to have conveyed something obviously absurd and ridiculous; he could not imagine for what reason. Why should not the Grand Signor take as correct a view of his interests, as any other Power whose customs might be more conformable to our own? The declaration of the motives which had actuated the Porte was as able and masterly a composition, as sound in principles of policy and justice, as any State paper ever published by any Cabinet.

But this Turk was a Mohammedan, and therefore an ally unfit for a Christian. For his own part, he thought an alliance with a Mohammedan might be as good as a peace with an Atheist; the sanction of its engagements might be

as sacred, and its stipulations as likely to be fulfilled. Yet this was not all: the Turk was slow to anger, hard to be driven into action. If such were his character, what must have been the provocations that had roused him!

But the Turks and Russians were natural enemies: what did this prove, but that the aggressions of France had been so multiplied, so various, and so extraordinary, as to unite against her those powers the most opposite in nature and interest—to make the necessity of resistance, and the duty of self-preservation, supersede every narrower consideration, every motive of contracted policy?

For our old allies, however, it is taken for granted, that no apology can be made, no good reason be alleged why *they* should be more worthy our confidence, or more true to their own interests than they had been formerly: yet, had we not known individuals in our own country whose ideas respecting France had totally been changed? Had not the invasion of Swisserland, the swindling transaction with America, and the negotiation at Lisle, wrought a surprising change in the public mind in England? And why should we limit the benefits of experience to our own countrymen only? Might not the statesmen of Austria or Prussia have caught some light from the proceedings on the continent? Were they not to be believed, if they made this declaration; and if whatever engagements had formerly subsisted between them and the Directory, when they detected the fraud which had been practised on their judgments, and the atrocity of their allies, they withdrew their friendship and their allegiance?

But, however willing they might be to seize a favourable opportunity for shaking off their yoke to France, were we even able to rally them on our side in the onset, their assistance, it was said, was worth nothing. Exhausted and dispirited as they were, they had neither the heart nor strength to fight the battle of independence—and too true it was that they had been cruelly reduced and broken down—yet

Spoliatis arma supersunt.

The arms which they had remaining were arms most terrible to tyrants—their wrongs, their desperation, and the desire of revenge! Let France appeal to the bad passions of our allies—let her cajole their fears, or inflame their appetite for aggrandizement—the foundations of our tacit alliance with the allies of France were already laid in their just resentment, in their proud indignation, in every virtuous and every honorable feeling!

When did such a contest terminate in giving permanent preponderance to evil? Another and a graver doubt was started: whether, with half the world in arms at our side, the objects which we strove to obtain would be in any politic sense British objects? There was a time when any doubt, whether the situation of the Powers of the continent relatively to us, or to each other, and the balance of Europe, were objects of

British concern, would have been ridiculed and reviled. But all this was now changed, it seemed: therefore, without stating any affirmative opinion of his own, he would only inquire of the gentlemen on the opposite side of the house, *what were actually such?*

Mr. Tierney had alluded to the expedition to Egypt, as having threatened our possessions in the East. Was then the deliverance of Egypt from a French army a British object? Was not the co-operation of the Turk desirable to enable us to effect this purpose? If, by the joint assistance of Russia and the Porte, we could sweep the Levant and the Mediterranean of the remains of this piratical armament; if the coasts of Italy were thus rendered unassailable by the enemy, and the southern parts of France thus laid open to our attack, and her ports and commerce secured to us; were these British objects? Were the Netherlands so? There was a time when the dependence of these upon France was considered as so prejudicial to this country, that there was no case in which they would not have been thought a sufficient cause for engaging in a war. He did not pretend to say it was so; but such had been the opinion of their importance held by able politicians. If, by the aid of Russia, we could rescue Holland from her present state of servitude and degradation, and raise her once more among the independent powers of Europe, a rich, flourishing, and happy country, connected with us by old habits, common interests, and the reciprocation of commercial advantages; would any person deny that this was a British object, or be proud hereafter to have thrown an insuperable impediment in the way of its accomplishment?

If, then, any one of these might possibly be attained by our foreign alliances, much more if we could suppose it would open a passage to all, was it not surprising that a Member of the British Parliament should entertain so perverse an ambition as to be able to say hereafter, "All this might have been accomplished, but my single motion prevented it?"

Yet he was far from undertaking that, if the motion did not pass, our ardent wishes would be accomplished. The debate was not, whether such exertions would lead to such results, but, whether we should throw away the only chance we had for their being made? The honourable gentleman had not affirmed that Europe could not be saved; he only desired that we might give no encouragement, might have no share in saving it! It was not necessary to argue whether the success was probable, but whether it was so improbable as not to deserve the experiment.

Was this motion intended as a motion for peace? If so, why had the mover not the candour to say so? Was it delicacy or national honour which stood in the way of direct negotiation? For himself, he had no such delicacy, and did not approve it. Mr. Tierney would not speak *to* France, but *at* her; he had not proposed that we should boldly say to the Directory, "Will you make peace?" but say, loud enough to be overheard by it, "I wish these French gentlemen would make an overture to us."

Was this a mode of preserving

the dignity of our country? or, was it not doing that sneakingly, which, if it was fit to be done at all, must, to have effect, be done openly, unequivocally, and directly?

But the ministers, it was said, had lost all their pacific dispositions, and were become inveterately and incurably warlike: the spirit of moderation which breathed in the last manifesto was evaporated; and however they had borne the tidings of Lord Duncan's victory, that of Lord Nelson had intoxicated them to madness. That the confidence of the country was high, that the Government partook of the spirit of the people, he was happy to acknowledge; but that this spirit had started suddenly out of the late victory he would not allow: confirmed it was, indeed, by a triumph which must have created enthusiasm if it had not been there. Let the days and months of anxiety be recollected which we passed before the intelligence of this memorable event arrived. We asked not that Nelson might conquer Buonaparte, but that Buonaparte might not deceive and escape him; not that we might gain the battle, but that we might find the enemy; for the rest we had nothing to fear.

"Concurrant pariter cum ratibus rates,
Spectent numina ponti, et
Palmam qui meruit ferat!*"

In our present situation, then, fortified by confidence, prosperity, and the success with which it had pleased heaven to bless our arms, what was the advantage we ought to make of our strength? "Hoard it up for your own life," said the honourable gentleman. "Could an Englishman forget that the nations of the Continent stood by whilst we were engaged in a struggle wherein out very existence was at stake? They neither offered assistance, nor manifested any interest in our preservation." Undoubtedly this had been their conduct, and undoubtedly revenge was in our power. We might tell those who had abandoned us, that it was now our turn to breathe, whilst they were contending; that, as they had left us contentedly to our fate, we would consign them unpityingly to theirs. We might thus act in strict retaliation; but a British House of Commons would feel that it had a nobler vengeance in its power—even to say to the nations of Europe, "You deserted us at our utmost need; but the first use we make of our prosperity is to invite you to partake of it! We disdained to call you to share our danger, but we are now by our own exertions secure; come and take shelter under our security."

This would be real triumph; this would be powerful recrimination, and a conduct which would immortalise the Government which pursued it!

Mr. Canning ended with remarking, that the motion was founded on no principle of policy or of necessity; since, if it were intended for a censure on ministers, it was unjust: if for a control, nugatory. Its tendency was

* Jortin's VIIIth Ode. The last line had been selected by Lord Grenville as a motto for Lord Nelson. Vide Ann. Reg. 1798, p. 80.

to impair the power of prosecuting the war with vigour, and to diminish the chance of negotiating peace with dignity; it contradicted the policy of our ancestors, and degraded us in the eyes of the world; it must carry dismay throughout Europe, and, above all, it must administer hope, power, and consolation to France.

Mr. Jekyll said, that he expected a motion proposed in so plain a manner would at least have been attended with one advantage, that it would have procured us the satisfaction of hearing what was the precise object of the war. But the gentleman who spoke last had left us as much in the dark in this respect as ever. From some parts of his argument, we might imagine we were to avenge the atrocities of the French; from others, that we were to fight for the deliverance of Europe. But, after all, the point was left totally undetermined. Our attention was particularly directed to the victory of the Nile, the enthusiasm which it inspired, and the spirit it created. But what was the real source of this enthusiasm and this spirit? He would tell them: the joy which it occasioned was combined with the hope of peace between this country and France. Now we were informed, that not peace, but war, was the great result; and we were called upon to rejoice, not in its pacific effects, but in its tendency to increase warlike exertions.

But if the moment of triumph was not the moment of negotiation, in what state of our affairs could we turn our thoughts to this object with propriety? This country was to be embarked again upon the ocean of continental politics; we were again to enter the lists, without knowing the purposes for which we are engaged, or the extent to which we might be involved.

"It belongs to British generosity to attempt the deliverance of Europe, to revenge the wrongs of other nations, and to punish the perfidy of France! And yet these allies of France are hollow, and ready to desert her." This, if it proved any thing, proved too much: Spain was dissatisfied, and Holland was weary of her oppressor. But what had been our fortune with our allies? Had we misused, plundered, or insulted them? They had left us, as France had been left. Those treated with generosity by us, were as little to be relied on as those who had been the victims of the injustice of the Directory. Experience had distinctly taught us what we were to expect in future: Prussia, after receiving one million two hundred thousand pounds for several years, deserted us; the Emperor, after many loans and advances, had abandoned the common cause; so had the King of Sardinia, after having accepted two hundred thousand pounds. Would any wise statesman place dependence again on the fidelity of such allies?

Of the Ottoman Porte he did not wish to say any thing offensive; but surely the Turks were the most inert, ignorant, and sluggish people now existing. Had they not been baffled and defeated by one of their own rebel Pachas? Could they be expected to make an efficient attack upon the power of France? They might, indeed, make an appearance with a flourishing manifesto, drawn up in the

spirit of more learned Cabinets, and be mighty liberal with their presents of pelisses and aigrettes; but what part could they perform in the deliverance of Europe?

Continental connection had been hitherto the forerunner of foreign subsidy; and there was too much reason to fear it would again be so. This was a serious concern, and we ought to remember the remonstrances and statements of the Bank Directors, when the Bank stopped payment. They then demonstrated to the minister the ruinous consequences of such remittances. If loans were to be granted, our specie must be sent abroad again, and this was no trifling evil. We had already experienced the danger it occasioned. The clamours which the stoppage of the bank produced had subsided; but, if a similar event should occur, it was not easy to say what mischief would follow. Things which formerly would have surprised us indeed, in the present time were scarcely regarded but as a nine days wonder. We had seen new schemes of finance, we had seen the land-tax sold, we now saw the tenth of every man's property about to be put in requisition. Spies, under the name of surveyors, were to be employed in collecting the revenue. Men were obliged to discover their circumstances, or be taxed by an arbitrary assessment. No one could feel more sensibly than himself the splendour of Lord Nelson's victory; but whilst this blush of triumph sat upon the face of the country, there was a disease upon its vitals, which excited real alarm —the state of our finances!

To avoid continental connections, had been recommended by the most eminent of our writers; because they always tended to impoverish our own country: and when we were told in the present case, that those powers on whom the tyranny of France had fallen were so exhausted, that they had not resources left to enable them to cast off her yoke, what an unlimited demand for pecuniary aid must be made up by England!

After a few words from Sir James Murray Pulteney, and Mr. Dickinson, jun. against the motion, it was negatived without a division.

There are few other occasions in the whole record of parliamentary warfare, on which a single debate, it may be said a single speech, produced so decisive a victory for ministers. For the remainder of the session, unless in a solitary skirmish, the opposition attempted to make no direct attack on the measures which had led to the new Coalition: and even then the prognostics of success hazarded by Mr. Canning, had been so completely verified by the Archduke Charles, in Suabia, and by Suwarrow in Italy, that the grounds on which the Russian subsidy was opposed, were totally different from those which had been adopted in supporting Mr. Tierney's Resolution.

On the sixth of June, Mr. Secretary Dundas brought down a message from his Majesty, by which the House was informed that some time since, arrangements had been concluded with the Emperor of Russia for the employment of 45,000 men. That although the peculiar application of this force had been

changed by recent events, it was more than ever desirable that it should be called into immediate action, and that in regard to its present destination the views of the Courts of St. James and St. Petersburgh entirely coincided, that his Majesty had obliged himself to pay the sum of 225,000*l.* as preparation money, in stipulated instalments, and also a monthly subsidy of 75,000*l.*; and had engaged for a farther payment at the rate of 37,000*l.* per month, at the conclusion of a peace made by common consent. The message continued to state his Majesty's wishes to afford necessary succours to his ally the Queen of Portugal, and to the Swiss Cantons; and recommended the House of Commons to enable him to enter into such farther engagements as might "complete the general deliverance of Europe from the insupportable tyranny of the French Republic."

June 7. When this message was taken into consideration on the following day in the Committee of Supply, Mr. Pitt congratulated the House upon the glorious success which had marked the efforts of that Power for which the subsidy was designed; and urged the necessity of meeting every danger, rather than submitting to a compromise with the French Government, the existence of which, with the character which belonged to it, and the principles which actuated it, was as incompatible with the legitimate power of other States, as with the happiness of the people subjected to its authority. He concluded by moving, "that a sum not exceeding 825,000*l.* be granted to his Majesty, towards enabling his Majesty to make good such engagements with the Emperor of Russia, as may be best adapted to the exigency of affairs."

Mr. Tierney no longer condemned the principle of continental alliances, nor disbelieved the possibility of animating a new confederacy. He contented himself with professing ignorance of the object for which the war was now continued; and asked if it consisted in repelling France within her ancient limits, and seeking an honourable peace upon the *status quo?* If such were the object, he would not oppose the subsidy; but he could not consent to vote it, unless with a positive assurance, which he could never obtain, that it would not be applied by Russia to the furtherance of her own exclusive interests.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply, paid many commendations to the zeal, the activity, and the fidelity of the Emperor of Russia. He denied the assumption of Mr. Tierney, that unless ministers would be content when France was driven into her ancient limits, they therefore implied, that they would never treat with the Republic: and he begged that on this point his determination might be fully understood. He contemplated not the territorial limits, but the principles, the character, and the conduct of France. Until he found her mighty mass of iniquity and folly entirely changed; till she was no longer terrible, for her contempt of the rights of other nations; and no longer avowed schemes of universal empire, he could look with

confidence to no honourable issue, and therefore could never consent to treat with her.

This declaration of the minister was eagerly fastened upon by Mr. Tierney. Mr. Pitt, he said, had now spoken out. The war was against abstract principles; not against the *power* of France, but against her *system*. Of that system, Mr. Tierney expressed his utter detestation; but he contended, that if peace was never to be made, until Opinion was overthrown in France, the war of necessity, was interminable. He then laid down an opposite principle of security, in the limited relative power of nations; and asserted that France was now sufficiently reduced to permit us to negotiate with her in safety.

Mr. Pitt disclaimed the interpretation put upon his speech; and the intention imputed to him of persevering in war till Monarchy was restored in France. He denied also that we warred with opinions only. We are not in arms, said the Right Hon. Chancellor, against the opinions of the closet, nor the speculations of the schools. We are at war with armed opinions. We are at war with those opinions, which the sword of audacious, unprincipled, and impious innovation, seeks to propagate, amidst the ruins of empires, the demolition of altars, the destruction of every venerable, and good, and liberal institution, under whatever form of polity they have been raised. Mr. Pitt then distinctly stated, that it was not with Republican France, generally, that he made war, but with Republican France while it continued to be such as it then was.

Mr. Tierney briefly explained, that though France had failed in giving herself a good Government, it by no means followed, that a foreign armed force could devise a better. The Secretary at War pursued the same line of argument with the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and expressed himself still more pointedly, not as to the object of hostilities, but as to the termination to which he wished they might lead. The war in its commencement, he observed, was entirely defensive. The only period which he would select for its conclusion was, that in which the dangers of peace would be less than those of war. He denied that any differences existed in the Cabinet in regard to the object of this contest, and he professed his complete agreement with all that had fallen from his Right Hon. friend on that evening. At the same time he avowed that the Government of his choice was that which found its source in the affections of the people, derived security from their prejudices, and strength from their passions. Such alone with regard to France was that which was bound up in the stems of its ancient Monarchy. He then compared the despotism of the old regime, with that of the new pretended friends of liberty; and observed that nothing could be more desirable to the country, than the firm restoration of Monarchy in France.

The Resolution was agreed to without a division.

June 11. An address, in answer to a similar message from the king, was moved by Lord Grenville a few days afterwards in the Lords, which of

course was an echo of the message. Lord Fitzwilliam gave it his most cordial support, but thought it did not go far enough. He deemed it highly expedient to restore the ancient Monarchy, and moved as an amendment, to substitute in one particular clause, instead of "to deliver Europe from the *insupportable tyranny* of the French Republic;" "to deliver Europe from the French Republic." Lord Liverpool opposed this amendment, considering it impolitic to declare, that in no case whatever, would we treat, until a specific form of Government was established by the enemy. In this sentiment Lord Holland coincided; nothing, he said, could be more idle than to imagine, that France would accept from any foreign power, a Government not of her own choice. Perhaps if it were wise, at any time to grant a subsidy, it might be so at the present moment, but he must first inquire the precise object for which it was to be given. The members of the new confederacy could scarcely war against France on the pretext of her ambition. The spoilers of Poland, and of Venice, had little right to throw the first stone. In order to counteract the dangerous language of the address, which Lord Holland considered as pledging us to a crusade against the French people and nation, he proposed another amendment, the substance of which was, that we would "prosecute a vigorous war, till the Republic of France shall be disposed to enter on the work of general pacification, in a spirit of conciliation and equity, agreeable to his Majesty's solemn declaration of December 27, 1796, and the 28th October, 1797.

Lord Grenville replied, that the object of the war, in support of which, the subsidy was to be granted, was sufficiently plain.—We took up arms against the French Government acting on its present principles. He objected to the introduction of the trite and old railing against the partition of Poland. In that partition, he considered that the powers alluded to were very blameable, and "sooner than sign the deed which confirmed it," exclaimed the noble Lord, "I would have cut off my right hand!" Still it was not against the present Emperor of Russia, that this accusation could be brought. So also, if the word "Crusade" was used reproachfully, it was improperly used, for the present coalition was gloriously in arms to defend all just and legal rights of Governments and of nations.

After some observations by the Marquess of Lansdowne, in which he characterized the war as a confederacy of Kings to support their own power; and said that he did not think a secure peace incompatible with any form of Government in France. The amendments were respectively negatived, and the original address was agreed to, nem. con.

CHAPTER XI.

Financial Measures. Failure of the Triple Assessment. Mr. Pitt adheres to the leading Principles of that Tax. Proposes the Tax upon Income. Opposition to it. Large Majority for the Recommittal of the Bill. It passes the House of Commons. Debates on the Third Reading in the House of Lords. The Bill passed. Reflections upon it. New Taxes proposed by Mr. Pitt in June. Finance Resolutions moved by Messrs. Tierney and Pitt. Debates on the Slave Trade.

THE produce of the triple assessment in the past year had materially disappointed the expectations of Mr. Pitt, and it became necessary to discover some new source of supply for the future expenditure. He was unwilling, however, to abandon either of the leading principles upon which that impost had been founded; the one by which the current year was made in great measure to provide for itself: the other by which it had been attempted to proportion the taxes according to the capability of the payer. Early in the session, the house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer detailed most luminously, and at great length, the system which he now proposed to adopt.

He first laid before the house the following comparative view of disbursement and revenue. Dec. 3.

Naval department, ordinary and extraordinary	13,642,000
Army	8,840,000
Vote of credit	1,000,000
Army extraordinaries	2,000,000
Ordnance	1,000,000
Miscellaneous money including expences of the plantations	600,000
Addition to the annual million for the reduction of the national debt	200,000
Interest due to the Bank on exchequer bills, and on treasury bills	565,000
Discount on payment of the loan of last year	210,000
Interest of exchequer bills	300,000
Deficiencies of land and malt	300,000
	£. 29,157,000

WAYS AND MEANS.

Land and malt tax	2,700,000
The lottery	2,000,000
Consolidated fund	1,500,000
Imports and exports	1,700,000
	£. 6,100,000

In order to obtain the deficiency, amounting to more than 23 millions; the two fundamental principles which had been recognised in the last session were strictly to be adhered to. 1st. to reduce the amount which was immediately to be raised by loan, and 2dly. to raise no more by loan than a temporary tax could discharge in a limited time. For these purposes the triple assessment was confessedly inadequate. And besides, it had been taken at four millions and a half, when in fact the product, from the numerous evasions of its payment, had not exceeded four millions. This deficiency however had been much more than supplied by the excess of voluntary contributions, which already were above two millions. The assessed taxes had been adopted as the most comprehensive and efficient scale of contribution. Not however without a consciousness that there must of necessity be much wealth not included in their application. In the plan which he was about to propose, Mr. Pitt said, he should endeavour by a general tax upon income to realise that fair and full tenth, which the former measure had attempted ineffectually to obtain; not from any miscalculation on his part, but from the frauds to which it was exposed in collection. The machinery by which this tax was to be conducted, would consist of commissioners before whom a voluntary statement of income should be laid. In order to ensure the respectability of these commissioners no person whose income did not amount to 300*l.* a year should be eligible to the post. The statement so made should be referred to a surveyor, whose duty it would be to transmit to the commissioners the reasons upon which he grounded his doubts if any existed; and under these circumstances a precise specification of the sources of income might be called for; and the party put upon his oath as to the schedule which he presented. No such disclosure however was to be compulsory, no books, nor confidential clerks were to be examined; but if the party declined investigation, whatever assessment the commissioners chose to affix must be admitted by him as final.

To prevent any inconveniences which might probably occur from these disclosures, the commissioners were to be strictly sworn to profound secrecy; and to provide on the other side against false statements upon oath, they were to be authorised to prosecute any one whom they suspected of perjury.

Mr. Pitt next proceeded to a series of most elaborate calculations relative to the probable amount of this tax, and enumerated the various springs from which income was derived. For land, the rental in Queen Anne's time was estimated to be 14,000,000*l.* Adam Smith placed it at 20,000,000*l.* From the reports of the board of agriculture the cultivated tracts amounted to little less than forty millions of acres; these calculated at the very low value of twelve and six pence an acre, would average 25,000,000*l.* a year: but as the tax was not intended to affect any persons whose income was less than 60*l.*, and was to be applied on a modified scale to all between 60*l.* and 200*l.*, he would deduct one-fifth,

and state the taxable property in land at 20,000,000*l.* The income from land belonging to tenants must be rated at 19,000,000*l.*, three-fourths of the rack-rent; but from this two-thirds must be deducted; the tenant taxable residue therefore would be 6,000,000*l.* The income from tithes, on Mr. Arthur Young's statement was five millions; from this one-fifth must be taken on account of small livings. Mines, canals, and timber would yield three millions. The rental of houses (according to former rates) five millions, each with a deduction of one-fifth. Professional profits (those of the law alone having been before admitted to be one million and a half) could not be over-calculated at two millions. The produce of Scotland might be fairly estimated at one-eighth of that of Great Britain. He should assume it therefore at eight millions. The income paid to Irish absentees resident in this country is generally reputed to be one million: to others who have property in the West Indies not less than four millions. In regard to funded property it had long been a fixed principle of taxation that stockholders, as such, could not be exposed to any impost which did not embrace every other member of the state; and the converse of this reasoning would now most distinctly be applicable. The stockholder must pay equally with his fellow citizens for the protection afforded him; and the sum at which the income derived from the public funds might be rated, after the deduction of one-fifth, Mr. Pitt assumed to be 12,000,000*l.* The profits upon foreign trade are lowly averaged at 15 per cent. The capital employed in it at 80,000,000*l.*, the income of all persons connected with it therefore would be 12,000,000*l.* About 30,000,000*l.* of this capital are demonstrated to be applied to the export of British manufactures, there could not then be a less capital employed in the general domestic trade itself than four times that sum which is appropriated to exportation, and the gain upon these 120,000,000*l.* at 15 per cent. would be 18,000,000*l.* per annum. The last source of income arose from articles wholly consumed at home, and supplied by the great class of artizans connected with breweries, distilleries, building, &c. &c. This profit which might be estimated at 10,000,000*l.*, concluded the several branches of national rental.

Upon the total sum arising from all these items, and amounting to 102,000,000*l.* a tax of ten per cent. would produce, in round numbers, ten millions. After applying this sum to the wants of the present year, Mr. Pitt proposed that it should be mortgaged for the 800,000,000*l.*, which had been borrowed for 1797, on the faith of the assessed taxes; and also for the loan of the present year beyond what would be discharged by the sinking fund. Assuming the assessed taxes at four millions, they would have been pledged for two years after peace; but the present measure without imposing a greater burden upon such persons as had paid their assessment fairly, would discharge the debt in half the time.

The result would be, that of the 24,000,000*l.* required for the public service, 14,000,000*l.* only need be raised by loan. Out of this sum four millions and a half would be repaid by the sinking fund. Nine millions and a half therefore would be the only addition to the national debt; and for the discharge of this the new tax would be mortgaged as soon as it should be relieved from its former incumbrances.

Mr. Pitt concluded by moving two Resolutions; one for the repeal of the triple assessment Act; the other introductory to a general tax upon all income above 60*l.* a year; the charge upon the lowest sum taxed, being one hundred and twentieth part, and encreasing by a regularly graduated scale to incomes of 200*l.* a year, from which and all beyond them, a tenth was to be demanded.

Mr. Tierney said that there was one thing which occurred to him at the first glance of the business; which was, that supposing we had only one budget in the year, and that we had heard already of the whole of the supply necessary, it would then, as they stood, exceed by more than two millions the sum voted for the last year.

The house agreed last year to the principles laid down by the minister in his plan relative to the assessed taxes; but the house had not then the idea of going the length which he now proposed; they thought the whole measure had better have been abandoned altogether, than that it should cause the disclosure of the condition of every person in the Kingdom. But the minister says, "you need not make any disclosure of your condition in life." Mr. Tierney remarked, if the disclosure was not satisfactory, the commissioner had power to increase the duty according to his discretion; and all these proceedings were to depend upon the evidence of an infamous informer. To such a proposition he could not assent. But this was not all; for, if this house agreed to that proposition now, was it too much to say upon experience, if this tax should not come up to the sum expected, that a general disclosure of all property must take place, and that too in the course of the very next year? He last year opposed the measure now before the committee under another name, and with a less disagreeable aspect than it bore at present.

That measure was, in appearance, less disagreeable than this: by that, a man was in some measure allowed to withdraw from luxury; but here there was nothing of the kind allowed in any shape. He opposed that measure, because he thought, and did still think, it very oppressive. This was called a tax on income: the answer was, that it was not a tax on income, but that it was the best mode of coming at property to support the state. This seems to be a bolder measure than the last, for it puts a tenth of the property of England in requisition; a measure which the French had followed in the career of their revolutionary rapine, and which the chancellor of the exchequer had then with his accustomed eloquence, justly branded with the hardest epithets; surely it is a little unfortunate that he should imitate what he

took so much pains to render detestable.

Did the minister mean to say, that a person possessing an income of a certain sum for life only, and another person of the same income which he derived from the interest of his own capital, were equally rich, and could bear the same taxes? a widow, for instance, who lived only upon a pension, and a person whose capital brought him in the same money by way of interest? Certainly not, the thing was too palpable to be argued; and yet, by this plan of making income the standard of wealth, these two persons would be made to pay alike. He urged that he must have it in his power to say to his constituents that, before this measure was adopted, every other resource had been applied to and exhausted. Yet he could not say that; for there were many valuable things under the church establishment, (not in the smallest degree beneficial to religion, but calculated to swell out the pomp and pride, and imaginary greatness, of some inflated individuals) which ought to be brought in aid of the public burthens. The individuals possessing these things ought to be made to contribute their full share. The corporations also were liable in the same manner, as he should conceive. (Here a cry of *Hear! hear!*) Mr. Tierney proceeded. He did not perfectly understand what gentlemen meant by this sort of vociferation. For his part, he would not take the property of any body of men as a sacrifice to the State, altogether; but when he was told that violent hands must be laid on the property of the public, then he would tell them it ought to take another direction, and he was pointing out to them that direction. This tax was said to fall nearly equally on all sorts of property. That was not true; he would tell them a property on which it did not fall; on the property of a certain description of stock-holders, or what he called the leading London gentlemen, a description of persons extremely well known, whose patriotism was much esteemed by the chancellor of the exchequer. These gentlemen could pay off any tax, without burthening themselves; indeed, the greater the taxes were the richer they became, and they never succeeded better than when the minister succeeded in taxes. The chancellor of the exchequer had said that this plan would not cause the funds to fall, but would occasion them to rise; so, if any gentlemen possessed 20,000*l.* in the funds, his fortune might improve by this duty. If you raise the stock (as a worthy alderman by his smile seemed to think you would) for instance, two per cent. he would make a large sum of money by his capital; so that, instead of taxing these gentlemen, (who by the way were the most able to bear it) you would increase their fortunes, while you ruined others beyond the power of redemption. The plan, on the contrary, to be worth any thing, should compel the monied men to take at least their share of the public burthens. He knew that these observations did not apply to the mass of stockholders, but he persisted in saying they did apply to those whom the chancellor of

the exchequer always chose to favour; he meant those who were called the monied men of the city. But there was another point to be considered, for the great mass of the property of the country might change owners in the course of six, seven, eight, or nine years, which would make a great difference in the state of the country itself; for, if the rich men in the city bought the small estates of a number of gentlemen, although the estates would be the same, and the revenues the same, yet the condition of whole districts of inhabitants would be materially altered. This was a point which, although it might be beyond the comprehension of some monied men, was yet well worthy the attention of the House. He could hardly have supposed, that what was said against adding perpetual taxes, and increasing the capital of debt, instead of raising large supplies within the year to prevent the accumulation of the debt, came from the same man, who had increased continually, for the last five years, the permanent taxes; who had, in that time also, added 150 millions to the capital of the national debt. He should also have thought, when he heard him vaunting the integrity and proud spirit of his country, and the desperation and perfidiousness of the enemy, that he was speaking of a minister who never degraded himself so far as to negotiate with the French Republic. He said he was very far from calling his sincerity in question; but he must call in question his recollection, when he heard and saw that the chancellor of the exchequer of 1798 censured so unmercifully the chancellor of the exchequer of 1796.

The minister had been pleased to narrate, in very lofty language, what Europe would think of our proceedings: he was a representative of the people of England, not a member of the congress of Radstadt. Upon his conscience he believed that it was by peace, and peace only, the British empire could be secured. But when the people were told openly, as they were now told, that this is not a war for our own honour, our own privileges, our own interest, or our own safety, but that we embarked in it for the supposed honour, the supposed privileges, the supposed interest, the supposed safety of Europe, he should be very unworthy the situation he was in, he should betray his trust, if he did not lift up his voice against a measure when such were avowed to be its objects. Whenever any measure whatever was proposed that tended to keep up the dignity of the British empire, the minister would always find him throwing aside all political differences, and supporting him. On that ground he gave him his support upon the vote of the navy estimates. It was without losing sight of that ground that he hesitated about the estimates of the army, and he then stated his reasons. Perhaps when the clauses of the bill, by which the resolutions would of course be followed up, were laid before the house, and the blanks were filled up, he should enter more at large into the subject; but he could not leave the House subject to the suspicion that he was overpowered in his

judgment by the mere eloquence of the minister.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply to Mr. Tierney, said, that as far as his calculations and foresight could enable him to judge, he did not expect that he should be obliged to call on Parliament for a greater supply than had now been laid before them in the enumeration of the ways and means. He wished it however to be understood, that by this assertion he did not preclude himself from calling for a further sum, should unforeseen circumstances or emergencies make it necessary; neither was it to preclude him from calling for a vote of credit.

The opposition though feeble at first, increased on every succeeding discussion.

The resolutions were embodied as follows:

Resolved,

That so much of an act, made in the last session of parliament, intituled, "an act for granting to his majesty an aid and contribution for the prosecution of the war," as charges any person with an additional duty in proportion to the amount of the rates or duties to which, prior to the 5th day of April 1798, such person was assessed according to any assessment made in pursuance of any act of parliament in force at the time of passing the said act of the last session, be repealed.

That, towards raising the supply granted to his majesty, there be charged annually, during a term to be limited, the several rates and duties following upon all income arising from property in Great Britain belonging to any of his majesty's subjects, although not resident in Great Britain, and upon all income of every person residing in Great Britain, and of every body politic or corporate, or company, fraternity, or society of persons (whether corporate or not corporate) in Great Britain, whether any such income shall arise from land, tenements, or hereditaments, wheresoever the same shall be situate, in Great Britain or elsewhere, or from any kind of personal property, or other property whatever, or from any profession, office, employment, trade, or vocation: that is to say,

One one-hundred and twentieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 60*l.* per annum, and shall be under 65*l.* per annum.

One ninety-fifth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 65*l.* but shall be under 70*l.*

One seventieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 70*l.* but shall be under 75*l.*

One sixty-fifth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 75*l.* but shall be under 80*l.*

One sixtieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 80*l.* but shall be under 85*l.*

One fifty-fifth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 85*l.* but shall be under 90*l.*

One fiftieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 90*l.* but shall be under 95*l.*

One forty-fifth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 95*l.* but shall be under 100*l.*

One fortieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 100*l.* but shall be under 105*l.*

One thirty-eighth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 105*l.* but shall be under 110*l.*

One thirty-sixth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 110*l.* but shall be under 115*l.*

One thirty-fourth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 115*l.* but shall be under 120*l.*

One thirty-second part of such income, if the same shall amount to 120*l.* but shall be under 125*l.*

One thirtieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 125*l.* but shall be under 130*l.*

One twenty-eighth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 130*l.* but shall be under 135*l.*

One twenty-sixth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 135*l.* but shall be under 140*l.*

One twenty-fourth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 140*l.* but shall be under 145*l.*

One twentieth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 150*l.* but shall be under 155*l.*

One nineteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 155*l.* but shall be under 160*l.*

One eighteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 160*l.* but shall be under 165*l.*

One seventeenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 165*l.* but shall be under 170*l.*

One sixteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 170*l.* but shall be under 175*l.*

One fifteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 175*l.* but shall be under 180*l.*

One fourteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 180*l.* but shall be under 185*l.*

One thirteenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 185*l.* but shall be under 190*l.*

One twelfth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 190*l.* but shall be under 195*l.*

One eleventh part of such income, if the same shall amount to 195*l.* but shall be under 200*l.*

And one tenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 200*l.* and upwards.

On the 10th of December, while the income bill remained yet in agitation, the house having resolved itself into a committee of ways and means, the chancellor of the exchequer informed the committee, that he had bargained for the limited sum of three millions as a loan, and reserved the remainder till after Christmas. The following were the terms of the bargain: the 3 per cent. consols were at 52½; the reduced at 51¾. For every 100*l.* in money, then, was to be given 53*l.* consols, and a proportion of seven-eighths of a hundred pounds in the reduced, amounting to 87*l.* 9*s.* 6*d.* the value of which in money was 46*l.* 12*s.* 3¾*d.* The payments were to be made before the month of February, in four instalments; and, as the public service did not require prompt payment, there would be no discount. In lieu of the discount, then, there would be a bonus to the contractor of 13*s.* 4*d.* making the whole of what he received 99*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.* less by about ¼th than the market price. Since that period stocks had risen, and the premium on the loan was now 2½ per cent. Thus it would appear, that the reasons for postponing the bargain for the whole loan, at the present period, were

founded in prudence. He moved, that this sum of three millions be raised by way of annuities; which was agreed to.

Dec. 14. When the Report of the committee to which it had been referred was taken into consideration. Sir John Sinclair deprecated the abandonment of the funding system; and recommended, if ministers were resolved to pursue a new plan, a tax of one per cent. on capital, and five per cent. on income. He stated three radical objections to Mr. Pitt's proposition; that it would promote emigration, diminish the produce of the old taxes, and raise the price of all the necessaries of life. The taxation of the dividends he conceived to be eminently unjust; inasmuch as the stockholder, when he lent the principal, received a guarantee that it should be exempt from all charges whatever. To obviate this injustice he proposed that, as was common on other occasions, books should be opened, in which such public creditors as assented to the measure should voluntarily subscribe their names. He compared the taxation of individuals whose income arose from Ireland and the West Indies, to the error which formerly had precipitated us into the American war. The temptation to perjury which the bill held out, and its tyrannical and inquisitorial process, the tendency which it had to perpetuate tyranny and to encourage extravagance; and the utter improbability that a minister who had once established such a tax would ever consent to abandon it, were next argued by the worthy Baronet, who denounced it in conclusion as likely to terminate either in the disgrace and ruin of the projector or the destruction of the nation.

Sir Francis Baring, Mr. M. A. Taylor, and Mr. William Smith, in opposing the bill, each of them admitted the great advantages which in principle it possessed over the funding system. The latter gentleman quoted largely from Adam Smith to prove that any tax which is attempted to be proportioned to the revenue of each contributor becomes altogether arbitrary, and asserted that the present bill imposed an equal burden on industry and on indolence.

Mr. Pitt in reply expressed his great satisfaction to find that with one exception (that of Sir John Sinclair) the propriety of raising a certain part of the supplies within the year had been generally conceded. This object could only be attained by a sudden tax immediately productive, and as a tax upon articles of consumption, which would produce ten millions within the year, was admitted to be impracticable, it followed that there was no other mode than by a tax upon income. He then answered in detail many of Mr. Smith's objections to the particular provisions of the Bill, observing at the same time that these were fit subjects for discussion in a committee, but by no means sufficient arguments for the rejection of the Bill in general. As to the application of the tax being unequal in respect to the nature of income, its duration, &c. Mr. Pitt remarked that these

inequalities arose not from his proposed Bill, but from the constitution of society; and that to complain of them was to complain of the necessary distribution of property. A distribution of which (notwithstanding the example of the daring rabble of legislators in another country,) it would be no wisdom in any impost to attempt an alteration. The present Bill did not seek to create any difference in present establishments, but accommodated itself to those classes of property which it found already marked out. Mr. Pitt then in a bitter strain of sarcasm ridiculed Sir John Sinclair's plans of economy. The hon. Baronet, he said, had made the prodigious discovery that if all the public offices were either placed on a reduced establishment, or suppressed, the sum of ten millions would be saved to the nation, "I was highly pleased," continued Mr. Pitt, "with the project, and sincerely wished for the execution of it, but I was always unfortunately stopped in every attempt I made to go on with it, by finding that the entire expenses of the public offices only amounted to one tenth of the wonderful saving which had been so confidently held out." From this digression the chancellor of the exchequer returned to the vindication of his bill. It had been objected that life annuities, and fixed properties were made to pay in the same proportion. Now in reply to this it should be remembered, that a permanent estate never dies, and contributes on every exigency which may occur; while the income from labour and industry pays but during one life, and then is extinguished. The bill in fact instead of accumulating taxes on articles of consumption, brought all incomes to a more equal scale of contribution, and included many, which from parsimony of expenditure now escaped contribution altogether.

Ministers had a strong majority at the close of this debate. the House divided for the farther consideration of the Bill, 183 to 17. During its progress through the committee, it received many amendments and modifications, and on the report after recommittal, it was strongly opposed by Sir William Pulteney. The hon. Baronet produced it as the only instance of a compulsory tax, with the exception of those on land and windows, which was known in this country; and protested against the introduction of a new principle which would surrender to the minister much of the controlling power of Parliament. If one-tenth were taken now, there was no limit to future demands. Government also became acquainted with every man's circumstances, and knew where to find all the property in England to support a course of lavish expenditure. A Bill upon the same system was adopted under the Protectorate and probably had a great share in bringing about the Restoration. It in fact destroyed the middling class, and left only two miserable divisions of society, the nobles and the poor. Dec. 27.

Mr. W. Smith explained some of his positions on a former night. Mr. Ryder, Lord Hawkesbury,

and Mr. Thornton approved of the provisions of the bill, and the report of the committee was agreed to without a division.

The third reading did not pass however without animadversion. Mr. Tierney again blamed the unprecedented and unconstitutional measure of compelling men to state upon oath, what they were able to pay. Something like this, he remarked, had once occurred; but it was during the tyrannical administration of Cardinal Wolsey: and there was yet another mode resembling it in the early part of our history, called the Jews ransom. Certain unfortunate persons of that persuasion had a tooth drawn every day, till they paid the tax imposed upon them; and one in particular at Bristol resisted till he lost seven grinders.

Mr. Perceval and Mr. Abbot argued in favour of the bill; the latter stated that it met the approbation of persons most conversant in the financial affairs of the country, the mercantile and monied men of the metropolis; and remarked upon the strange prejudice which seemed to exist against disclosure of property for legislative purposes. In Scotland he said all transactions respecting real, many with regard to personal property were publicly registered. The same practice prevailed in Ireland, in the case of real property; in the counties of York and Middlesex, it already existed to a considerable extent, and in the United States it embraced all monied transactions.

The conflict this evening was one of words only, on a division ministers counted 93, and the two gentlemen who of themselves formed the minority, were Mr. Tierney, and Mr. William Smith.

Until the third reading in the House of Lords the opposition Peers seemed only to urge that the Bill was hurried on with too much precipitation.

Jan. 8. On that evening Lord Suffolk represented the proposed tax as being particularly oppressive to the landed interest. From landed property it professed to draw a tenth, but instead of that it drew at least a fifth. When the House considered the effect of certain taxes lately imposed upon landed property, his calculation of 20 per cent. would be easily made out. He referred, in the first instance, to the duty upon salt, which, in certain parts of the country, took at least four per cent. from the proceeds of land; that made 14 per cent. The charge of bailiffs, stewards, and other peculiar expenses which gentlemen of landed property necessarily incurred, was at least three per cent. more. By a particular provision of the bill, farms occupied by the owners were charged in an extraordinary proportion; the effect of which, if calculated, would, in addition to what he had already stated, increase the deduction to at least 20 per cent. Besides all this, there were the operations of the poor-rates, which pressed with accumulated force in certain parts of the country, particularly in places where there were commons, which generally abounded with paupers.

The Earl of Liverpool said, the noble Earl laid much stress upon the effects of the additional salt

duties. They certainly bore with considerable weight on those parts of the country where cheese was manufactured; but it was equally notorious, that the maker repaid himself by the advanced price of his cheese. Tithes had nothing to do with the present question, and the poor-rates were equally a distinct consideration. A similar argument would apply in other cases where the produce of land became peculiarly liable to the effect of taxation. He recommended to the noble Earl's recollection, the large sums that were raised in the reigns of King William and Queen Anne, through the medium of landed property, respecting which the then proprietors made no particular complaint, though they fell severely upon the landholder.

By the provisions of the bill, the most satisfactory redress was furnished for the grievance complained of. All charges falling under the head of practical improvements; all disbursements coming within the average expenses of the year; all reasonable allowances for extraordinary losses; and even a part of the regular charges incident to landed and other property, were expressly entitled to deduction from the gross amount of income.

Lord Holland was far from admitting, *in limine* the principle which had been so largely conceded in another place; and felt that he must be guided by collateral circumstances as to the expediency and practicability of raising the supplies within the year. If upon a comparison of the advantages and disadvantages accruing, the latter were found to prevail he would peremptorily reject the principle. Now the advantages of the bill, said the noble lord, have by its supporters been reduced to three; first that it made the people understand at once, without delusion, the nature and extent of the burdens which they had to bear, instead of which it appeared to him to be the greatest of all possible delusions, The total amount to be redeemed by this bill after the conclusion of peace was 18 millions, which the people was led to conceive might be paid off in two years; but if 10 millions were funded in the 3 per cents during the war, and the price of Stocks had been fifty, it was evident that the sum to be raised must increase in proportion as Stocks rose; for to redeem those ten millions if the Stocks were at par, twenty millions would be necessary. The most sanguine calculator could not assign less than two years for the continuance of the war: and if during that time, ten millions were to be continued to be raised by loan, and ten millions within the year, it would be necessary that this tax should last five years after a peace. The second advantage stated to belong to their bill was that the nation would save by having no interest to pay. Now when money was raised by loan, it was the capital and not the interest that was lost; and it made no essential difference in the wealth of the nation, whether interest was paid or not, as the great loss arose from the capital being taken from productive, and squandered in un-

productive labour. As to the third argument in favour of the Bill; the intimidation with which it must strike the enemy, it was far from good policy to declare to the world that we had arrived at the end of the funding system. Lord Holland then went over the disadvantages; the burden upon land, and the middle classes, the inequality of pressure, the disclosure of property, the multiplication of oaths and the violation of faith with the public creditor; which last objection, he declared, even if he could find no other, would alone be a sufficient reason for his opposition.

It was stated to be a repeal of the assessed tax Bill; but many people were not aware that a considerable sum of money would still be collected under that very act which was now to be repealed. With respect to the point, that this mode of raising the supplies was preferable to a loan with permanent taxes—he remarked that the sums paid last year by the public amounted to about thirty-two millions. The whole income of the country was estimated at one hundred and two millions and he thought that this statement was exaggerated. Was it to be expected, then, that the sums to be collected by this tax could be raised without encroaching more or less on the capital of individuals, that is, without impairing the national wealth, and enfeebling all the means of reproduction? Upon this subject he could appeal to a book of great authority; but he was afraid that the authority would be taken away, as the person who wrote the book to which he referred had now changed his opinion. [He referred to Mr. Eden's Letters to Lord Carlisle, 1779.] In that work the disadvantages arising from any large tax were stated with great force and elegance. His lordship read a passage from this work, which stated that large contributions, by encroaching upon the capital of the country, threatened to affect the produce of taxes upon consumption; to cause a defalcation of the existing revenue; and to compel the State to have recourse to new taxes to make up the deficiency. He urged nearly the same arguments that have been urged by the other members of opposition in both Houses of Parliament, and upon the whole concluded, that the Bill was attended with so many disadvantages in its operation that he gave it his decided negative.

Lord Auckland after a brief vindication of his own consistency, and an eulogium on Mr. Pitt; passed to a defence of the proposed tax. The measure of the triple assessment, he allowed, to have borne unequally, and more particularly to have affected those who honourably shrank from any evasion, with all its imperfections however it had been so far from creating national embarrassment that our commercial prosperity had increased under its operation, thus the nett produce of the permanent revenue for the year ending January 5, 1798, was 17,960,000*l.* For that ending on the same day 1799, 21,049,000*l.* The produce of the permanent taxes also for this last year was 1,070,000*l.* higher than for the preceding year, and 118,000*l.*

higher than 1793, the most productive year of the peace. His Lordship then drew a vivid picture of the opposite state of France, whom he described to be bankrupt in finance, ruined in manufactures, and deprived of all commerce. The great advantage of the present measure was clearly this, that it evinced the practicability of obtaining by a national effort, to be made for a time only, without national inconvenience, any supply that the national exigencies may require. Another was its economy. No loan could have been negotiated under an interest of six per cent., which with the provision of two per cent. more for the redemption of the capital borrowed would on the 20,000,000*l.* have created a charge of 1,600,000*l.* to be raised by permanent taxes exclusive of the expence of collection. A third benefit was the acceleration which it gave to the effect of the sinking fund, for the sums to be applied by the commissioners for the redemption of the national debt in the first year of peace, would be 50,000*l.* for three hundred days. A sum the operation of which on the market must have a prodigious power in favour of public credit. He next combated the objection, which he confessed appeared at first to have some weight, to an impost which should act equally upon income arising from capital, and from life annuities. Income, he observed, as income, could never be taxed; for the moment it is rated by its value in the market it becomes capital: a tax upon which last he conceived to be unattainable. Income, could only be considered an object of taxation with reference to the single life of its present possessor.

The Lord Chancellor, and Lord Darnley gave their opinions in favour of the measure: but the ground was now too much trodden to admit of any new argument. The only remaining opponent was the Duke of Bedford. His Grace considered it impossible as yet to form any decided judgment upon the new financial principle; which hitherto was nothing more than an experiment contrary to every former system, and which *primâ facie* therefore must be accepted as an admission that former systems had been carried to the utmost length which they would bear. He proposed as a substitute (on the suggestion of Lord Lauderdale) a tax upon successions, not merely collateral but lineal, which he considered to be adequate to the wants of the country, and free from most of the objections justly advanced against the present bill, and having delivered his sentiments he left the house immediately. The Bill was then read a third time without a division, and passed.

On the 11th of March, Mr. Pitt rose in the House of Commons to say he had several amendments to propose to the Income Bill. In the first place, there was to be proposed an amendment, providing that the returns of income should be delivered sealed up, to be only opened by the commissioners themselves, who were to make the assessments, or by clerks duly appointed by them.

Also, as to the qualification of the commissioners in certain places. Also, with respect to the power of the commercial commissioners of the city of London, who, in case their assistants did not act, were to have power to appoint further assistants. Also, to allow a moderate discount for prompt payment. And also to remove some verbal inaccuracies in the schedule, without making any alteration in the spirit or fair sense of it. And finally he should propose that day fortnight for making the returns. He then moved that it be an instruction to the committee that they have power to explain and amend the said act. Ordered.

The House being in a committee, the Chancellor of the exchequer brought up his amendments, and after a few words from Sir James Pulteney, Sir John Sinclair, and the Chancellor of the exchequer, they were agreed to.

On the 18th of March, the Bill was read a third time. Mr. Pitt moved to fill up the blanks respecting the time of making returns, with the words the 5th of April, instead of the 25th of March; which was agreed to.

The Bill, having undergone all its amendments, was carried to the Lords; where also after a short discussion it was passed, and soon afterwards received the Royal assent.

No tax perhaps was ever imposed on the country which laboured under greater unpopularity than the duty on income, but popularity is far from being a just guage of the justice or the policy of a financial measure. It may be remarked, however, that the prejudices of the nation were unsparingly violated by the inquisitorial power bestowed on the commissioners; and that the burden which pressed little upon the great capitalist, was most grievously felt by the less annuitants. This difficulty indeed was virtually acknowledged by Mr. Pitt; for it is not to be supposed that he could place much reliance upon the feeble, though ingenious argument by which he attempted to remove it. Life annuities are not, as Mr. Pitt contended, *extinguished* by the death of the individuals who receive them; they change hands, but they still are *in esse* somewhere; and they continue to contribute to the national exigencies quite as much as that income which arises from property apparently more permanent. On a subject which has been so much controverted, it is not very safe to venture an opinion. One point, however, cannot be denied, it is that no tax but one upon income or capital, could raise an equally large supply in an equally short time. The question then, if the expedient be necessary, is simplified to a choice between these two imposts. A tax upon income, or in other words upon the gain on capital, is virtually a tax on industry; while a tax upon capital itself (which by no means appears impracticable notwithstanding the many assertions to the contrary) holds out a *bonus* to commercial adventure, by demanding no greater contribution from property however productive, than from that which is slumbering and unemployed.

The Chancellor of the exchequer on introducing the income

tax had briefly touched upon the supplies and ways and means for the year; but it was not until a much later period of the session

June 7. that he brought forward the budget in form. He then stated that there was but little alteration from the outline which he had submitted to the house before Christmas, and after detailing the causes from which these small differences arose, he presented the following estimates.

Navy	12,250,000
Army	8,840,000
Vote of credit, 1798	1,000,000
Extraordinaries, 1799	2,500,000
Ordnance exclusive of sea service	1,570,000
Miscellaneous services	3,264,351
Deficiency in land and malt duties	498,000
Subsidy to Russia	825,000
National debt	200,000
	£ 30,947,351

The ways and means to meet this expenditure were as below:

Sugar, tobacco, and malt		2,750,000
Lottery		200,000
Surplus of consolidated fund in January and April 1799		521,000
Growing produce of ditto		3,329,000
Exports and imports		1,500,000
Ten per cent. on income		7,500,000
Instalments on aid and contributions 1798		650,000
First loan		3,000,000
Second loan		12,000,000
		£ 31,350,000
Deduct a half year's interest on 8,000,000*l.* 1798	240,000	
Ditto one year 11,000,000*l.* at 5*l.* 7*s.* per cent.	588,000	
		828,000
		30,522,000

In these estimates Mr. Pitt did not include the vote of credit for 1799, amounting to 3,000,000*l.* which it was his intention to raise by exchequer bills to be permanently funded.

The loan, he observed, had been taken by competition. The

proposition made and accepted was 125*l.* 3 per cents. consols. and 50*l.* in the reduced, at the price of the day, considerably less than the actual value of 100*l.* Three most respectable houses agreed to pay for 125*l.* 3 per cents. consols, 69*l.* 4*s.* 4½*d.*, and for the reduced 28*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* forming a total of 97*l.* 6*s.* 10½*d.* and with the benefit of discount at 2*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* giving in the end 99*l.* 13*s.* 4½*d.*

The proposed new taxes were now to be stated.

A duty of 4*s.* per cwt. (in addition to all other duties on clayed sugars from British plantations, estimating them them at 200,000 cwt. - - - - - -	£. 40,000
2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. of the drawback withheld on British plantation sugar exported, in addition to 4*s.* now retained on on 358 cwt. On East India exported 76,000 cwt. at 6*s.* 6*d.* - - - - - - - -	62,000
Foreign plantation sugar at 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. - -	14,000
4*s.* per cwt. bounty withheld on refined sugar exported -	39,000
4*s.* do. on exported coffee - - - - -	65,000
British sugars for home consumption at 8*d.* per cwt. -	56,000
2*d.* upon notes under 40*s.* (estimated at 752,000*l.*) 62,000*l.*, but taken at - - - - - - -	42,000
	£. 318,000

This sum of 318,000*l.* would be applicable to the payment of interest on that part of the loan unprovided for by any other fund, and which in fact amounted to only 315,000*l.* By proceeding on a principle that no loan shall be contracted for in any year, greater than the amount which the sinking fund could defray, the fifteen millions of the present year would readily be paid off.

Mr. Pitt then pointed out the great advantage of the income tax, although it was intended to be continued during the whole war, yet every year of war entailed its continuance only for one year after peace; and left a charge of additional permanent taxes not exceeding 300,000*l.* The account which he next gave of our commercial prosperity was brighter even than that which Lord Auckland had stated in January: the imports exceeded those of any former year, they amounted to 27 millions, whereas those of 1797, were only 21 millions. The exports in 1797, were 28 millions; the last account brought them now as high as 33 millions. He concluded by a most laborious calculation, shewing that the national debt might be extinguished in 33 years of peace. That the war might be continued for ever without the creation of a new debt, and that if it should soon terminate, the sinking fund in ten years of peace would pay off 70 millions. After a few words from Mr. Tierney, the Resolutions were put and carried.

Mr. Pitt's financial measure however had yet to withstand

another attack from Mr. Tierney; one more formidable from the calculations which it brought forward, and to which it required an answer, than from any immediate attention which it excited either in the House or in the country. No debate which had previously required such difficult calculation was ever perhaps delivered to such empty benches, or was confined in a narrower compass, than that which took place on Mr. Tierney's finance Resolutions. It was agitated solely by the two great gladiators themselves, and was one which their usual supporters on either side appeared not unwillingly to abandon to their mighty leaders. Mr. Tierney's Resolutions embraced the whole system of finance. They compared the national debt as it existed in 1793, with the same debt in 1799, stating it to have been at the former period 209,553,599*l.* and at the latter 426,452,269*l.* exclusive of annuities. To this succeeded a similar comparison of the unfunded debt, the nett produce of permanent taxes, and the imports and exports. The sum to be raised for 1799, was estimated to be 59,443,552*l.* The revenues of the same year at 26,039,046*l.* The future peace establishment was taken at not less than 25,614,225*l.* and during the continuance of the tax upon income at 33,114,225*l.* per annum, and in conclusion appeared two estimates of the very limited, and lingering progress of redemption of debt, assuming various data, and supposing that the war should terminate either in 1799 or 1800.

June 20.

In the speech which accompanied these Resolutions, Mr. Tierney commented upon the fallacy of the estimates made by the Chancellor of the exchequer. Mr. Pitt, he said, at first had assumed the assessed taxes at eight millions, then at seven, till at length they sank to four and a half. In like manner, the income tax had descended from ten to seven and a half millions, and probably would never realise even that sum. He inveighed against the whole system which this last duty had established, particularising the rapid transfer and fluctuation of property occasioned by it, and the sudden and undue elevation to which it had raised the mercantile classes.

Mr. Pitt having moved that Mr. Tierney's Resolutions should be printed, proposed a future day for their discussion. Accordingly on the third of July the house having resolved itself into a committee of the whole house, Mr. Pitt presented a series of counter Resolutions, many of which were founded on those of Mr. Tierney, and only extended that gentleman's calculations. Mr. Pitt's chief object, as affording a fairer estimate, was to compare the then situation of the country not with its situation in 1793, after a long and prosperous peace, but in 1786, the first year after the conclusion of a war. He differed also from some of Mr. Tierney's items, and shewed, that from a fallacy caused by the inclusion of Ireland, and the neglect of the sum to be reduced by the appropriation of the income tax, the national debt had been unduly swelled from its actual amount of 386 millions odd

to 426 millions odd. The state of the revenue clearly proved, that after six years of war, we were nearer to a liberation from debt than either or at the commencement of it, or at the beginning of the late peace. The annual charge had been overstated by five millions. The expences of the present year also were exaggerated, for the imperial loan was by no means to be considered as permanent. Mr. Pitt then proceeded to a prolonged defence of the new system, and concluded with some most laborious calculations of the probable payment of the national debt, founded on various different suppositions.

Mr. Tierney considered the opposite deductions which Mr. Pitt and himself had drawn from similar calculations, as arising not from a difference of facts, but from a difference in the view taken of them. He gave the Chancellor of the Exchequer the highest possible credit for his attention to the sinking fund: it was the brightest feature in his ministerial character. All discussion on the income tax at present was uncertain, and he only feared that in order to increase its produce to its original estimate, Government might next year seize upon a ninth of his property, or even an eighth. What must be the situation of the country, exclaimed Mr. Tierney, if the war were to continue eight years longer? and yet ministers acted as if the restoration of the old monarchy was attainable; and one right hon. gentleman (Mr. Windham) openly avowed his opinion that no peace should be attempted before this wished for consummation had taken place. The state of our finances, however, would not permit the war to continue much longer, and he hoped no bigoted prejudices would prevent us from concluding peace whenever it could be obtained on secure and honourable grounds.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Windham separately disclaimed all wish to continue the war beyond any term which the safety of the country might require. The arguments used by both of the ministers were very similar to those employed by them in the debates more immediately connected with the propriety of attempting negociation. The resolutions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were then agreed to in the Committee, and ordered to be reported. When the Report was brought up on a subsequent night the previous question was moved upon each of Mr. Tierney's Resolutions, and those of Mr. Pitt were carried without a division. July 11.

The East India Budget for the year 1798, had been omitted in the former session, and Mr. Secretary Dundas had a long arrear to lay before Parliament. In introducing the subject, he stated the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed by the production of estimates with the results of which he was already acquainted; but it was necessary that the usual Resolutions should be moved even at this late period, in order that an official record might remain on the Journals of the House. He then went through the following abstract, containing the Indian accompts, properly so called, and those at home connected with Indian affairs. March 12.

BENGAL.

Revenues—Average 1794-5 to 1796-7 - -	£5,778,677
Less than last year	56,013
Estimated for 1796-7 - - - -	5,710,511
Actual amount - - - - -	5,703,906
Less than estimate	6,605
Charges—Estimated for 1796-7 - - -	3,733,860
Actual amount - - - - -	3,862,942
More than estimate	129,082
Add excess of charge to deficiency of revenue, the nett revenue is less than estimated - - -	135,687
And the nett revenue for this year is - -	1,840,964

Estimates, 1797-8.

Revenues - - - - - -	5,743,848
Charges - - - - - -	3,893,991
Nett revenue	1,849,857
Revenues estimated more than actual 1796-7 -	39,942
Charges ditto - - - - -	31,049
Nett revenues, estimated for 1797-8, more than the preceding year - - - - -	8,893

MADRAS.

Objection formerly stated to drawing an average does not exist in the same degree; the revenue of Ceylon in 1796-7 the only article to be deducted, the average of the revenues from 1794-5 to 1795-6 then is -	1,846,074
Company's revenues, exclusive of subsides in the respective years, and Ceylon in 1796-7, the average 1794-5 to 1696-7, more than average 1793-4 to 1795-6 -	61,468

Revenues.—Estimated for 1796-7	£ 2,159,402
Actual amount	1,996,328
Less than estimated	163,074
Charges—Estimated for 1796-7	2,005,225
Actual amount	2,408,492
More than estimate	403,267
Add excess of charge to deficiency of revenue, the actual account is worse than the estimate	566,341
And the nett charge of this year is	412,163

Estimates, 1797-8.

Revenues	2,334,676
Charges	2,482,838
Nett charge	148,162
Revenue estimated more than actual 1796-7	338,347
Charges ditto	74,347
Nett charge estimated for 1797-8, less than preceding year	2,640,000

BOMBAY.

Revenues—Average 1794-5 to 1696-7	302,004
More than average, stated last year	7,067
Revenues—Estimated for 1796-7	284,959
Actual amount	315,937
More than estimate	30,978
Charges—Estimated for 1796-7	777,973
Actual amount	841,825
More than estimate	63,852
Deduct the excess of revenue from the excess of charge, the nett charge is more than estimated	32,874

And the nett charge of this year is - - -	£ 525,888

Estimate, 1797-8.

Revenues - - - - - -	319,101
Charges - - - - - -	844,050
Nett charge	525,949
Revenues estimated more than actual, 1796-7 -	3,163
Charges, ditto ditto - - - -	2,225
Nett charge estimated for 1797-8, less than preceding year	938

BENCOOLEN AND OTHER SETTLEMENTS.

Revenues of Fort Marlborough, on average of three years, 1794-5 to 1796-7 - - - - -	4,932
Charges, ditto ditto - - - - -	89,713
Nett charge	84,781
Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlborough, Pinang, &c. estimated for 1796-7 - - - -	90,364
The actual amount was - - - - - -	101,190
Being more than estimated - - - - -	10,826
Supplies estimated for 1797-8 - - - -	85,840

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of the Year 1796-7, *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal - - - - -	5,703,906	
Madras - - - -	1,996,328	
Bombay - - - -	315,937	
		8,016,171
Charges—Bengal - - - -	3,862,942	
Madras - - - -	2,408,492	
Bombay - - - -	841,825	
		7,113,259
Nett revenues of the three presidencies -		902,912
Deduct supplies of Bencoolen, &c. -		101,190
Remainder		801,722

Deduct farther interest paid on debts,		
Bengal	£ 352,325	
Madras	37,040	
Bombay	37,482	
		426,847
Nett surplus from the terrritorial revenues		374,875
Add amount of sales of imports, certificates, &c.		381,938
Amount applicable to purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.		756,813
Amount actually advanced for the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, and in aid of the China investment,		
At Bengal	1,202,394	
Madras	642,048	
Bombay	286,913	
Bencoolen	18,183	
		2,149,538
Exceeds amount applicable from revenues as before		1,392,725
Cargoes invoiced to Europe in 1796-7, with charges		1,877,432

GENERAL VIEW.

Result of Estimates 1797-8, *collectively.*

Revenues—Bengal	5,743,848	
Madras	2,334,676	
Bombay	319,101	
		8,397,625
Charges—Bengal	3,893,991	
Madras	2,482,858	
Bombay	844,050	
		7,220,879
Nett estimated revenue of the three presidencies		1,176,746
Deduct, supplies of Bencoolen, &c.		85,840
Remainder		1,090,906
Deduct farther, interest on the debts		576,775
Add		514,131
Estimated amount, sales of imports, and certificates, &c.		500,336
Amount estimated to be applicable in 1797-8, to the purchase of investments, payment of commercial charges, &c.		1,014,467

DEBTS IN INDIA.

Amount stated last year	£ 7,146,034
Amount this year	9,294,539
Increase	2,148,455
Debts transferred in the year	544,402

Debts bearing Interest.

Amount last year	5,590,142
Amount this year	7,479,162
Interest of debt bearing interest	1,889,020
Amount of interest payable by accounts of last year	419,345
Amount of interest payable by accounts of this year	576,775
Increase of interest, payable annually	157,430

ASSETS IN INDIA.

Consisting of cash, goods, &c. last year	8,958,669
Ditto by the present statements	10,531,145
Increase of assets	1,572,476
Deduct—Increase of assets from the above increase of debts —the state of the company's affairs in India is worse by	575,979

HOME ACCOUNTS.

Aggregate amount of sales		6,053,401
Less than last year	2,108,908	
Difference in company's goods alone	1,434,488	
Private trade more than last year	30,746	
Remaining difference in sale of Dutch goods—Sales of company's goods, estimated at		6,282,282
Actually amounted to		4,718,822
Less than estimated		1,556,060
Receipts on sale of company's goods, estimated at		6,555,116
Actually amounted to		5,946,468
Receipt less than estimated		608,648
Charges and profit on private trade estimated at		196,000

Actually amounted to	£	115,808
Less than estimate		80,198

General Result.

Balance at close of year 1797-8, expected to be against the company	1,836,320
Actual balance in consequence of issue of bonds, of aid by loans, and of smaller payments for freight, &c. than expected, was in favour	540,646
Making the balance of cash better than estimated	2,376,966

Estimates, 1798-9.

Receipt for sales of company's goods	5,905,927

Result.

After calculating on a payment to the bank, amounting to 800,000*l.* and a large sum for freight, without reckoning an increase of capital, issue of bonds or loans, the balance against the company on the 1st of March 1799, expected to be	1,318,937

DEBTS AT HOME.

In March 1797		7,918,559
In March 1798		7,288,692
Decrease		132,069
Assets at home and afloat on the 1st of March, 1797		12,476,719
Ditto on the 1st of March, 1798		13,213,370
Increase		732,597
Adding increase of assets to the above decrease of debt, the state of affairs at home appears better		1,366,322

CHINA AND ST. HELENA.

Balance in China last year in favour	279,250	
Ditto this year against	718,945	
Difference at China against		998,195
Balance at St. Helena last year	58,463	
Ditto this year	54,248	
Decrease at St. Helena		4,215
Less at China and St. Helena		1,002,410

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increase of debt in India - - - - - -		2,148,455
Decrease of debts at home - - - - -		631,765
	Increase of debts	1,516,690
Increase of assets in India - - -	1,572,476	
Increase of assets at home - - -	734,557	
	Deduct 2,307,033	
Balance at China and St. Helena, less -	1,002,410	
Nett increase of assets - - - - - -		1,304,623
The increase of debt, or the general state of the Company's concerns, is, in this view, more than at the close of the last year - - - - - - - - -		212,067
Add charges of four ships from Bombay, arrived in time for insertion in the home accounts - - -		201,153
	The total then is	413,220

It appeared, Mr. Dundas continued, from this statement, that the revenues of India had improved in eleven years to the amount of eleven millions sterling. The debt also had certainly increased, and in a manner of which he himself was among the first to complain; but this by no means proved that the Company's affairs were in a worse situation, for in proportion as the debt abroad had increased, the assets at home had increased also. There was no difficulty in increasing the commerce of India. But the Company must be reminded, that they had not only its commerce, but its imperial resources also intrusted to them. It was clear, indeed, that the wealth to be brought from India exceeded any means which the Company had to embrace it. For it was currently believed, that India could supply five millions annually, and that the Company had neither capital nor shipping to bring home more than two: while the rest found its way to the several ports of Europe in vessels which form no part of the strength of our Empire. Mr. Dundas did not wish to invade the Company's right of monopoly, but some new arrangement was peremptorily called for. He heartily desired that the Company might be able to bring over *all* the wealth of India, and he would do his utmost to give it the power of so doing; but if after all it was unable to bring home that wealth, some method must be devised by which it must come to Great Britain, rather than find its way in foreign ships to foreign ports.

A series of Resolutions, founded

on the above abstract, was then agreed to.

The only other subject of Colonial importance which occupied the House during this session, was the long-contested question of the Slave Trade. Mr. Wilberforce, in renewing his motion of last year, asked leave to bring in a Bill for the abolition of this detestable traffic at a limited time. Twelve years, he said, had now elapsed since he first introduced the subject to legislative attention; and, notwithstanding the slow progress of facts, he had the satisfaction of believing that, with the exception of three or four persons only, Parliament was at last well satisfied of the justice and necessity of the measure. The traffic, according to a Resolution of the House, in 1792, was to have been put an end to in 1796, but unfortunately the House had thought better of that Resolution, and had departed from its solemn pledge. And on what principle had it done so? In order that the remaining waste land of our colonies might be brought into cultivation; a hope more extravagant than any that was ever suggested. The Colonial Assembly of Jamaica had declared that they would take no step towards the abolition, while a single acre remained uncultivated in their island: now the number of cultivated acres in that island were stated to be 3,500,000; of these 820,000 already produced crops; so that 2,680,000 remained to be cultivated. Comparing the future progress of cultivation with the past, 300 years would be required for this purpose, and supposing the same mortality to prevail, the number of slaves wanted would be 2,400,000. Mr. Wilberforce proceeded to shew the fallacy by which this question was considered as applicable to the West Indies only. It in fact related to the whole of the vast continent of Africa. This baneful trade reversed all principles seemingly the most unalterable. Civilization, from the effects of commerce, generally made the earliest progress on the coasts; go, however, to the interior of Africa, and you will find great cities, schools, &c. and a degree of knowledge many centuries in advance before those parts which have intercourse with British merchants. Visit the coasts and for near 400 miles you will behold nothing but moral barrenness, and mental and physical degradation.

March 1.

Mr. Petree, Sir William Young, Mr. Dent, Col. Wood, Col. Gasgoyne, and Mr. Sewell, respectively opposed the motion. The latter gentleman at much length. He denied the declaration which had been imputed to the Colonial Assembly. They did not wish to bring every cultivable acre into cultivation, but to settle every acre which had been granted by the crown for settling: and if the Slave Trade was the only means by which this could be effected, the Colonies, he said, might demand the continuance of that trade as a right. He contended that the abolition, instead of terminating the trade, would only render that which was now legitimate, contraband, and transfer to other nations the benefit which at present we enjoyed ourselves. It would lead to the abandonment of settlements, the emigra-

tion of the whites, the impoverishment of the colonies, and the necessary reduction of those resources which the mother country drew from them. Mr. Sewell concluded by disputing Mr. Wilberforce's calculation, as to the numbers which must be imported for future cultivation. He maintained that the hands required for settlement hereafter, could bear no proportion to the past; and that in fact four fifths of the negro population had accrued within the last 75 years, out of the 150 during which we had held Jamaica.

It might have been expected that the accredited Colonial agent would continue his opposition to a measure which the Colonial Assembly itself had denounced; but the friends of this great cause were not a little astonished by the desertion on this night of two of their old supporters. On Mr. Windham's apostacy little can be said which is not injurious to his memory; and it must always be considered as one of the not unfrequent caprices by which this otherwise able and virtuous statesman allowed himself to be perverted. He renounced the abolition, on the ground of what he termed "moral and political prudence." To talk of the *moral* expediency of the Slave Trade is a contradiction of terms, and true political advantage can never in the end result from a violation of natural rights.

As for Mr. Dundas, there is good reason to doubt whether he ever was sincerely friendly to the abolition. Both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox considered the proposition of gradual abolition, which he originated, as delusive; and he abundantly proved the correctness of their judgment; for in the present debate, when years before he had fixed 1800 for the termination of the trade, he mainly contributed to the rejection of Mr. Wilberforce's bill.

Against the loss of these gentlemen was to be weighed the accession of Mr. Canning, whose eloquence was splendidly applied to the furtherance of the measure. He stated the point in question to be simply this; whether the Colonial Assembly was *bonâ fide* pursuing the course recommended by the Throne, in consequence of an Address of the House in 1797, "with a view to the termination of the trade." And he distinctly proved from the language which the assembly had used, that no object could be farther from its intention. In a strain of unrivalled irony he shewed from Mr. Sewell's argument, that the Assembly spoke one thing, and meant another; and from Mr. Dundas's that it meant nothing at all. He severely commented upon the gross abuse of terms in "The RIGHT" which the Assembly claimed "of importing LABOURERS" "gentle words," exclaimed the Right Hon. Member. "not slaves not for the world, not to trade in slaves; but to IMPORT LABOURERS! He had learnt, indeed, by the painful experience of late years, to associate the word "Right" with very different ideas from those which it conveyed of old; but never, even in the practical application of the pernicious doctrine of the Rights of Man, had the word been so shamefully affixed to murder, to devastation,

to the invasion of public independence, to the pollution and destruction of private happiness, to gross and unpalliated injustice, to the spreading of misery and mourning over the earth, to the massacre of innocent individuals, to the extermination of unoffending nations. What were we to think of a RIGHT to trade in blood, asserted by the enlightened Government of a civilized country!

Mr. Canning then bitterly reproached the hollow mockery with which the colonies had established a shew of useless regulations; he successfully ridiculed the several arguments which the friends of the Slave Trade had that night adduced in its support; and wound up a most brilliant and masterly speech, by reminding the House that the present was not a question of the necessity of abolition, (for in that all were agreed), but whether, after the open disclaimer of the Assembly of Jamaica, of any intention on their part to assist in it, the House was justified in leaving the business in the hands of that Assembly, instead of taking the necessary steps themselves for the execution of their own purpose.

Mr. Pitt professed, that until his mind should change its nature he should always be a staunch friend to the immediate and unqualified Abolition of the Slave Trade; which he properly stigmatised as "an exposed, deprecated, convicted, and recorded practice of injustice, rapine, and murder." He contended that the Parliament of the country had the means within itself of completely abolishing it, and that it was their duty so to do; for the conduct of nations ought to be regulated as much in reference to natural and divine laws, as that of individuals. Mr. Pitt then strongly objected to the language which had been used by the Colonial Assembly, by which they seemed to claim the continuance of the Slave Trade as the price of their allegiance; an allegiance which, on such terms, appeared inadmissible and unintelligible. If the House did not agree to the motion for which he now intended to vote, he trusted that it would impose, in the course of this session, some clear and distinct restraint on the cultivation of new land in the plantations.

On the question of the House resolving itself into a Committee, there appeared, Ayes 54, Noes 84. Mr. Wilberforce's motion accordingly was lost.

A Bill, however, was brought in a few nights after by Mr. Henry Thornton to prohibit trading in slaves to the north-west coast of Africa, from the point of Cape Palmas; and also to prevent slave-ships from touching at all on that part of the coast. It distinctly appeared, from evidence before a committee, that out of 74,000 slaves annually imported from Africa, not one-tenth was procured from the district intended to be prohibited, which nevertheless extended more than 300 leagues. The ostensible object of the bill was to prevent interference with the plans of African civilization projected by the Sierra Leone Company; and to admit of a fair experiment upon the natives, when freed from the guilt and degradation of the Slave Trade.

Even this Bill, modified and guarded as it was, did not escape opposition in the Commons. Messrs. Gascoyne and Dent were among its enemies. Petitions were presented and counsel heard against it. It should not be forgotten, however, that Sir William Young, Messrs. Bryan Edwards, Barham, and Ellis; all staunch opponents of the abolition, spoke and voted for this measure; which, after encountering two divisions, one of 32 to 27; the other of 38 to 22; on the second of May was read a third time in the Commons.

July 5. On the second reading in the Lords the Duke of Clarence entered into a detailed history of the trade. He stated, that at that moment it employed 183 vessels, measuring in all 49,065 tons, and navigated by 6,276 seamen; and urged the necessity of protecting our West Indian Colonies, the capital of which was not less than an hundred millions sterling.

Lord Grenville pronounced the Slave Trade to be a system of fraud, robbery, and murder; and said, that the district from which the present bill went to prohibit these enormities, was only one-fourth of the whole coast on which they were perpetrated. He remarked upon the small proportion which this district supplied to the market, and commented with just severity upon the perjured evidence which had been given at their Lordships' Bar, by four Slave Captains; whose log-books, when produced, proved the utter falsehood of their declarations, that it was absolutely necessary for ships trading to the Leeward Coast, to touch at the prohibited district for provisions. On examination of their books it appeared, that not one of these captains had so touched, and that not above one ship in a hundred ever thought of doing so.

Lord Westmoreland, on the other side, contradicted the pretence of this Bill, and denied that it was to assist the Sierra Leone Company; it was, in fact, only a prelude to abolition. Lord Holland and the Bishop of Rochester supported the measure. The learned Prelate contended that the present bill was entirely distinct from the general principle of abolition: not that he shrank from the support of that principle, which had been falsely styled a branch of Jacobinism; when in truth it rested upon no visionary notions of equality, and Rights of man, but upon the necessary gradations of civil society; gradations ascending and descending, but limited both ways. For as there was an exorbitance of power to which no good King would aspire, so there was an extreme condition of subjection to which man could not, without injustice, be degraded, and such was the condition of the African slave. He then proved, that although the Bill prohibited one-third of the coast from traffic, it in reality only extinguished one-twentieth of the trade; and not indeed so much, for the trade of the Windward coast was already so reduced, that the planters invariably refused cargoes from it if they could get them from any other part.

His Lordship then entered into some calculations of the horrible mortality which prevailed in voy-

ages from this coast. In one instance, in 33 days, 23 slaves died out of 265; had this passage lasted a year, 253 would have been the number lost; and none of these slaves from the colonial regulation could have been more than five-and-twenty years of age. The calculation, founded on the London bills of mortality, allows 17 deaths in one year out of 1000 persons of the age of 25; the calculation of the middle passage from the windward coast, allow 253 out of 265! on the contrary, from the Leeward coast, only 3 out of 315 died in seven weeks and four days; this, on the same principle for one year, would have been 24 out of 215. Thus the voyage from the Leeward coast, dreadful as the destruction of human life is even in it, is far the healthier of the two; how heart-rending is the mortality in both when compared with the rate of a great metropolis like London!

The grand object of the Sierra Leone Company, as stated with much eloquence by the Bishop, was to establish a fair and friendly commerce with the Africans: by that means to spread the light of knowledge, divine and human, in their country, and gradually to forward its civilization. He then drew a picture of the difficulties with which this benevolent society had struggled, and the success with which, under them all, it had been crowned. In the course of his speech he answered most of the arguments which had been urged from time to time against the abolition; and concluded by vindicating Christianity from the aspersions which had been thrown upon it at the bar, of not having forbidden this execrable traffic. It is forbidden by the whole spirit of our benevolent religion; and, moreover, it is mentioned expressly by name, as in the highest degree sinful, by the Apostle Paul. The learned prelate then, with profound erudition, illustrated by classical authorities, the word ἀνδραποδισταῖς, used in the First Epistle to Timothy, and satisfactorily proved, that it could be received in no other sense than as "dealers in men," or slave traders.

Lord Thurlow feebly attempted to ridicule the introduction of Greek etymologies; after which the House divided—Contents 25—Not contents 32—Proxies on each side 36. The bill was consequently thrown out.

CHAPTER XII.

Domestic Business. Thanks to Lord Nelson. Breach of Privilege in the Newspapers. Mr. Windham objects to the Publication of Parliamentary Debates. Remarks upon this Objection. Punishment of Benjamin Flower for a Libel on the Bishop of Llandaff. Lord Belgrave moves for the Suppression of Sunday Newspapers. The Motion lost. Mr. Abbot's Committee on expired and expiring Laws. Provision for the younger Princes. Augmentation of the Salaries and Pensions to retired Judges. Exportation of Copper prohibited. Corn to be imported for a limited Time free of Duty. Mr. Palmer's Claim.

Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Bill. Observations in the House of Commons on the Treatment of Colonel Despard. The Statements concerning him, disproved. Debated in the Lords. The Suspension Bill passes. Petition from Colonel Despard. Report of the Committee to inquire into the State of Cold Bath Fields Prison. Report of the Secret Committee on Treasonable Conspiracies. Bills founded on that Report.

THE unprecedented services of the Navy were among the very earliest domestic objects which claimed Parliamentary acknowledgement. On the second day of the session, Earl Spencer supported by the Duke of Clarence, moved the thanks of the House to Lord Nelson, Sir John Borlase Warren, and the two fleets under their respective commands, for the victories off the Nile, and the coast of Ireland. Similar thanks were voted in the Commons, and an address to the King was agreed upon, humbly desiring that his majesty would direct a monument to be erected in St. Paul's to the memory of Captain George Blagdon Westcott, who fell in the first of these actions.

Nov. 21.

On the following day Mr. Pitt presented a royal message upon which the House resolved to settle out of the consolidated fund, an annuity of 2000*l.* per annum upon Lord Nelson and his two next heirs male.

These debts of national gratitude being discharged, the next domestic business to which the attention of Parliament was called, arose from a breach of privilege. On the twentieth of December, Mr. Wilberforce, without founding any motion upon his observations, commented in strong terms upon the manner in which the speeches of Members were misrepresented in the newspapers. The object of these misrepresentations he doubted not was to aim a blow at the Constitution through an attack upon the House, or at least by the partiality with which speeches on opposite sides were reported, to give an improper bias to the public mind against some of their representatives. The honourable Member stated no particular instance of this abuse, and his speech dropped singly to the ground; but it led the way to longer discussions on subsequent nights, which might have been attended with very dangerous consequences to a salutary custom which from long sufferance has almost grown up into a privilege.

Dec. 20.

During the progress of the Income tax Bill through the committee, Mr. Tierney had pointedly alluded to a supposed evasion of the triple assessment by Lord Auckland. Mr. Pitt unequivocally declared this statement to be unfounded, for that Lord Auckland had not only paid his full quota to the tax, but had added double the sum as a voluntary contribution. Four days after this debate a very large portion of "The Times," newspaper was occupied by an article entitled, "A Conversation between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney," containing not only the substance of the debate, but several animadversions upon it, replete with the most glaring mis-

Dec. 27.

representations. For this misstatement of facts Mr. Tierney moved that the editor of the Times had been guilty of a breach of privilege.

"The Times" at this juncture was considered to be a leading ministerial journal, and from its extensive circulation it was also the favourite vehicle for advertisements. It was scarcely probable, therefore, as Mr. Tierney took occasion to observe, that the editor would sacrifice the large space of four columns to an *ex parte* political statement, unless he was amply paid for the insertion of it: and in representing this offence to the House Mr. Tierney obviously contemplated the unfair party attack much rather than any supposed contempt of Parliament.

The Speaker, however, decided that no complaint of misrepresentation could be received, which was not specificially founded on the breach of that standing order of the house by which the publication of its proceedings was forbidden. Mr. Tierney accordingly framed his motion in conformity with this decision of the Chair. Mr. Pitt asked and received a satisfactory explanation in regard to Lord Auckland, Mr. Tierney very honourably withdrawing his sanction from the offensive rumour. The discussion, which was continued for two nights, now assumed a wholly new appearance from that which it bore at first, and led to some very extraordinary declarations on the part of Mr. Windham. That gentleman complained at great length of the evil produced, by the publicity now afforded to the Parliamentary debates, and argued the subject very largely on the general question of breach of privilege. He thought that an end ought to be put to that relaxation of duty by which the House had permitted reports of its proceedings to be given to the press; because he believed that such publicity had a general tendency to change the Government from a representative form into one entirely democratic; in as much as it made the people sit in judgement every day upon Parliament. The practice had not been tolerated much above twenty years; and the possibility of a debate upon its impropriety would have struck some of the predecessors of the Speaker now in the Chair with utter astonishment. Much might be said in the Houses of Parliament which could not with safety be said elsewhere, yet the legerdemain of reporting, scattered it all over the Kingdom. To inflammatory opinions sanctioned by the voice and authority of Members of Parliament, and distributed among all classes of the people, Mr. Windham endeavoured to trace not only the general prevalence of disaffection, but specificially and particularly the mutiny at the Nore. Mankind, he said, had never yet been in circumstances that enabled the mass of them to judge correctly on any thing that required much mental exertion. The practice of publishing debates struck directly at the dignity of the House, and already in Paris had overthrown the representative body. The Right honourable Secretary inveighed with considerable warmth against the want both of capacity

and of integrity in the newspaper writers, and asserted that these persons had materially contributed to the overthrow of the different Governments which had been lately undermined, and had caused many of the insurrections by which the habitable globe was made the seat of anarchy; insomuch that he never saw a man of low condition with a newspaper in his hand, without comparing him to a man who was swallowing poison under the hope of improving his health; for the information contained in these journals fomented discontent, was destructive to every good principle, and hostile to the character of every individual in whom public trust was reposed.

These opinions of Mr. Windham did not meet with any countenance within doors, and as might be expected were eminently unpopular without. Every Member who took part in the debate concurred in strong reprobation of the frequent mistatements of the newspapers; but Mr. Pitt expressly declared that he should be sorry to interpose the authority of the House, in restricting what had long been permitted as a medium of intercourse between it and the public: and Mr. Wilberforce (though it was not easy to ascertain his views as to the immediate point in discussion) said that any thing should be borne and any expedient be tried, rather than the desperate remedy of silencing the reporters. He added, that his fixed opinion was, that (the House reserving to itself a right to shut the gallery at its own discretion) the publication of its debates so far from being injurious, was highly beneficial to the country; for the constituent had his duties to perform as well as the representative, and it was impossible for him to perform them without the necessary means of information.

Mr. Tierney, after some opposition, obtained leave to discharge the order for which he had moved against the printer and editor of the Times; and he did so on an assurance that the account of which he had complained, was not the production of the editor, but of some person whom he feared it was impossible to detect.

The error in Mr. Windham's argument clearly arose from the very partial view which he permitted himself to take of the point in debate. That *some* evil may result from the publicity given to the proceedings of Parliament, is not to be denied: but it by no means follows, as Mr. Windham contended, that *nothing* but evil is produced by it. On the contrary if these things were done in a corner, the people, in truth, would gain little advantage from the constitution of Parliament. All honorable ambition to stand fairly in the eyes of their constituents would be destroyed on the part of the representatives. All fixed assurance in the elected would be taken from the electors. In a free Government the only source of authority is public confidence, and public confidence ceases to exist when the people cease to be acquainted with the principles upon which they are to be governed.

The extensive power which both Houses possess in them-

selves, of inflicting summary punishment upon dangerous offenders against their privileges, must be considered as the best preventive of such offences. Nor is it to be wished that Parliament should be backward in exercising this power. Lord Grenville called it into salutary action in the course of the session. One B. Flower, a notorious sectary and jacobin, the publisher of the Cambridge Intelligencer, had scandalously attacked the Bishop of Llandaff in this newspaper, upon a speech which his lordship had delivered in the debate on the Address relative to the Union with Ireland. In the absence of the Bishop, (who had no personal acquaintance with Lord Grenville, and was uninformed of the libel) the noble secretary brought the culprit to the bar of the House of Lords; when the Peers resolved that he had been guilty of a high breach of privilege; that he should pay a fine of 100*l.* to the King, and be committed to Newgate for 6 months.

May 1st.

Another question connected with the restriction of the periodical press was agitated during this session, and found once more a warm supporter in Mr. Windham.

May 27.

Lord Belgrave called the attention of the house to the infringement of the Sabbath by the circulation of Sunday Newspapers, a practice which commenced about 1780, and had gradually increased to a great extent. As the general law stood, the sale of any article on Sundays was punishable by forfeiture, and a penalty of five shillings. His lordship proposed to increase the penalty to forty shillings on each article, and 20*l.* on the whole sale; to make the circulation a breach of the peace, and the vender liable to instant commitment by any magistrate, peace-officer, or churchwarden. The arguments upon which this Bill was supported both by the noble mover and by the Secretary at war, were principally drawn from the necessity of abstaining from all secular employments on the Sabbath—to the neglect of which abstinence Lord Belgrave imputed the origin of the French revolution, and to which he was assured by Mr. Jekyll he might as well impute the fall of Babylon or Rome. On the second reading the Bill was carried by a majority of three only, and on the third it was lost by a majority of 40 to 26.

It does not appear that much effect would have been produced on the more decent observance of the Sabbath if this Bill had passed. The statute of Charles II. if put in force, is sufficient to prevent any open and flagrant nuisance in the practice at which Lord Belgrave's proposition was aimed; and if many of the Sunday Papers have become the principal vehicles by which evil principles, civil and religious, are circulated at a cheap rate among the common people; it is the abuse of these publications, not the publications themselves, which should be the object of legislation.

A very useful measure of internal policy was proposed by Mr. Abbot, in rising to move for the annual committee on expired and expiring laws. The learned gentleman observed that it had long been

March 1st.

the usage of Parliament, in framing novel laws to limit their duration in the first instance, in order that they might be reconsidered after some experience of their effects. This practice, beneficial as it undoubtedly was, had led to a most perplexing accumulation. Thus many laws of a temporary nature, whigh ought, after a reasonable experience, to have been finally rejected or perpetuated, still existed, under fourteen or fifteen successive renewals, in their original form; insomuch that, adding all the subsidiary Acts, nearly 600 statutes, passed within the present century, were still in force only in the state of temporary Acts of Parliament. Mr. Abbot instanced many serious inconveniences resulting from this circumstance. The Act for calling out the militia had accidentally been suffered to expire at the end of its first term, and the country for an interval of some years had been deprived of this valuable safeguard. The laws relating to bankruptcy and insolvency frequently suffered in the same manner. In some cases impediments had been thrown in the way of State prosecutions; in others, sentences had been delivered on the supposed authority of statutes which had in fact long ceased to exist. In order to remedy these evils the learned gentleman moved, "That a committee be appointed to inquire, what public general laws have expired within twelve months preceding the commencement of the present session of Parliament; and also what laws are about to expire within twelve months subsequent to the commencement of the present session, or at the end thereof: and to report the same from time to time to the House, with their opinion, which are fit to be revived, continued, or made perpetual." This motion was agreed to, and the committee appointed.

A Royal message on the 1st of March desired the assistance of Parliament in making a provision for the Princes, Edward and Ernest Augustus. When it was referred to a committe of supply. Mr. Pitt in proposing an allowance of 12,000*l.* a year to each of these Royal personages, lamented the inability of the Civil list to bear this additional charge, as in fact the unavoidable expenditure of this fund, above its estimate, already amounted to little less than 90,000*l.* Mr. Tierney by no means opposed the grant, but thought it unreasonable that the nation should be burdened with it. He jealously scrutinized the accounts of the Civil list then lying on the table, and inveighed against its vague items and extravagant charges. The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated the causes of increased expenditure, and defended the accounts. He argued that the necessary splendour of the Crown, and our present numerous foreign relations, fully justified the arrears, and condemned as jacobinical and revolutionary the parsimony which cavilled at every expence connected with the support of Royalty. On a division, the Resolution for the grant was carried by a majority of 83 to 4. March 8.

One of the first acts of his Majesty's reign had made the Judges independent of the crown; a very necessary augmentation of their

salaries was agreed to during this session, and annuities were provided for those whom age or infirmity might prevent from the continuance of their duties.

The exportation of copper was prohibited under certain regulations; and from the unfavourable prospect of the harvest towards the close of the session, a Bill was passed allowing on the authority of an order from the King in Council, the importation of corn without payment of duty for a limited time. The experience of former monopolies fully justified Government in this interference with the usual course of mercantile transactions.

A subject of great pecuniary importance to the individual, and as the debate was turned, of no little interest to the nation, from an attempt made to convict Ministers of a breach of public faith, was warmly discussed on the 31st of May. Mr. Palmer in the year 1784 had proposed to Government a plan for the improvement of the Post Office, by which the revenue was to be increased, and the accommodation to the public much extended. The reward which he was to receive for these services, was stipulated at a patent place for life, with a salary of 1500*l.* a year, and two and a half per centage upon the nett receipt of the Post-Office, exceeding 240,000*l.* annually; but not one shilling if he failed in producing the intended reform. It was found incompatible with the existing law to execute a special commission for life, which should make him independent of the Postmaster-general; and Mr. Palmer in consequence, having fully succeeded in his plan, in spite of the most active and malicious opposition, continued to hold his place under the controul of that officer. Some bickerings, which it is unnecessary to detail, led to the dismissal of Mr. Palmer, and Government, as a compensation for the loss of the per centage, which was considered as an appendage of his place, granted him a pension of 3000*l.* a year.

Not content with this allowance he appealed to the House of Commons. His case was referred to a committee, before which Mr. Palmer laid an opinion, signed by four eminent counsel, (Messrs. Mansfield, Erskine, Gibbs, and Adam) which held that he ought on no account to be deprived of the full benefit of his original agreement. Mr. Pierrepoint, when the report of the committee was presented, moved two Resolutions to the above purport.

This report contained some curious facts. That for sixty years preceding Mr. Palmer's new plan, notwithstanding the great increase of commerce, the nett revenue of the Post-Office had received no increase whatever, except that which arose from a higher rate of postage, and a regulation of franks. That on the contrary, for nine years preceding the plan it had decreased more than 13,000*l.* a year. That former contractors, for the management of this office, had received as much as even 50 per cent. on the *gross*, not the nett revenue. That letters, according to Mr. Palmer's plan, were delivered in less than half the time which was required formerly, at a less rate per mile, and for 20,000*l.* less than his original

estimate. That prior to 1783, the Post-Office revenue did not exceed 150,000*l.*; the number of Newspapers forwarded from London did not amount to two millions; and more than 200 expresses were sent annually to Bristol alone. In 1798, the revenue was more than 600,000*l.*; the Newspapers forwarded were above eight millions; and only forty expresses were used for the whole kingdom.

The full success of Mr. Palmer's plan was admitted on all sides. The justice of his claim was argued at very great length by Dr. Laurence, and was supported also by Messrs. Hobhouse and Sheridan; Mr. Pitt, Mr. Long, the Speaker, and the Attorney and Solicitor-general, opposed it. They all considered the agreement made with Mr. Palmer to be partly in remuneration of past services, partly an incentive to future exertions, and therefore clearly liable to revocation. By certain errors which led to his dismissal he had forfeited all claim to prospective reward; but Government, to express a due sense of his former great merit, had assigned him an allowance calculated on the average two and a half per centage of the three last years during which he retained his appointment. On a division that the Chairman do leave the chair, the numbers appeared:—Ayes, 112; Noes, 28. So the question was decided against Mr. Palmer by a majority of 84.

Little other minor domestic business was transacted during this session. The period assigned for the redemption of the land-tax was extended, and several amendments, the convenience of which had been suggested by the operation of the old Bill, were incorporated in a new one. Permission was also given by an Act which passed with slight opposition, for such men as chose to volunteer from the militia into the regular service, on the receipt of a bounty, to do so to a limited extent. The principle upon which this bill rested was, that the fear of invasion being considerably abated, we had less need of a defensive force; and furthermore, that the aspect of affairs on the continent, gave us hope of affording employment for a larger body of men than, under the present state of the regular army, were now at the disposition of Government.

The continuance of disaffection at home, determined Ministers to persist during the session in the most unpopular measure of suspending the Habeas-corpus Act; a measure which in all cases should be adopted only as a last resource, and should be surrendered at the first moment permitted by a prudent regard to public safety. In the disturbed period, the history of which we are now narrating, the power of suspension was of incalculable advantage to the tranquillity of the country; and it was perhaps the only means by which the flood of dangerous principles which had inundated the nation could effectually have been restrained. It may be doubted, however, whether the frequent resort to it which Mr. Pitt found necessary, may not have established precedents of which a weak and timid Ministry may too readily avail themselves hereafter;

and the nice and sensitive jealousy which the Commons have always evinced in entrusting Government with these extraordinary powers, cannot be too much encouraged or respected.

Dec. 21. The proposition was opposed on its second reading by Mr. Courtenay, who denied the existence of any turbulent spirit in the nation, and stated as a proof of his denial, that out of between 70 and 80 persons arrested in the last year, Ministers had not ventured to try a single individual. The debate involved in it very little either of novelty or of interest, if we except the assertions which were broadly made and as broadly refuted respecting one misguided and unhappy gentleman, Col. Despard.

Mr. Courtenay said, he had talked with many of the prisoners in Cold Bath Fields Prison, and amongst the rest with Colonel Despard, a gentleman who had been for several years employed in the service of this country. He had been long confined in a cell, without fire, candle, or companion; and though he was now removed to a better place in the prison, even his wife was never permitted to see or speak to him but through an iron grate for a few minutes.

His next visit was to the cells where other persons were confined under the authority of this Act: all the places were damp and dismal, nor was it possible to exclude the wet without excluding the light and fresh air. He appealed to the House, whether such rigour ought ever to be practised. He had inquired of lawyers whether they had ever heard of it, and they had said No, not even in the case of any felon: yet so these men were treated in this prison, which (for what reason he knew not) had been called the Bastille. This appellation was so generally known, that, on taking a hackney coach, and inquiring if the coachman knew where it was, he said, Yes, very well, and took him to the prison in Cold-bath Fields. This showed the feelings of the public as to the place. But he could not help observing, that when the Bastille stood under the regular government of France, prisoners were better treated than in *this*.

Mr. Courtenay solemnly affirmed, that the account he had given of this place, and the treatment of the prisoners, was true: nor had he stated all which he discovered in the course of his visit. He found there a man confined for selling a book entitled, "The Duties of Citizenship;" his name was Smith; he was used like a felon; and whether this was right, whether it was consonant to the spirit of the law of England, he wished the House to determine. Was it the intention of the Ministers that persons should be detained under the authority of such an Act, in a situation injurious to their health, and destructive to their lives—with crimes unproved, and accusers unknown?

There was another instance of the severity of this prison: a prostitute was confined in it, and she was afflicted with an illness incident to her mode of life: she was kept in one of the damp cells he had described. There was also a boy of about nine years of age, for offending his master, who was subjected to the same rigour.

The House ought not to rest on these accounts from him, or from any individual, but should appoint a committee, and order an inspection into them.

Mr. Secretary Dundas observed, that the honourable gentleman who had just spoken had stated a number of facts; whether faithfully or not, they certainly had no earthly connexion with the proposed Bill. They related merely to the bad conduct of a gaol, and might as well be said to aim at gaols in general throughout the Kingdom, but had nothing to do with the power which the legislature had given to the executive government of this country, and the continuance of which was the object of the Bill. The management of gaols was under the care of sheriffs and magistrates; and if the honourable gentleman was induced by humanity to pity the condition of all prisoners, or from sympathy to deplore the sufferings of the seditious, his course was, to have gone to some magistrate with his complaint. If he imagined, indeed, that the case was so desperate that no remedy could be effectual but a general motion upon the subject in that House, there was nothing to prevent him from bringing it forward. If he had any thing to urge against Government on account of the separate confinement of any prisoners, or on any other account, let the accusation be made public, and then some of the Ministers might answer it; but it surely was not reason enough to throw out the Bill, because some of the people had been ill treated. As to the facetious anecdote of the coachman, who might have learnt from the gentlemen whom he carried to call this prison a Bastille, he doubted not but a shilling would satisfy any coachman that any prison ought to be called so, if the gentleman who gave it him was pleased to give it that name; but none of these reasons seemed to him strong enough to weigh with the House to withhold the power which the executive government had received from a wise legislature.

To prove that this measure ought not now to be continued, it should be proved that no treasonable spirit had ever existed. Was this the fact at Maidstone? It was not, however, on the guilt of one or two individuals that the Act was founded, but on a combination of persons at home acting in concert for the destruction of the State, whose views extended also to a league with our enemies abroad. This indeed was now become a forlorn hope, the eyes of the English being opened at last; but some evil intentions yet remained, and on this conviction he supported the motion.

Mr. Tierney said, he was under the necessity of delivering his sentiments, as he was about to withstand a measure which he had assented to the last year—the further suspension of this Act. But our situation was different then: the House had then received an intimation from his Majesty that there was a preparation for the invasion of this country, and that many were ready to aid and abet the design; in addition, there was a Bill of indictment for High treason found by a Grand

Jury against certain persons: whether either of these things would have been sufficient for the suspension of the Habeas corpus Act he need not argue, it was enough that both united were sufficient. But now there was no apprehension of invasion, no danger from seditious spirits; and without the same grounds he could not vote in the same manner. With regard to the gaols, he considered their abuses as reasons also for his change of conduct. If men were treated as felons when nothing was against them but suspicion; when a gentleman *suspected* of treason was to be punished in the same manner as a person *convicted* of crimes; it was a part of justice to oppose the continuance of this measure, nor could he vote in conscience for the further suspension of the liberties of Englishmen.

The Attorney-general, exonerated the Court of King's Bench from the charge of severity respecting libels. He had examined, he said, its records, and traced the history of its proceedings, to enable him the better to judge how far accusations of this kind were just; and the result of his inquiries authorised him to affirm, that never since the law had taken cognizance of libels were the sentences of the courts less rigorous. If gentlemen would only take the trouble to compare them now with any period since the Revolution, it would be clearly seen that the Judges of our time, without neglecting their duty, had much softened the character of punishments in general, and that the punishment of libels in particular was not sufficiently severe. Formerly the practice had been for the Attorney-general of the Crown to direct the punishment when persons were brought up for judgment; but he had acted upon a sentiment of a distinguished and infinitely able lawyer, lord Thurlow, who first disused the immemorial practice of directing it: and if the tempered and mild judgments of the Court did not wholly arise out of this circumstance, certainly much kindness and lenity succeeded it. Let them look at the State trials of 1794, and they would find, that public meetings were held for the purpose of propagating sedition; that not merely the Ministers of the Crown, but every institution, religious, political, and moral, was libelled, with every individual in whatever conspicuous situation he might be placed. There were Corresponding Societies and Corresponding Clubs, instituted and affiliated, not for the purpose of making the members responsible for their conduct, or to procure a constitutional reform of any abuses, but for the purpose of destroying that House, of erecting a Convention on its ruins, of overthrowing the Government, and in its stead of introducing the wild and graceless system of a neighbouring country.

What was the case of Mr. Smith, of whom, in strains of lamentation, so much had been said? It was this: Mr. Smith was Secretary of the Corresponding Society. Certainly it was not illegal to have been so, but it was no high proof of loyalty. He had published libel upon libel; and if he had been prosecuted for each, no single life could have

longevity enough to pass through the series of the years of imprisonment to which the law in its wisdom might have consigned him. Had the honourable gentleman, who had pleaded so strenuously his cause, ever perused the pamphlet, to which he alluded, entitled, *The Duties of Citizenship?* It inculcated anarchy and treason. Every thing sacred, honourable, and good, in the nature and character of institutions and men, was there blasphemously and wickedly libelled and traduced; Religion and its ministers were held up to ridicule; the Law and its officers were misrepresented and vilified; his Majesty was mentioned with contempt; and that Constitution under which so many blessings were enjoyed, was made the theme of unfounded and unprovoked invective. It was the duty of every person to read this book before he censured and condemned in the British House of Commons, the proceedings of the Court of King's Bench upon it! It was a delicate subject to discuss the verdicts of Juries and sentences of Judges; but to comment without discriminating; to comment in perfect ignorance, betrayed not less of temerity than want of candour, and, in such a crisis of affairs, was not only unkind, but inflammatory. Towards Mr. Smith he assured the house that nothing harsh or severe in his confinement had proceeded from Government, nor he believed had ever been experienced. When Mr. Smith had made some complaints, Lord Kenyon directed an inquiry into the truth of the case; and the result was, that the governor of the prison and the physician testified that it was a proper place for confinement, and that every possible attention was paid to the health of the prisoners. He could not dismiss the subject without some observations on its being called a Bastille: it was reserved for this beneficent and moderate age of Philosophy and the Rights of man to call those places Bastilles, which were instituted for offenders against the Law. This kind of scandal claimed close kindred with the revolutionists of France; for our prisons were first called Bastilles by the orators of Copenhagen-house and Pancras'-fields, who used it not only in their public harangues, but in confidential letters, so that we could trace it most distinctly to the hot bed of anarchy; and now it was only used by persons willing to propagate French principles, and destroy the English government. But to return to the treatment of prisoners: if it could be proved that since the suspension of the Habeas-corpus Act a few persons had met with some rigour; nay, if there existed many instances of the kind, much as he should lament it, it would not be sufficient to withhold the Act. He knew not who were the visitors of places where suspected persons were confined; but surely they might have inquired of the Sheriffs concerning the truth or falsehood of the representations of prisoners. Had this conduct been pursued, imposition would have been detected, and the accusation would not have been brought forward in that House. He mentioned the State trials at Maidstone, and reminded Mr. Tierney that his vote for the

suspension of the Habeas Corpus in the last session was given because the Grand Jury had found a bill of indictment for High Treason. The parties were tried; one was found guilty, the rest were acquitted; but, after the attempts in Ireland, it was evident that all of them were implicated in a design to invite France to invade England. The evidence, it was said, was collected from spies; but it must be remembered, that this description of persons was always more calumniated as they spoke more truth. Ministers could not be justified to let the government take its chance against internal traitors, by not using means of safety on the evidence of such men. He concluded with observing, that, whilst any hopes were entertained by the United Irishmen of severing that country from this, their correspondence with the disaffected here could only be through the agency of individuals; but it would be from society to society, if there were any United Englishmen who had the same views as the United Irishmen.

To thwart these views, to frustrate the designs of all who sought to overturn the civil, religious, and moral government of the world, was the great object of the power which the wisdom of the legislature had lately entrusted to the Executive Government; to continue that power for a limited time, under the most urgent necessity, was the object of the Bill now before the House, and therefore had his most hearty consent.

Sir Francis Burdett was convinced, that great severity, in some instances, had been used. What must be the situation of a cell seven feet square after a person had been confined in it some hours, or when persons were confined for many weeks without being permitted to go out, but for a few minutes to wash themselves? In these cells there was no wood or paper to keep the persons confined from the contact of the wall; and in wet weather, or after a frost, it was evident, that a brick wall must be so damp as to be extremely insalutary where no fire was allowed. But these matters, he agreed, were not strictly in point before the House, only it was the interest of Government that men who were taken up under the suspension of the Habeas-corpus should not be treated more rigorously than the circumstances required. It was the duty of that House to take care, that the extraordinary powers which it granted should not be abused, and it possessed the power to grant such an inquest as was necessary to put an end to oppression, if there was proof that it had been exercised. The proceedings of Government, and the judgment of Courts of Law, had been defended by the Attorney-general in cases of libel: certainly that matter was not connected with the present subject, nor had it any reference to persons taken up under the suspension of the Habeas-corpus Act. A case of great hardship he would mention, which was well authenticated; a number of persons were brought up to town from Manchester; they were loaded with irons; in this situation they travelled, and, when they arrived, were lodged in the Correction-house in Cold-bath Fields. From

the effects of travelling in such a state, their legs were much swelled, and when lodged in the prison the Bow-street officers ordered the irons to be knocked off, which was then a very painful operation: after this they were thrown into places quite unprepared for their reception, and the next day taken before the Privy-council.

Several of these men were manufacturers; they had no opportunity of giving direction about their affairs, nor of obtaining redress, as they were not permitted to be seen by any person.

At this moment indeed he understood, that their situation was improved, and that they had all the accommodation of which it would admit. As to the Bill before the House, no grounds had been stated for it, much less was there any cause for the precipitation with which it was hurried on: it was more important than any measure of finance could be, inasmuch as men's persons were of more consequence than their property; and unless strong proofs could be produced of the conspiracies with which we were told our Country was threatened, we ought well to guard this bulwark of our liberties.

The Solicitor-general observed, that one good effect had followed the discussion, namely, that it was now admitted there was no reason to complain of the manner in which the prisoners were treated.

The purpose of suspending the Habeas-corpus Act was to enable the Executive Government to secure such persons as were suspected of conspiracy where the proof was difficult to be obtained. England in former times had derived the greatest advantage from this suspension: it was used in the reign of King William when many were hostile to the existing Establishment, and it confirmed the authority and safety of the new Government. It was also used in the Rebellion of 1745; many persons then ill affected to the family on the throne were taken up, and when all danger was over were set at liberty, and to this salutary measure the Country owed its security: the benefits resulting from it were the more conspicuous when contrasted with the situation of affairs, at a period when it was not employed. The Rebellion of 1745 threatened to be of more importance than the former, though the present family was at that time more firmly established, because the plans of the leaders were not defeated, nor could they be so without a measure of this kind, which afforded the most powerful arguments in its favour at so critical a juncture as the present. It was to the suspension of this Act we owed the late discoveries in Ireland, and consequently the safety of the State; for he need not acquaint the House that endeavours had been used in that Kingdom to institute societies of United Britons. Governments within governments had been organised with all the appendages of Executive Directories, Councils, and Committees. Though such designs were known to have existed, it would have been difficult to charge them to any individual, because individual guilt was so wrapt up in the general mass. Catholic emancipation had been the pretext for deep designs of treason; it had been the veil

employed to conceal the plot for disuniting the two Countries. Reform had been the term, and destruction the meaning. And when these precautions, in recent as well as early periods of our history, had enabled us to avert the danger which impended, it was the duty of the House to accord such powers as alone could be efficient for our preservation.

Mr. Wilberforce said, that a great deal of misrepresentation had arisen upon the subject of the prisoners. The charge of ill-treatment, which had been made, was certainly of a very serious nature: it was no light thing to say, that the Executive Government could be so malignant as to exercise any rigour towards them further than was necessary for safe custody, and to prevent them from tainting the minds of those with whom they had communication. Many of the regulations which prevailed in this prison were recommended by Howard, and were superintended by several persons who had an active share with him in inquiries upon the subject. Different Boards existed to receive information of the state of the prison; one of these Boards met once a week, and the minutes of their proceedings would throw much light upon the question. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the account given of the health and situation of the prisoners. Their food consisted of good mutton and beef. The utmost cleanliness prevailed throughout the place. Of two hundred and forty (the number which the prison contained) the sick were only three, and the deaths for the whole year only two; though if the state of many of the persons when they came in were considered, the place resembled an hospital rather than a prison. The minutes to which he alluded would show what had been the conduct of some of the prisoners, and the necessity of watching them with care. It was stated by the Chaplain, that two of the persons confined (Burke and Smith) had behaved so ill at Church, had so openly expressed their contempt of the worship, that he proposed that their future attendance should be dispensed with. Mr. Smith's authority had been quoted for the hardships he suffered; but, in a letter to his wife, he stated that he was in a better situation than he could have imagined, and particularly disapproved of those who styled the prison a Bastille. This instance should not only teach gentlemen to beware of taking up their opinions lightly, but it ought to teach the Public to distrust representations given upon such partial testimony. To prove afterwards that it was false, did not correct the evil. He trusted that, for his own part, he was not the last to feel what was due to individual suffering; but there were also duties owed to the Community, and he well remembered the words of Lord Hale, who, when asked how he felt when he pronounced sentence of death on a criminal, replied, "that he felt for the Country as well as for the prisoner." Mr. Wilberforce recommended this example to the gentlemen on the other side the House, who seemed tremblingly alive to the situation of people taken up on suspicion of the greatest crimes,

but disregarded the fate of the nation. Those who believed it to be in danger ought not to relax their efforts, or deprive the Executive Government of means to provide for its security. Nor should it be forgotten, that men who exposed themselves to suspicion must often incur the disadvantages of guilt. It was a false compassion which commiserated the hardships of one man, and was callous to the miseries of many.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer remarked upon the change of opinion which had taken place in the minds of some gentlemen on the other side the House, who now confessed that those precautions had been necessary which they formerly asserted would lead to disasters abroad, and destruction at home; but who, at the same time that they joined in congratulations upon their success, opposed their continuance.

The state of the country was universally acknowledged to be ameliorated. Was not this a proof, that those who reprobated the measures which had produced this happy alteration were much mistaken? The calamities which had desolated other nations were unknown in ours: the powers which Parliament had entrusted to the Executive Government were used with moderation, and were beneficial in their effects. To continue to avert the dangers with which we had been threatened was the object of the further suspension of the Habeas-corpus Act. Little could those be read in the volume of human nature, who did not discover in Jacobinism every thing which was corruptive and degrading; every thing which tended to disgust and annoy mankind. The progress of this wretched system had been checked by our wise and salutary precautions, but would not fail to return if we discontinued them. Evil had been propagated with obstinacy, and should our perseverance in a good cause cease? Was it a time to slumber when there existed men who were hourly planning our destruction — men who never waked, or slept, or walked abroad, without a dagger thirsting for our blood? Ought we to cast aside that shield which enabled us to defy its point, and which had effectually preserved our lives?

Let us but reflect upon all that has passed in Ireland; upon the designs of the enemy at this moment; upon the traitorous agents in this country; upon the confession of some of themselves; and the necessity of continuing a measure which had already rescued England from such imminent danger would be as obvious as it was desirable.

The question being put, the House divided—Ayes 96, Noes 6.

On a subsequent night, when the Bill was committed, Mr. Courtenay after a few preliminary objections to the Bill, adverted again to the prison in Cold-Bath Fields. He reasserted what he had formerly stated upon that subject, that men were confined in narrow cells, without fire or candle, and, if they closed the wooden shutters of the window, that they could have no light or fresh air. Experienced lawyers had acknowledged, that they remembered no instances of rigour like this towards any State-

Dec. 26.

prisoners in the course of the administration of justice in England, and he defied any person to refute this fact. As a corroboration of it, he begged leave to read a letter from the wife of Colonel Despard, printed by the editor of one of the newspapers to whom it had been addressed, which was as follows:—

"Some mention having been made in newspaper reports of the House of Commons relative to the treatment of Colonel Despard in the New Prison, I think it necessary to state, that he was confined, near seven months in a damp cell, not seven feet square, without fire or candle, chair, table, knife, fork, a glazed window, or even a book. I made several applications in person to Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the Duke of Portland,—all to no purpose. The 20th of last month he was removed into a room with a fire, but not till his feet were ulcerated by a frost. For the truth of this statement, I appeal to the Honourable Mr. Lawless, and John Reeves, Esq. who visited him in prison, and at whose intercession he was removed. The gaoler will bear witness that he never made any complaint of his treatment, however severe it was. This statement of facts is without the knowledge of the Colonel, who has served his Majesty 30 years, and all his family are now in the army.

"Catharine Despard.
"*Berkeley Square*, 1798."

Mr. Courtenay said, that, when he saw the Colonel in prison, he made no complaint to him. He asked him if he had been in the same situation as some other persons in that prison on the suspension of the Habeas-corpus Act? He answered, yes; but had been removed out of it by the humanity of Mr. Reeves. If these things were not true; if he was not to believe the letter of Mrs. Despard, nor trust to the evidence of his own senses, it was extraordinary! When this matter was first mentioned to him, he did not think it was known to the Ministers; but it now appeared that an application had been made to them in vain; therefore they must have known it. Mr. Courtenay in conclusion cast some severe reflections on Mr. Wilberforce, who had doubted whether such atrocious inhumanity had ever been exercised; displaying, he said, much religious facetiousness, tempered with Christian rancour.

The Attorney-general affirmed, that there was no greater instance of cruelty than for a Member of Parliament to state, as an authentic account, any paragraph in a newspaper to the prejudice of a public officer. Such was the case respecting the Duke of Portland and Mr. Wickham. Some complaints had been made to the Duke relative to Colonel Despard. Mr. Wickham, in the month of May, 1798, wrote to the keeper of the prison, stating, that he was directed by His Grace to desire that Mrs. Despard should have access and converse with him in the presence of any proposed person. Mrs. Despard wrote a letter to the Duke in June; in consequence of which he sent for the gaoler of the prison, and gave him directions, importing, that every indulgence should be shown to the

prisoner which the nature of the warrant would admit. After this, Mrs. Despard wrote again, to which no answer was given, because proper directions upon the subject of it had been sent before. She then applied to Mr. Wickham, who advised her to send another letter, if she had further cause of complaint. The Duke desired her to call at his house, which she did. He heard her complaints himself, and ordered the Colonel every thing consistent with safe custody; allowed him the use of books; commanded the gaoler to attend to the circumstance of his being a man of rank, and afford him all the accommodation which common feeling dictated on this occasion. After this an order was issued out for all the prisoners to have every indulgence compatible with security. Some time after, the Duke ordered Colonel Despard to be removed to the place where he now was. Here the Attorney-general read the description of the cells, maintaining that they were neither damp or unwholesome. He then read the deposition taken in prison, by which it appeared that the Colonel was surprised at the statement of his hardships in the House of Commons, and was willing (if it was necessary) to contradict it himself. The letter of Mrs. Despard was not of her writing; it was indeed admirably adapted for the purpose. There were artful men in that prison, and some of them had proved how ill they merited the lenity which had been shown to them. Many of these had a great number of O'Connor's pamphlets ready for publication. They debated on the worst of all possible subjects since they had been permitted to be together. He mentioned these instances, to convince the House of the great impropriety of hastily adopting opinions upon the reports of newspapers. The prisoners should not be treated with more rigour than the necessity of things required, and to this they ought to submit without a murmur.

Mr. Wilberforce began by alluding to his speech in a former debate, which had occasioned much illiberal remark. "Religious facetiousness and Christian rancour," were mis-matched epithets applied to these substantives. But waving these, and to come to the point in question, we certainly ought not to remove our guard till our security was established. Whilst we had enemies of formidable strength and of formidable malice, both within and without —whilst there were Members of that House, who, if they did not aid, were very cordial to persons of this description, it particularly behoved the wisdom and vigilance of Parliament to baffle their machinations, and counteract their purposes. The prisoners, whose cause had been so pathetically pleaded, might heretofore have been objects of humane compassion; but where was the humanity and compassion of these gentlemen for them before they were accused of High Treason? Where was the anxiety to regulate prisons, and alleviate miseries, before State-prisoners were confined therein? Had the treatment of vagrants, or

the sufferings of insolvent debtors, ever been made an object of inquiry? Not that he urged these observations to censure any sympathies of nature, but merely to remonstrate on the injustice of bringing accusations against respectable characters, without any examination, and with no other motive than prejudice.

Sir Francis Burdett contended, that all his assertions had been grounded on facts, and dwelt upon the indelicacy of insinuations respecting the motives of his conduct, and that of his friends. The papers sent by the prisoners of Manchester described those hardships, the existence of which had been denied. These prisoners could not obtain any thing like a bed in their small solitary cells, without paying for it; they certainly were left without fire or candle, the wet continually flowed down the walls, and here they were to linger seven months. Far other treatment had been promised them by the Privy Council; but though they had repeatedly written to Mr. Flood (the magistrate) intreating him to see his promise realised, they could obtain no other answer than, that if they wished to speak with him on public affairs, he would see them; but respecting their private situation, it was not in his power to make any alteration. No species of guilt while unproved could justify this harsh usage; and it seemed unnecessary to add, that all accounts of the comforts enjoyed by the prisoners must have been exaggerated, if these facts of their actual sufferings could be so well attested.

Mr. Burdon affirmed, that he himself had taken pains to see whether they were well attested; for as soon as he read the letter of Mrs. Despard in the public papers, he felt it was his duty to investigate the cause of her complaint. He had had a long conversation with the Colonel, who assured him, in the presence of the Governor of the prison, that he was as well in every circumstance as the nature of the place would admit; indeed, he was determined to make no remonstrance, as he had all the comforts which the Secretary of State had appointed, and he did not expect more. It was true he had a chilblain in his heel; but so little did he think of it, that he would not employ the surgeon of the prison upon the occasion: he was (he said) an old soldier, and placed no confidence in medicine. As soon as this was made known, he was removed to a room where he had every accommodation which he could reasonably desire: he had frequent interviews with his wife, with whom he was permitted to converse for almost any length of time. Of her letter he was totally ignorant, or else he would have disapproved it.

Mr. Burdon affirmed, that the cells were not damp; he had examined them himself; they were raised considerably above the ground, the walls were thick, and well white-washed; the beds did not touch them; to say that they were exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, was a false assertion. What could be the motive for agitating a question like the present, and what could be the

effect of traducing the fair character of respectable Magistrates, whose conduct should not be lightly arraigned?

Upon minds unbiassed by party, no doubt could remain of the propriety of the further suspension of the Habeas-corpus Act; the ground of the measure might be changed, but the very change confirmed the necessity.

Mr. Canning thought so little could be added to this testimony, that his observations upon the subject would be concise and few.

An illiterate woman, who could not even spell, was supposed to have written a most able letter, describing, in an affecting manner, the cruelties endured by her husband; but it was soon discovered that this same letter was not written by Mrs. Despard; it was put together by one of her friends, and its contents were not truth: indeed, they were so forcibly contradicted, and those who had brought the matter forward had been so completely defeated, that he believed they would not venture to re-state it again; at least, he hoped that Mr. Courtenay, whatever his creed might happen to be, would not expose it to the examination of Mr. Wilberforce. These were subjects which had better remain undiscussed in that place; and he advised him to keep his humanity for Smith and Binns, his religion for Newgate, and his jokes for the hackney-coachmen.

Mr. Courtenay contended, that not one fact adduced by him had been disproved. The State-prisoners had been actually confined in such cells as he had described, and were immured in a prison intended for convicted felons.

On the committal of the Bill it was resolved to continue it in force till the 21st of May, 1799, and on the following night it was read a third time.

The third reading was moved in the Lords on the 4th of January, when Lord Suffolk repeated the same statements which had been disproved in the House of Commons, about Colonel Despard, admitting however that he spoke only from hearsay. Lord Holland declared, that to propose such a Bill as this, under very different circumstances from the present, would have alarmed him; but to propose it without any evidence on the table of the House, was a thing too extraordinary to pass unnoticed. It was under the Act of the Habeas-corpus that all or any of us walked the streets in freedom; and, but for that Act, every individual might in an instant be put into confinement, to pine within the walls, and to be a prey to the horrors of a prison, without hope of any appeal to the laws of his country.

Only the most imperious necessity ought to induce the House to abandon so strong a bulwark to the liberty of the subject, and it was the part of their lordships to consider what proof they had before them of the existence of that necessity. Were he to admit all that had been urged by Ministers to be true (which would indeed be a large concession), the whole taken collectively would not be sufficient for this suspension. That

we were in a state of war, was no reason: the evils of war were enough of themselves, without being aggravated by the loss of liberty; and although he would not join with those who were in the habit of pronouncing eulogiums on the Constitution which they sought to subvert, yet he thought too highly of it to doubt its being adequate to its own protection, even in the hour of turbulence and trouble, in which situation we were not at present involved. The custom of Ministers was to call every man a Jacobin who opposed them in any thing; but this was a bad argument, a poor reason for taking away the privileges of the whole community. The Habeas-corpus Act was so excellent a law, that nothing less than the detection of a conspiracy to overturn the Government could justify its suspension. Besides, before so much of the liberty of the subject was taken away, we should be very careful to whom it was entrusted. Certainly not to those who already had abused that trust, nor to any set of men whilst there was tranquillity in this country. The suspension rested either on the suggestion of the Minister, or on the general disposition of the people of England. What had these dispositions been? Why, the very moment they were informed that an insult had been offered to their Monarch, they testified attachment to his person; they proved, that, however they might bewail the evils of war, they loved the Government under which they lived; and, therefore, his Lordship affirmed that the Bill was totally unnecessary, and a gross calumny on Englishmen.

But it was still asserted that there had existed conspiracies of a deep and insidious kind, formed by men of settled hostility to all order and the laws. Here it might be well to remember, that several persons had been brought to trial on charges of High Treason; that the Reports of the House had almost predisposed the whole British public to pronounce them guilty before trial; that the Crown, in short, had exerted all its strength, and employed all its means, on that memorable occasion: and what had been the result? why that the accused were honourably acquitted by a Jury of their countrymen; and the treasons and seditions, of which Ministers had spoken so much, and which the country regarded with such horror, disappeared in a moment; the nation sobered, and general tranquillity took place of general panic. If then no conspiracy existed, if sedition had been suppressed, and treason routed, what necessity could there be for the further suspension of the Habeas-corpus? But if all the dangers stated in the preamble had been real, he would not admit that they justified the suspension of an Act which secured the personal liberty of the subject, and enabled him to obtain, without delay, a trial by twelve fair men of his country. From this Act was derived all our privileges and all our security; and the moment in which it was suspended, the whole nation would be in the power of the Minister. It was for their Lordships therefore to consider the nature and magnitude of the vote they were called upon to give. If

there were danger of invasion; if traitors really were in this country; we might oppose, to the one, our vast military force; and, to the other, our judicious laws. Whilst courts of justice sat in tranquillity; whilst the laws of treason were comprehensive and vigorous; whilst the spirit of the people manifested itself in ardent expressions of loyalty to the Sovereign, and attachment to the Constitution; where was the pretended necessity for adopting this measure? There was but one case in which it could be necessary; which was, if there actually existed these conspiracies, and some of the persons concerned in them were in custody, but could not be brought to trial without the risk of giving the alarm to the rest, then, and then only, the Bill should have his support.

His Lordship then took a rapid view of the state of Ireland; and denied that the rebellion in that country justified new rigours in this: since, as he affirmed if the Government of Ireland had ameliorated their condition, by removing their grievances, rebellion never would have broken out amongst them.

He maintained, that Mr. O'Connor had been *honourably* acquitted at Maidstone; and connecting this assertion with the argument, that, as no danger existed, and as the people declared for their own Government, the preamble stated a libel on their loyalty. He would acknowledge, that to preserve confidence between the governors and the governed was essential; but it must be recollected, that all firm confidence was mutual. If governors required it, they must themselves set the example: but here the true policy was reversed; the governors showed distrust, and expected confidence. What was the state of our public affairs? Thanks to the rashness of our enemies, to the bravery of our seamen, and, above all, to Admiral Nelson, of whom he could not speak in terms too high;—thanks also to the Admiralty for its arrangement of our naval force (for he had pleasure in acknowledging the merit which had distinguished that department of our Executive Government); thanks to all these, there was an end of every apprehension from the enemy: but this only tended to show still further, that there was no plea for the suspension of the Bill.

The system of Ministers was a system of terror; and they endeavoured to keep the attention of the public upon its own danger, instead of the incapacity or corruption of Ministers. It was from this motive that they accused every man of being inclined to French principles who dissented from theirs, and this Bill was a part of that system of alarm with which they wished to surprise the good sense of the English; but all this deception could not last long; the Public would judge freely of the conduct of Administration, and the bubble would burst, at last, with disgrace upon their heads.

Lord Grenville said, that if the debate on this Bill had depended on the opinion the gentlemen of the Opposition entertained of Administration, he should have no hope, perhaps no ambition, to

convince the noble Lord of the propriety of any of their measures. But although they had not been favoured with *his* approbation, they had repeatedly received the support of the House. On some minds, indeed, prejudice had so strong an effect, that even facts could not alter them; but there were also others on whom reasoning and evidence made considerable impression. As to the trials of persons acquitted at the Old Baily, were we now to learn that the acquittal was not a proof of innocence? So far was acquittal from negativing the reports of conspiracy, that it tended to confirm it. Was it not proved that there had existed, in this country, a certain description of people called the Corresponding Society? the object of which was, to pull down our Government, to destroy our property, to introduce a new system of power on the model of the French Republic, under the specious mask of Parliamentary reform. With respect to another point brought forward against Ministers, namely, their representing every man as a Jacobin who did not agree with them; for his own part, he denied the charge; but had it been founded, had it been the desire of Ministers to stigmatise them as being attached to French principles, he knew of no Opposition who had, at any time, afforded them better opportunity. But on what evidence was the necessity of the Bill maintained? (here Lord Grenville quoted the proclamation in April last, which stated, that our enemies were aided and abetted by persons in this country) this evidence last year was deemed (he said) so satisfactory, that a similar Bill to the present passed, unanimously. Had not the fact corroborated exactly the Minister's prognostication? Was it not confirmed by the person so *honourably* acquitted at Maidstone? The House needed not to be informed that he alluded to O'Connor. Had not that traitor, since his *honourable* acquittal, thrown himself on the mercy of that gracious Sovereign whom he basely had attempted to dethrone? Had he not detailed, upon his oath, a series of the deepest designs against Ireland, which were afterwards confirmed by a rebellion? Nor was this all; O'Coigly, one of his confederates, had also been convicted of treason; and it appeared, beyond a doubt, that a communication was to be made to the Directory, not from any Society in Ireland, but in England. All these things proved the assertion, that there had existed a conspiracy in this country—that it also existed in Ireland—and that a design had long been conceived of separating the kingdoms from each other. As to the idea of the English conceiving themselves calumniated by this Bill, it was as absurd to suppose it, as that they would think they were all called murderers, because a law had been made against murder. If the discontent of the people had been general against their Government, he would not propose this measure; because, in such circumstances, little could be done by the imprisonment of a few. But he was persuaded the Public would view the Bill as Ministers intended to use it, not for the destruction of their liberty, but for its protection; a measure which was not to bring

them into misery, but which was adoped, in tendernes for their future happiness and present security.

Lord Holland affirmed that he had not said absolutely that the verdict of a Jury disproved a conspiracy; but it had proved that, when Ministers came to Parliament, and asked for extraordinary powers, they had taken up persons who were not guilty of that conspiracy, or that there was none at all existing. This point the noble Secretary had been very ready to debate, but he had carefully avoided saying one word on the main subject—the state of the Country. The reason recited in the preamble last year was, that the enemy was about to invade us. This was not now pretended; nor, had it been true, was it a reason for justifying the suspension of the Habeas-corpus. As to the Maidstone trials, it was not yet evident that the conspirators, in England, were either numerous or powerful. The papers produced had never been signed, and the French Government would not have been so absurd as to act upon such documents in the hope of meeting with co-operation. Of Mr. O'Connor he saw no cause for being ashamed to repeat, that he had been *honourably* acquitted at Maidstone; this did not infer that he had been so of a previous charge. His Lordship had alluded to the disturbances in Ireland; were these any reasons for suspending the Habeas-corpus here? The system pursued in Ireland had not produced effects to induce us to think that severe laws were the best remedy. Under all the attempts to repress evils by legislative severity, the rebellion had increased there; and if it were now checked, it was by the valour of our troops.

He conceived the object of this Bill was to enable Government to put off the trials of persons apprehended, lest those trials should be attended with disadvantage to the whole community. But Government had much better consult (in his opinion) the tranquillity of the country, and the safety of the Constitution, by removing grievances, and taking away colourable pretexts for rebellion.

The house then divided. Contents 26. Non-contents 1. Lord Holland, the only Peer in the minority entered a Protest on the occasion.

On the 25th of February Mr. Courtenay presented a petition from Colonel Despard, containing much the same statement as that which had occurred in Mrs. Despard's letter. This petition on the motion of Mr. W. Dundas was referred with other papers to a Select Committee appointed to inquire into the state of Cold-Bath Fields Prison. A Report was presented by this Committee on the 19th of April, in which it appeared both from evidence and personal observation that the prison was dry, clean, and airy: that out of nearly 300 persons who were in confinement there never had been more than four or five sick at any one time: that the cell in which Colonel Despard had been first confined was not damp; and that he subsequently had been removed into a room with a fire, and glazed windows: that instead of his health being materially injured, he had

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never applied for medical assistance; and that his only disorders were occasional chilblains and rheumatism contracted while abroad. The report concluded by expressing the satisfaction of the Committee in being able fully and directly to refute the unfounded statements and absurd and wicked reports which had been circulated with respect to the prison, and its internal management.

March 15. Another Report which had been presented at an earlier period of the session, from "a Committee of Secrecy relative to the proceedings of different persons and societies in Great Britain and Ireland engaged in a treasonable conspiracy," must have removed all doubts relative to the existence of desperate plots, and the consequent necessity of arming Government with powers sufficient for the suppression of them. This Report detailed at very great length the origin and progress of treasonable Societies throughout the British islands, beginning with the United Irishmen established in 1791, and proceeding to similar political unions in Great Britain: the Constitutional Society, which though of long existence assumed a new character about this period: the Corresponding Society and the Scotch friends of the people both instituted in 1792. It then proved the connection established between these different bodies; the common intercourse which they all held with the French government, and the several acts of open treason and rebellion to which they had led. An appendix of papers was subjoined, illustrating the most material facts. Among them were many inflammatory addresses, instructions for itinerant Delegates, forms for the regulation of Meetings—Hand-bills — Declarations—Resolutions and Oaths.

On the nineteenth of April this report was taken into consideration: and Mr. Pitt on stating the measures which he intended to found upon it, assured the House that, independent of the Report itself, facts had recently been elicited of a sufficiently dangerous tendency to justify the propositions which he intended to submit to the attention of Parliament. His object he said was to enable his Majesty to transfer from the metropolis to any part of the kingdom, persons detained for treasonable and seditious practices: to subject persons continuing to belong to any of these revolutionary Societies to fine, imprisonment or transportation at the discretion of the Court before which they were convicted; and to impose penalties upon the owners of houses in which they were allowed to meet: farther also to prevent the various subterfuges by which public lectures, &c. were made vehicles of sedition, he intended to require that no such assemblies should be held without a licence from a Magistrate. In regard to the press he wished to make it impossible that any publication should be circulated without responsibility attaching either to the author or publisher, whose name should therefore in all cases be affixed, and lastly he proposed to keep a general register of printing presses, both public and private. Mr. Pitt then moved two resolutions arising out of the Report, and asking leave to bring

in a Bill for the continuation for a limited time of the Act of last session, which gave the power of detaining suspected conspirators, and also a Bill for the more effectual suppression of Societies established for seditious and treasonable purposes, and for the prevention of other treasonable and seditious practices.

The line of opposition which Mr. Tierney adopted on this occasion commenced by a denial that the report of the Committee was justified by evidence, and even if it had been so supported that there was any necessity to enlarge the powers of a Government which by the suspension of the Habeas-corpus was already much too strong for the safety of our liberties. The proposed Bills were peculiarly objectionable on account of the encouragement which they held out to spies and informers; and still more so because after all the hardships which they must inflict they would always be inefficacious. The cause of the present discontent, said the hon. gentleman, was the defective state of the Representation; and no tranquillity could be expected in the Country until Mr. Pitt gave notice that whenever peace arrived, he would take up the subject of Reform in Parliament; not any wild and impracticable scheme of universal suffrage, but such a temperate Reform as that for which he (Mr. Pitt) had formerly expressed a wish, and which would freely let the sense of the people into the House of Commons.

The Attorney-general replied that from the evidence before the House, it must be sufficiently plain, that no Reform such as Mr. Tierney suggested, would tranquillize the ferment excited by the malignant spirits now abroad. Unless he would agree to the annihilation of Monarchy, the subversion of Aristocracy, and the confusion of property; unless he would agree to a system which would make every rich man poor, and no poor man rich, he was doing nothing. No parallel could fairly be instituted between former rebellions, in which the suspension of the Habeas-corpus had been deemed sufficient, and the present conspiracies. The contention in 1715 and 1745, was between rival Monarchies, the Revolutionists of the present day wished that two branches of the Legislature should not exist at all, and the third be founded on a different basis.

Mr. Abbot thought the forms and shapes which the danger of the present times had assumed, required even stronger arms than those with which Ministers intended to coerce it. Evidence had been given that persons not only of mean note and desperate fortunes were concerned in treasonable practices, but that they "in some degree received the countenance and pecuniary aid of persons in a higher situation of life," now the law of forfeiture of inheritances by convicted traitors which the wisdom of our ancestors had established could alone meet this peril as far as the upper ranks were concerned. Upon the Union with Scotland when this law was extended to that country also, by some strange fatality, it was limited to the life-time of the then Pretender; subsequently in 1744, it was enacted that it should continue during the lives of the Pre-

tender's sons. As if it were impossible that any treason could spring up in this land, which did not take its root from the abdicated and exiled house of Stewart, so that at the present moment the existence of this law depended upon the life of an aged and miserable fugitive, the last descendant of that unfortunate race, of whom, where he was, whether living or dead, no one could assert. If this law which has prevailed for 700 years were now suffered to expire, it would be less penal to commit High Treason than a common felony. Mr. Abbot sat down after expressing a hope that this measure might be engrafted on those now in progress through the House.

The Resolutions were agreed to, and the Bills accordingly were brought in and passed. In the course of their progress Mr. Abbot introduced another Bill to which the speech just debated might be considered as a preliminary. Its object was to repeal so much of an act of the VIIth of Anne, and another of the XVIIth of George II. as put an end to the forfeiture of inheritances upon attainder of treason, after the death of the Pretender and his sons. He supported his proposition on the general ground that all private dominion over property being allowed only for public benefit, whenever an individual aims at the destruction of the State to which he is indebted for protection, the State has an undoubted right to resume the property which is no longer held for the advantage of civil society. He then rested it upon the invariable policy of the British Constitution from the Conquest to the time at which he spoke; however much the circumstances of trial for treason might be changed in the course of that period. He cited the great authorities of Lord Somers and Lord Hardwicke in favour of its continuance; and from the more virulent malignancy of the present discontent than that of any other which had preceded it, he urged the necessity of not permitting a law to expire which had been considered requisite in times of less danger.

May 9.

Dr. Lawrence opposed the proposition as unseasonable at a time when an Union with Ireland was in contemplation; since in that country it had always been the policy to instigate rebellion in order to promote confiscation. This remark was answered by Mr. Abbot, when the bill was committed: he then shewed the importance of establishing an uniform system in regard to State offences throughout the Empire, and the utility of preserving a law to Great Britain which at that moment was the existing law of Ireland.

June 25.

Sir F. Burdett objected to the revival of this measure as confounding the innocent with the guilty, and characterised it as resting upon utility independent of justice. It was built upon a principle of terror alien to our Constitution, and from an apprehension of chimerical danger exposed us to such as were real.

Mr. Hobhouse considered no principle more iniquitous than that which visited the sins of the fathers upon the children. He denied that the safety of the State

was promoted by the proposed extension of punishment to the posterity of traitors; on the contrary it would occasion an hereditary descent of disaffection. He referred to passages in the writings of Judge Blackstone, and in a treatise by Lord Auckland on the Penal Laws, in which a strong hope was expressed that the rigours of these posthumous forfeitures and of corruption of blood might soon be worn out from our code, and he contended that any continuance of this statute would be subversive of the articles of Union with Scotland. A lesson which it would be the height of folly to hold out to Ireland whom we were about to incorporate with ourselves; for it would teach her that when once Union had taken place, we paid no regard to any previous conditions. He then recommended measures of conciliation rather than of terror, and expressed his conviction that no insurrection in this country could ever attain a formidable height till the people found themselves oppressed by a violation of their liberties. The Bill was then committed after a division of 57 to 8.

On the second reading in the Lords, Lord Holland after combating the measure on the same general grounds which had been adopted by Opposition in the Commons, referred particularly to the state of Ireland as a practical proof of its utter inefficacy. In that country it was an eternal source of hatred and dissension, it gave every succeeding generation an inheritance of suspicion on the one side, and of vengeance on the other. Lords Radnor and Fitzwilliam stated their objections to the Bill. The Lord Chancellor and Lord Grenville supported it, and on a division there appeared, contents 8, non contents 4. The Bill was passed without farther discussion. July 4.

CHAPTER XIII.

Union with Ireland. Message from the King. Presentation of Papers relative to Treasonable Conspiracies. Debate on the Address. Mr. Pitt's Resolutions. Mr. Sheridan's amended Resolutions. Debates in the Committee on the King's Message. Speeches of Messrs. Grey, Dundas, Sheridan. Mr. Sheridan's Instruction to the Committee. Continued Debate. Explanation of the final Adjustment of 1782. The Resolutions agreed to, and sent up to the Lords.

The important project of a Legislative Union between the two Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, was formally introduced to both Houses by a Message from the Crown, on the 22d of January.

The precise term, Union, was scrupulously avoided in this communication, which rested the proposed "complete and final adjustment" solely on the avowed design of the French to effect a separation of Ireland from this Kingdom. On the following evening, Jan. 23.

Mr. Secretary Dundas very briefly moved the usual Address of thanks to his Majesty for his gracious message, with an assurance that the House would take it into serious consideration; and at the same time he presented Copies and Extracts of secret Information received by Government, relative to treasonable conspiracies, particularly such as had the separation of Ireland for their object.

Mr. Sheridan opposed the Address at much length. He reviewed the proceedings of the Whig administration in 1782, when a solemn "final adjustment" took place between Great Britain and Ireland, and contended that it was imperative upon the present Ministers to show that this adjustment had not been effected, before they adopted any new plan of such magnitude as that which was now in agitation. After apologizing for his deviation from usual forms in meeting the question thus broadly at its first outset, and stating his sincere belief that, whatever difference of opinion might exist about particular measures, the real interests of Ireland were the objects of Ministerial care as much as of his own, he proceeded to consider the policy of a Union on general principles. In the first place he distinctly avowed his opinion that separation would be ruin to both countries more or less rapidly; and that connection with France would be immediate destruction. In the next, that Union, without the full and free sense of the Irish in its favour, unbiassed by fraud, intrigue, corruption, or intimidation, would endanger the existing bond between the two countries. And in the third, that it was at present impossible for Ireland to act freely, since a proposal to put an end to her separate existence was brought forward after we had filled her provinces with our troops. Mr. Sheridan then denounced the injustice of destroying a Parliament to whose wisdom we had but recently attributed the preservation of Ireland during the rebellion. He exposed the "petty importance and ignoble dignity, the unsubstantial mockery of power" which would be insultingly bestowed on that great country, if we permitted it to be ruled by any thing less than a Parliament of its own: by an assembly which he bitterly termed "a national Vestry, to do the business of the Parish of Ireland." He compared the proposed Union to the occupation of Piedmont by the French, and warned the House of what he strikingly termed the danger of committing a rape under pretence of marriage.

Mr. Sheridan next discussed the inexpediency of the moment at which this measure was proposed. He combated the arguments which had been advanced in a pamphlet notoriously circulated by Government, and written by Mr. Cooke. He disputed the right of the Irish Parliament to resolve itself into a branch of a foreign Legislature, without first going to its Constituents; and he affirmed, that on the same principle it would have just as much right to make the King despotic, and confer on him the power of the purse.

The enemies of the British Government in Ireland, said Mr. Sheridan, are Poverty and Ignorance. One great cause of these

evils is the manner in which men of property exercise their rights. Now a Union would obviously tend to give an application and direction to property even more unfavourable than that by which it is now influenced. A Union, therefore, was not the remedy which was suited to the disease. The Honourable Gentleman concluded a very brilliant speech by moving as an Amendment, an addition to the Address, the purport of which was to express the surprise and regret of the House in discovering that the final adjustment of 1782 had not produced the effects expected from it; and humbly recommending his Majesty not to listen to the advice of any Ministers who should propose a legislative Union under the present circumstances.

Mr. Canning observed, in regard to the "final adjustment" of 1782, upon which so much stress had been laid, that a reference to the Journals would readily prove that notwithstanding the use of those words, Parliament had at the same time recorded its opinion in a Resolution that something farther was absolutely necessary. He remarked upon the inconsistency of those Gentlemen who after repeatedly calling for inquiry into the affairs of Ireland, were now, when Ministers had commenced an investigation, among the first to condemn it. That such an investigation could not any longer be delayed with safety was clear from the nature of the late conspiracies, which were formed, not for Catholic Emancipation, nor for Parliamentary Reform, but for the total subversion of all Government, and the separation of the two countries.

Mr. Canning then defended the pamphlet which Mr. Sheridan had attacked; and argued from a work by Dr. Duigenan in answer to Mr. Grattan the necessity of some such measure as a Union for the preservation of the Protestant ascendancy.

The time at which this plan was introduced, he continued, could not be deemed unseasonable; for when could a remedy be more called for than in a moment of extreme danger? It could not be said that intimidation was used, for never was the Liberty both of Speech and of the Press indulged to a greater extent than it had been on this subject. In what manner a comparison could be instituted between the wanton ambition of France in the destruction of independent States, and the full and fair participation of laws and government, of wealth and prosperity which we were willing to impart to Ireland, it was difficult to comprehend; and the comparison could be justified only when it was proved that France required of the countries which she had conquered and spoiled, to bear a common share in common terms for the advancement of a common cause: that she resembled them in Constitution and laws: that she spoke the same language, was attached to the same customs, and was linked by ties of affinity and blood. In the present instance the common Sovereign of the two countries recommended an incorporation as the best means of defending the weaker of the two from foreign

attack; but left it to the free and deliberate choice of that country to accept or to reject his proposition. It was not likely that the moral influence of the French Revolution would speeeily pass away, and in no soil were the seeds of it so likely to be sown deep as in that of a Kingdom which now wants commerce, capital, a diffused spirit of industry and order, and above all those intermediate classes which connect the upper and lower degrees of society, and blend and harmonize them together into a substantial whole. It was for these purposes that the present great experiment was to be tried.

It was after a series of benefits conferred, which ill deserved a feeling of suspicion and jealousy, that England held out this boon to her sister. In the last twenty years Ireland had acquired from us, as she wished, octennial Parliaments, an independent Legislature, a free trade, and a repeal of part of the penal code. These were not rights demanded, but bounties conceded. Conceded because we believed the prosperity of Ireland to be our own prosperity also. So true is the assertion that Ireland has hitherto received nothing but oppression at our hands, and may therefore justly suspect our present offer—an offer which, if correctly judged, was in truth the only great and comprehensive view of that Kingdom which had ever yet been taken by the British Parliament.

Mr. Pitt said that the difference between the Address and the Amendment was plainly this; by the first the House declared that it would take into serious consideration a subject recommended to its notice by the Crown. By the second it refused to deliberate at all upon the matter. One argument only had been advanced in support of this last conclusion. It was, that neither the Parliament of this Kingdom nor that of Ireland possesses any legitimate power of making such deliberations effective—if so, however, neither did the Parliament of Scotland formerly possess that power: and consequently the House in which he then spoke was destitute of all authority, and no Act passed under its controul for ninety years could be considered legal. This doctrine of the incompetency of Parliament led directly to the system of Universal suffrage, and from it to Jacobinism; and there would consequently be an end of all authority, not only on this point, but on every other. Admitting the right of deliberation, therefore, the present question was narrowed into the small compass of complying with, or peremptorily rejecting the course proposed by the Crown.

If the answer which we return to the Royal message, continued Mr. Pitt, be in the negative, we are bound to shew that the present state of Ireland requires no remedy; or that a better remedy can be proposed than that which has a Union for its basis: or that a Union is such an evil that it must not be deliberated upon at all. Now that Ireland is labouring under ills there can be no doubt, least of all among those gentlemen with whom they have so long been a theme of complaint. These evils have a deep

root, for they lie in the situation of the country itself, in the manners and habits of its inhabitants, in their ignorance, in the want of connection between different classes, in the state of property, and in the rancour and bigotry of religious feuds.

If the state of society be such that laws are useless till the people itself is changed, if the progress of civilization depend upon the increase and distribution of capital, and if the advantages to be derived from national wealth and mental improvement are perpetually retarded by party distinctions and divisions, by the blind zeal and phrenzy of superstition, and by the virulence of hereditary quarrels, there can be no remedy but from an impartial Legislature, sufficiently removed from the local influence of contending factions.

Mr. Pitt here moved that some entries in the Journals of the House, relative to the proceedings of 1782, should be read, and contended from these that the independence of the Legislature was the only thing effected by the final adjustment, and that a Resolution had at the same time been laid at the foot of the Throne, expressing how "indispensable it was to the interests and happiness of both Kingdoms, that the connexion between them should be established by mutual consent upon a solid and permanent basis."

He continued by lamenting the narrow policy which had been pursued hitherto in regard to Ireland; he maintained that our interests were the same, and that we must stand or fall together. And yet, in the boasted measure of 1782, nothing had been done but by making the Parliaments of the two Kingdoms independent of each other, to give them a power of differing on questions of essential moment. They had so differed in fact, on the case of the Regency. It was our good fortune, rather than any political wisdom, which had prevented such a difference from occurring on other points. It might occur in questions of peace, or war, of alliances or of commerce. Let the House decide what the consequences would be.

The present state of society in Ireland, continued Mr. Pitt, as well as its Representation, is radically defective. "I see the case so plainly, and I feel it so strongly, that there is no circumstance of apparent or probable difficulty, no apprehension of popularity, no fear of toil or labour that shall prevent me from using every exertion which remains in my power to accomplish the work that is now before us, and on which, I am persuaded, depend the internal tranquillity of Ireland, the interest of the British Empire at large, and the happiness of a great portion of the habitable globe."

The Amendment was negatived without a division, and the Address was then put and carried. Before the next debate, however, a circumstance occurred in Ireland by which a less dauntless Minister might have been shaken in his project. A majority of five (109 to 104) in the Commons House had expunged a clause in the Address, answering to the Viceroy's speech, which pledged them to the consideration of a Union. The exultations of

the Anti-Unionists knew no bounds, but this defeat, however unseasonable, by no means deterred Mr. Pitt from pressing the details of his plan upon the attention of Parliament.

Jan. 31. In opening the farther consideration of his Majesty's message, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lamented the proceedings of the Irish House of Commons; he acknowledged its competence to accept or to reject the measure, and admitted the repugnance which they had shewn to it *in limine*. As a Member of the Parliament of Great Britain, however, *he* also had a duty to perform, and in the exercise of that duty he intended to announce his plan to the nation.

It was probable that in a question of this nature a mistaken sense of national pride would operate not inconsiderably in the first instance, but he had little doubt of the ultimate result when his project should be referred to the sober, dispassionate, and unprejudiced judgment of the Parliament of Ireland. In the lower House, barely more than one half the Members who attended had opposed the project; in the upper a large majority had approved it. On this account he would not now urge its immediate adoption, but he wished to state its outline fully, in order that the inclination of the British Parliament being known, similar sentiments might be produced among our countrymen in Ireland. He proposed therefore to move a string of Resolutions, which the House, after mature discussion might adopt, and then leave it to his Majesty to communicate them to the Parliament of Ireland at a favourable opportunity.

No doubt existed on any part that a perpetual connexion between Great Britain and Ireland was essential to the interests of both. The dissolution of this connexion was the great object of the common enemies of both countries; foreign and domestic hostility was equally arrayed against Ireland, as the most vulnerable point of our dominions; *we* looked for some new arrangement, and fundamental regulations to avert the threatened danger; our enemies hoped to find the two Parliaments so infatuated that they would neglect to establish the connexion upon a solid basis.

Mr. Pitt then entered into a consideration of the final adjustment of 1782. He characterized it as a measure which had destroyed a bad system, but which had established nothing in its stead. He maintained that the Minister of that day thought it necessary to move that a farther settlement was indispensable, that an Address was carried praying his Majesty to strengthen the connexion between the two Countries, and that it was in the contemplation of the Government to adopt some measures similar to those which were now proposed. Nothing, however, had been done, and the two countries were left with only the tie of one common Third Estate.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then proceeded to the argument which he had used in the former debate about the possible discrepancy of opinion which might arise between the two Par-

liaments, and shewed the necessary danger resulting from this independence on each other. It was idle, he said, to call that an indissoluble connexion which left a door open to continual bickering.

The point of time at which he proposed the remedy was the next portion of his argument. He shewed its seasonableness from the peculiar nature of the contest in which we were engaged; from the commercial resources which we might communicate to that limb of the Empire which was the chief object of hostile attack, and from the facility which we obtained of continuing to give that aid which had recently saved Ireland under invasion. We sought to guard her from future danger by imparting to her our own wealth, power and stability.

The internal state of Ireland next occupied his attention. Till she was united to us, any attempt to regulate her here would certainly be a violation of her independence. So that for the disorders by which that country was unfortunately agitated, there was no remedy but the formation of a general Imperial Legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment—uninfluenced by local prejudices, and uninflamed by national passions.

To speak of religious distinctions was to involve himself in a topic of danger and of delicacy; but concessions to the Catholics might be agitated with more safety in a United Parliament than in a separate Legislature. The question of Tythes also was more likely to be permanently and satisfactorily settled here than by any local arrangements. And all the causes of national distraction would be more easily counteracted by the new project than by the existing system.

Mr. Pitt then compared the question which he had heard put, What advantages is Ireland to derive from a Union? to another question, which was frequently asked, What advantages does Great Britain gain by the war with France? To the last, our brilliant successes, and the extension of our commerce might be a sufficient reply; but we had something to preserve as well as to win by war; no less than our Constitution, our independence, our honour, and our existence. So also Ireland would secure protection, increase of trade, improvement of Agriculture, command of capital, an infusion of English manners and industry, and would find opened to laudable and honourable ambition, every avenue to high distinction in the general seat of Empire. Besides all this, she would avert immediate peril; and be saved from becoming a Jacobin Republic under the tyranny of France.

Adverting to the commercial propositions of 1785, Mr. Pitt then entered into an examination of the principles entertained at that period by the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Foster,) and those which he had more recently expressed. In exposing their inconsistency he showed that in 1797 the manufactures exported from Great Britain to Ireland very little exceeded one million sterling, while Great Britain on the other hand imported nearly three millions in manufactured

linen and yarn, between two and three millions in provisions and cattle, besides corn and other articles of produce. This advantageous commercial intercourse was by no means to be ascribed to the Independent Legislature, but to the liberality of the British Parliament; and it must be obvious that a closer connexion would afford still greater facilities to trade, as it would remove every possible source of mercantile jealousy.

Having thus opened his arguments in favour of the Union, Mr. Pitt proceeded to combat the objections which had been advanced against it; and first, as to the incompetency of the Irish Parliament to discuss such a measure without the consent of their constituents. He strongly protested against this doctrine, that Parliament was unable to adopt any project, new in its nature, without an appeal for directions to the delegating authority. This doctrine, he said, was founded on that gross perversion of the principles of political society, which supposed that in every Government there was a Sovereignty in abeyance on the part of the People. No society, however, be its form what it may, could ever long subsist, unless there resided somewhere a supreme, absolute, and unlimited authority. Upon this point Mr. Pitt exceeded even his customary eloquence, he characterized the Sovereignty of the People, as the chief and favourite imposture of Jacobinism, a position calculated to mislead the understandings and inflame the passions of the populace, and which ought to be resisted by every friend to civil order, and to the peace and happiness of mankind.

The next objection was one which, however false, when closely examined, it was impossible not to respect, on account of the generous source from which it sprang. It had been said that no compensation could be made to any country for the surrender of its national independence. Yet if this principle had been acted upon by our forefathers, Europe must have remained till this hour in a state of barbarism, from the perpetual warfare of petty States. As the former principle of the Sovereignty of the People struck at the foundation of all Government, so this was equally hostile to all political confederacy, and would send mankind back to what was called the state of nature.

On many occasions Mr. Pitt willingly admitted that it was the first duty of a free and noble people to act upon this objection. Ireland, however, could adduce no reasons on which she ought in policy to adopt such a line of conduct. We called her not to a foreign yoke, but to a voluntary association. We joined for our common benefit, as one great Empire, where each would retain its proportional weight and importance under the security of equal laws, reciprocal affection and inseparable interest.

Granting that this Union might to a limited extent increase the number of Absentees for a part of the year, the life given to all the operations of commerce, the internal repose, the advancement of wealth and civilization, must surely counterbalance the tem-

porary loss of that small number which followed the seat of Legislation. In Scotland the population of Edinburgh had been doubled since the Union, and a New City added to the Old. In Glasgow, since the same period, it had been increased in the ratio of between four and six to one. Experience affords no grounds for any gloomy apprehensions on this point.

It had been sedulously stated that one object of a Union was to oppress Ireland with a load of debt, and an increase of taxes, by making her share in all our supposed difficulties and necessities; but here again the case of Scotland might be successfully adduced; with 45 members on her part, and 513 on ours, that Country had never contributed more than her fair proportion to the general burdens—especial provisions if necessary might be made to secure her present financial immunities to Ireland; but these and all particular details would belong to future discussion, at present Mr. Pitt contented himself by presenting the following Resolutions:

"1. That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British Empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one Kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by Acts of the respective Parliaments of his Majesty's said Kingdoms.

"2. That it appears to this Committee, that it would be fit to propose, as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said Union, that the said Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one Kingdom, by the name of the *United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.*

"3. That for the same purpose it appears also to this Committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the Monarchy and the Imperial Crown of the said United Kingdoms shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the Imperial Crown of the said Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of Union between England and Scotland.

"4. That for the same purpose it appears also to this Committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said United Kingdom be represented in one and the same Parliament, to be styled the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; and that such a number of Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, and such a number of Members of the House of Commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by Acts of the respective Parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said Parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned, in such manner as shall be fixed by an Act of the Parliament of Ireland previous to the said Union: and that every Member hereafter to sit and vote in the said Parliament of the United Kingdom shall, until the said Parliament shall otherwise pro-

vide, take, and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declaration, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made by the Members of the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

"5. That for the same purpose it appears also to this Committee, that it would be fit to propose that the Churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

"6. That for the same purpose it appears also to this Committee, that it would be fit to propose that his Majesty's subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his Majesty, his heirs or successors, with any foreign power, as his Majesty's subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export between Great Britain and Ireland of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties, as shall, previous to the Union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective Parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both Kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either Kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts; that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture, of either Kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one Kingdom, such countervailing duties (over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid) shall be imposed as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect; and that all other matters of trade and commerce, other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the Union be specially agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective Kingdoms shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the United Parliament.

"7. That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal of the debt incurred in either Kingdom before the Union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively. That, for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the United Kingdom, in peace or war, should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective Parliaments previous to the Union; and that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates

and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the Union.

" 8. That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the Union, and that all the Courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective Kingdoms, shall remain as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations, from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to require.

" That the foregoing Resolution be laid before his Majesty, with an humble Address, assuring his Majesty that we have proceeded with the utmost attention to the consideration of the important objects recommended to us in his Majesty's gracious message.

" That we entertain a firm persuasion that a *complete and entire Union* between Great Britain and Ireland, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections, by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce, of the respective Kingdoms, and by allaying the distractions which have unhappily prevailed in Ireland, must afford fresh means of opposing at all times an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of our foreign and domestic enemies, and must tend to confirm and augment the stability, power, and resources of the Empire.

" Impressed with these considerations, we feel it our duty humbly to lay before his Majesty such propositions as appear to us best calculated to form the basis of such a settlement, leaving it to his Majesty's wisdom, at such time and in such manner as his Majesty, in his parental solicitude for the happiness of his people, shall judge fit, to communicate these propositions to his Parliament of Ireland, with whom we shall be at all times ready to concur in all such measures as may be found most conducive to the accomplishment of this great and salutary work. And we trust that, after full and mature consideration, such a settlement may be framed and established, by the deliberative consent of the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, as may be conformable to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his Majesty's faithful subjects of Great Britain and Ireland, and may unite them inseparably in the full enjoyment of the blessings of our free and invaluable Constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his Majesty's Crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welfare and prosperity of the whole British Empire."

Mr. Sheridan rose, and, in a very bold and animated speech, replied to the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Though the Right Honourable Gentleman had introduced, he said, the question with a great display of eloquence, he must yet critically pursue him in all the mazes of his dextrous declamation. The great object of the first part of Mr. Pitt's speech was to convict Mr. Foster of inconsistency; and what then? it proved nothing at the most but that Mr. Foster, as well as the Right Honourable Gentleman, had

once entertained foolish opinions, which the latter had been wise enough now to relinquish. All the advantages of which it had been said Ireland would partake by a Union, might equally be conceded without this abject surrender of her independence; as it was, if given, they would be given by force. Mr. Sheridan then expressed the poignant regret with which he had seen his friend, Mr. Canning, contaminate the pure and early morning of his political life, by advocating the cause of bold and barefaced corruption. He cited the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, as a proof of the insincerity of Government with respect to the Catholics, and vindicated Mr. Fox from the accusation of not having followed up the Resolution of 1782. Mr. Fox remained in office but two months after it passed; but the right honourable gentleman who brought the charge had been fifteen years in power, without attempting to do that which he now declared from the first he deemed indispensably necessary. It had been said that an equal proportion of the Irish House of Commons, a large majority of the Peers, and an equally large number out of doors were friendly to the Union —but the lists of the division would show on which side in Parliament lay the property and respectability: and from the country at large, Cork and Limerick were the only two places in which any thing like approbation had been expressed. The one was promised a dock-yard as a bribe: the other was menaced with some impediments as to its Linen Trade. He observed, that he had taken an opportunity last week of opposing the measure of legislative Union with Ireland, in the first stage of the discussion, which, as a matter of course, was to lead to that question. He did it from a conviction, that measures of such magnitude and of such novelty, should always be opposed in the infancy of their progress. However, after considering the subject more fully, he was convinced, under the present circumstances of the convulsed and disordered system of policy and general government of Ireland, that it was not only impolitic, but even unsafe, to agitate the discussion of topics, the issues of which were to lay the most hardy and stout-hearted prostrate at the feet of a British Minister. Considering the manner in which the subject was brought forward in Ireland, and the fate of the question in the Parliament of that Kingdom, it might have been doubted whether the Right Honourable Gentleman would persevere in the measure. He had, now however, solemnly pledged himself, that it should be the favourite object of the remainder of his political life to effect a legislative Union of the two Kingdoms. But, thank God! said Mr. Sheridan, the House had not given a pledge to support him. The right honourable gentleman had sown already the most frightful dissensions in that unfortunate country. He had divided its Parliament against itself. He had held it up to scorn, by libelling its measures and traducing its wisdom; and, after all, with a pertinacity which distinguished ignorance, he had to array the British Parliament

against the fierceness of men who were told, that a country struggling for its liberties only waged the war of faction, and wielded the weapons of disaffection and treason. The Right Honourable gentleman had contended, that the commercial advantages derived by Ireland from her connection with Great Britain were necessary to her existence; and he had added, in the same breath, that to have those advantages continued to her, a Union was indispensable. The inference, Mr. Sheridan said, was, that Ireland must abandon all her commercial advantages if she rejected the proffered alliance. From this, he contended, that the people of Ireland could not come with unbiassed minds to this discussion, and it would be impossible that a free choice could be left to the Parliament of that country. Mr. Pitt had also contended that Ireland ought to consent to a Union, because she was incapable of defending herself against her internal and external enemies without her powerful neighbour. Was it generous, said Mr. Sheridan, to hold out such language to Ireland? Would it be proper to force the people of Ireland to ask, why they have not had those advantages yielded to them, on which according to the opinion of the British Minister, their prosperity depends? With respect to what the Right Honourable Gentleman had said relative to Ireland, not being able to defend herself, it was well known that her volunteers had defended Ireland during the war; but he contended that it was a most cruel taunt, uttered in the face of the whole people of Ireland, to say, that while we have 40,000 British troops in the heart of their country, we will awe them by such a force, and reproach them with weakness, notwithstanding we have had 200,000 of their best inhabitants to support us in the present war; whilst 100,000 fighting men of their nation have fallen in our battles, in the West Indies and elsewhere. What was it but to say, you have assisted us, but you are now naked, ignorant, and uncivilised; if you do not accept from us the benefits we offer, we will proceed to confer them upon you by force. He next took notice of an argument which the Right Honourable Gentleman had made use of in favour of a Union, viz. the prosperity which Scotland had enjoyed since it had been united with England. But, said Mr. Sheridan, might not Scotland have attained her increase of wealth and prosperity merely by the dint of her own industry? Besides, Scotland could not well be compared with Ireland. In Scotland, the gentlemen of property were found to reside and encourage trade, &c. but in Ireland it was quite the reverse. It was also urged, that two independent Legislatures would seldom agree; and that from this want of concurrence the most serious calamities might arise. It might as well be argued, that two independent Houses of Parliament may not cooperate, because the Lords, for example, may throw out a money bill sent from the Commons, or that the Commons may refuse to concur in the amendments made by the Lords. The whole of these objections, he said, were refuted by experience. After a few other

comments upon Mr. Pitt's arguments, Mr. Sheridan concluded by proposing two Resolutions, to be laid before the Committee, to which Committee he stated, that he should not object. 1st. That no measures can have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity and connexion now existing between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis, the manifest, fair, and free consent and approbation of the Parliaments of the two countries. 2d. That whoever shall endeavour to obtain the appearance of such consent and approbation in either country, by employing the influence of Government for the purposes of corruption or intimidation is an enemy to his Majesty and the Constitution.

Lord Hawkesbury argued, that the opposition which the Honourable Gentleman gave to the measure then before the House, was founded on the interference of the British Parliament in a matter which had recently been rejected by one of the branches of the Irish Legislature. It had been insinuated, that the people of Ireland were against the measure of a Union; this he begged leave to deny. The people of Cork, and those of Limerick, had expressed themselves in favour of it; and he had no doubt, if it once came to be duly considered, but the great majority of the whole nation would view it in the same favourable light. His lordship said much had been urged as to the commercial prosperity of Ireland, in consequence of the independence of her Parliament; but, whatever that prosperity might have been, the course of events, which had for some years past taken place in Ireland, had convinced him that there must be something radically wrong in the internal situation of that country. He said, if Ireland had continued prosperous and tranquil since 1782, he should have entertained hopes that the interest of the Empire might be secured without recurring to the measure then under consideration; but the reverse had been the case, and one subject of discontent had risen after another, till they had terminated in the foulest and most unnatural rebellion. His lordship added, that it was his desire to extend the blessings of the British Constitution to all the subjects of the British Empire; and it was his particular wish, that the people of Ireland should derive every benefit that resulted from it to the people of England.

Dr. Lawrence contended, that the situation of the two countries, in his opinion, was totally different at the present period from what his lordship had conceived them to be. When the measure was first introduced, he was not clearly decided that he should vote against it; circumstances, however, had taken place elsewhere which made him regret that the measure had ever been brought forward at all. Ireland, he said, appeared at present to be in a state of considerable irritation, and it was certainly of the highest importance that such a disposition should not be aggravated by the stimulation of any jealousy which that country might have conceived of an intended attempt on the independence of its Parliament. Dr. Lawrence made some remarks on

the measure being introduced under the name of a Union; and observed, that, after one of the parties, which was to give its assent to the marriage, had absolutely rejected it, how could that be called a Union? A marriage was a matter of that delicate nature, that if the parties contracting it were not agreeable to each other, the closer they were drawn together by the bond, the farther in fact they were put asunder. Therefore, to press forward a measure of so much moment by the Parliament of Great Britain, when the Parliament of Ireland had rejected it, was certainly pregnant with the most disastrous consequences. In the course of his speech, Dr. Lawrence stated a remarkable fact in regard to the religious animosities in Ireland, that in the north hardly a single Catholic was concerned in the Rebellion. That disaffection in that quarter was in great measure confined to the Protestant Dissenters; that among the insurgents in Kildare, Catholics and Protestants were mingled in nearly the relative proportions of their population in the County, but that nothing of religious aspect was discernible in their language or pretexts; that in Wexford alone the Rebellion assumed that character, because party violence had previously run high in that County, but still that even there the five principal leaders who had suffered under the just severity of the Law were members of the Established Church.

The question being put, that his Majesty's Message be referred to a Committee of the whole House, the House divided. Ayes, 140. Noes, 15. On the next occasion (February 7,) on which this question was discussed, when the Order of the day was read, that the House resolve itself into a Committee upon his Majesty's Message, Mr. Sheridan farther commented upon the pledge given by Mr. Pitt, that the accomplishment of the Union should be the object of his life. It was difficult to conceive, he observed, what advantage could be gained by associating the House with this pledge, against which the Irish Commons had already declared. It led to nothing but the creation of an opposition between the two countries, by which the dangers of each must be alarmingly increased. He then drew a parallel between Mr. Pitt and the United Irishmen, who seemed to have one object in common. Each declared that the Parliament of Ireland was the source of all evils in that Kingdom. Each taxed that Legislature with being the tool of an English faction. Each prescribed the same remedy, its annihilation. Each knew better what was for the good of Ireland than all the rest of the Irish did; and each resorted to the same means, force and corruption.

Mr. Sheridan then described the arguments used by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Canning as fallacies, when they went to assert that there was no alternative between Union and separation. He affirmed that the real alternative was, that the Irish Parliament should no longer continue to be a corrupt English job: that a remedy would easily be found in an honest Parliament uninfluenced by a British Minister. But the Chancellor of

the Exchequer seemed to hold that it was impossible there could be a good Government in Ireland —an assertion which Mr. Sheridan thought unworthy of serious refutation. He then impressed upon the House the facility of giving Ireland all the proposed advantages without a Union. He again urged the increase of absentees which a Union would necessarily occasion, and he drew a picture replete with wit of the imaginary improvement which the Irish would receive from the influx of their hundred Members into the Imperial Parliament.

After Mr. Sheridan's Resolutions of the former night had been read, Mr. Pitt observed, that the Right Honourable mover had characterized the first of them, and very justly, as a Truism. If so there was no necessity for any specific declaration of that which could never be controverted. The second Resolution unquestionably insinuated, that corruption and intimidation had been made use of: if it applied to a particular instance, (the dismissal of Sir John Parnell), it was evidently not correct; for it was an established principle that there must be an accordance of opinion among Members of the same Administration; if it is applied generally it fell under the same objection as the first Resolution. Mr. Pitt therefore moved the Order of the day.

Mr. Grey could see nothing but danger in the discussion of a Union, particularly as it would affect the public mind in Ireland. Mr. Pitt's avowed determination to persevere demanded some counter-pledge from the House, and his Right Honourable friend's Resolutions would relieve all apprehensions excited by it. He then considered at large the principle which Mr. Pitt had laid down in reference to Sir John Parnell's dismissal, of the necessity of the absolute concurrence of all Members of the same Administration in every particular measure. He resisted this doctrine, denied that it had influenced Lord Fitzwilliam, whose case was wholly dissimilar, and mentioned two questions, Reform in Parliament, and the Slave Trade, on which Mr. Pitt himself had acted in direct opposition to it.

The House then divided on the Order of the Day. Ayes, 141. Noes, 25. The question being put that the Speaker do now leave the Chair, Mr. St. John maintained that the prosperity of Ireland having increased since the declaration of the independence of her Parliament, something more than a farther prospect of increase ought to be urged in favour of a Union. In regard to Scotland, it was by no means clear that the Union with that Country was the cause of its additional strength, and it could not therefore be fairly said, that the proposed measure for Ireland would be so; but the simple question now before the House related not to the probable advantages of Union, but whether it was good policy to agitate it now in the very teeth of the Irish Parliament. His opinion upon the merits of the Union, Mr. St. John said, was not yet distinctly formed; but the Parliament of Ireland having negatived even the idea of discussion, he foresaw danger in proceeding any farther here at present.

Mr. Grey declared the question in consideration to be the

most momentous that ever came before any Parliament: it was the discussion of a bargain which we had not power to conclude, and on which one of the parties, whose consent was absolutely necessary, had avowed distinctly that it would not listen even to a preliminary. Every body must wish for a system which must consolidate the two Kingdoms, and He, for one, most heartily desired a Union—but something more than a mere word—a Union not of Parliaments but of hearts. But if any measure with the name only were proposed, weakness and not strength would be the result. Already discontent, distrust, jealousy, and suspicion, were the visible fruits even of the project, and should we obtain the seeming consent of the Irish Parliament, the people would only wait for an opportunity of recovering their rights which they would consider as ravished from them by force. Great evils doubtless existed in Ireland, and the whole matter fairly rested on these two questions: Do these evils arise from the Legislature, and are they likely to be removed by a Union?

That these evils have happened under an independent Legislature is true; but they are not on that account the necessary consequences of it. They are rather owing to the crooked system which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and too many of his predecessors, have pursued in their government: in the intrigues to which they had given birth, the feuds which they had excited, the hopes which they had disappointed, the alarms which they had created, and the animosities which they had fostered: for the conduct of the Legislature, he referred to the transactions of 1782, and the Volunteers of Dungannon: for that of Government, he would look only to the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam.

Mr. Grey then took a view of the final adjustment of 1782, and maintained that the point then fully and completely determined was the independence of the Legislature, and the other left to be settled at a future period related to Trade. He entered largely into the charge of inconsistency brought against Mr. Foster, and read extracts from that gentleman's speech on the Irish propositions: to these he added extracts from a speech of Mr. Corry on the same question, and from one of Mr. Pitt himself on the fourth Resolution regarding them—from all of these he contended that the arrangements then concluded between Ireland and this country were final in all Constitutional points.

He next endeavoured to shew, that no inconvenience could have arisen from the difference of opinion between the two Parliaments on the Regency question. In England, great power and influence attached to the Sovereign independent of that which is properly called government, in Ireland there was none. In voting that the Prince should be Regent, Ireland had nothing but the power of government to give, and therefore restrictions were needless. On other points, the importance of entire agreement was most deeply impressed upon the Irish. Mr. Grey here commented upon Mr. Pitt's conduct respecting Parlia-

mentary Reform, and observed, that after resisting every attempt at innovation, it was singular the Right Honourable Gentleman should conclude by himself becoming the greatest of all innovators. He then repeated, that the evils of Ireland had not their root in its Parliament; that Mr. Pitt's remedy was incompetent to meet them, and that the agitation of it was most mischievous—that the speech with which Mr. Pitt introduced it, though as eloquent as any that ever fell from the lips of man, had produced great inflammation in Ireland, where they had agreed to a Call of the House for the purpose of watching the project. After expressing his opinion, that negotiation on the Continent would be ineffectual, while France continued her present system of aggrandizement, Mr. Grey wound up his speech by recommending, not a specious and hollow Union which would be real weakness, but a line of conduct which might conciliate the affections of all at home, and materially strengthen us.

Mr. Secretary Dundas was of opinion, that the grants of 1782, had nothing to do with the present question; for the proposition now before the House was for the incorporation of the two Legislatures into one, without infringing on the liberty or independence of either. By those grants, the Irish Parliament was placed on the same footing of independence with regard to Great Britain, as Scotland was in relation to England before the Union, and the proposal of 1707 had never by its most captious opponents been treated as an attack upon the independence of the Parliament of Scotland.

It was a melancholy truth, that the people of Ireland did not place that confidence in their Parliament which was essential for its utility; no remedy for this disease could be imagined more appropriate than an incorporating Union between the Legislatures of the two Kingdoms. This must tend to heal the religious feuds which were the great source of mutual distrust. The Protestants would feel certain that the whole strength of the United Parliament would be exerted in their defence, and the Catholics would be relieved from all those apprehensions, jealousies, and inveterate animosities which are now interwoven with their separate Legislature.

The Parliament of Ireland at this moment is so far from independent, that its acts have no vigour nor effect till approved by the third Estate of this country. The British Parliament has not a more valuable privilege than the control which, on account of the responsibility of the King's servants, it exercises over the Executive, in the administration even of those powers which are the clearest prerogatives of the Crown. From this privilege the Parliament of Ireland is now debarred, and this it would obtain by an incorporation with the Parliament of Great Britain. It was thus that the Scottish Members, instead of confining their deliberations to the affairs of their own Country, were empowered to take part in discussions not only relating to England, but to the whole British Empire; and as far as regarded

the third Estate, had even an interference with the affairs of Ireland. Independence and Liberty were fine sounding words, but they had little connection with a separate and local Legislature. The soil and spot whereon the Parliament sat did not constitute its value, but its adaptation to preserve the general interests of the community at large. All else belonged to a childish, not a manly ambition.

In the progress of this business the manner of recommending and adopting the Union between England and Ireland was to be followed step by step most scrupulously; no objection therefore could be raised on points of form. The Union with Scotland had been so often in contemplation, that little amendment could be required in the general plan. In the days of James I., Charles I., the Usurper Cromwell, William III., and lastly of Queen Anne, the project, as now, had been simultaneously recommended to both Parliaments.

Mr. Dundas then entered into a detail of the advantages which had accrued to Scotland since the Union, and presented the following Comparative View:

Shipping in	1692	8618 tons	Value £25,864
Do.	1792	162274 tons	Value 1,298,192
Leith	1692	1702 tons	
Do.	1792	18468 tons	
Scotch Linen	1700	1,000,000 yards	
Do.	1796	23,102,404	
Custom at the Union		£34,000	
Do.	1798	284,577	
Excise at the Union		33,500	
Do.	1798	851,775	
Population	1755	1,265,000	
Do.	1795	1,534,000	
Population of Glasgow, from 1701 to 1710.		14,790	
Do.	1798	77,042	

Mr. Dundas then cited some melancholy predictions which had been hazarded by the opponents of that measure at the time of its introduction, particularly in a celebrated speech of Lord Belhaven; and contrasted them with the effects which in reality had been produced.

To the question why these advantages are to be attributed to the Union, rather than to the various causes which have contributed to the advance of other States, Mr. Dundas replied by noticing the local situation of Scotland, and her internal policy, which must for ever have debarred her from assuming a profitable relation to other countries; and he then read a long extract from a speech of Mr. Seton of Pit-

madden (one of the Commissioners for treating with England) when the first Resolution relative to the Union was brought up for consideration before the Scottish Parliament. This speech is a most singular instance of political foresight.

Why not give these benefits to Ireland, it had been triumphantly asked, without a Union? Mr. Dundas answered this by another question. Could Ireland, under her present Constitution, reap any advantage from them? He was decidedly of opinion she could not. Nor, indeed, could any important concessions be safely granted until the superintendance of an Imperial Parliament possessed a control over the resources of the Empire at large.

As to the opposition of the Irish, of which so much had been said, he thought much had been said erroneously. Two Estates, the King and the Lords, pointedly expressed their desire that the subject should be entertained and considered. The contrary opinion had been carried by a very narrow majority in the House of Commons. It was idle to call this a solemn decision of Parliament. Sober reasoning he had no doubt would ultimately prevail, in spite of all the clamour and prejudice which had been adduced against it. Most legislative novelties were unpopular at first. Gentlemen must remember the obloquy with which the authors of the system of Excise had been loaded, and yet every one now admitted that it was the least expensive and most effectual mode of raising Revenue. As for the Scoth Union, nothing could ever have been more hateful to the populace. The Duke of Queensberry, the nobleman who most actively forwarded it, narrowly escaped with his life in several instances, while the Duke of Hamilton, his great political opponent, was regularly chaired from his apartments to the Parliament House. By and bye, however, the measure became so popular, that the Pretender having pledged himself to repeal the Act of Union, was obliged to issue a Manifesto recalling his promise—and this in 1715, just eight years after it had taken place.

Mr. Dundas then compared the respective conditions of England and Ireland, and argued that the less flourishing of the two countries must be benefited by a Union with that which was more so. He denied the charge of intimidation; and treated the final adjustment of 1782, falsely so called, as a mere temporary expedient, got up in a hurry. Every page of history, he said, would refute the assertion, that the national pride of Ireland could be degraded by this measure. He appealed to the consolidation of the Heptarchy, the annexation of Wales, and the Union with Scotland. He asked on what principle the Government of Great Britain was to be prohibited, by a decision of the Irish Commons, from explaining to the people and parliament of Ireland, the plan for their benefit; and he observed, that the very House which came to that decision rejected a Resolution which proposed to set aside the measure altogether. All that

is proposed at present is to give the people and Parliament of Ireland time to know and to consider what it is which England is inclined to share with them. The time itself demands a remedy, and no other than a Union has been suggested.

After an historical sketch of the Union with Scotland, Mr. Dundas proceeded to consider the situation of the Irish Roman Catholics. If the present measure were carried, he thought they would stand a chance of being put on the same footing as their English brethren, and that if ever it should be found prudent wholly to improve the condition of the great majority of the Irish nation, the English Catholics might expect to be no longer under any restraint; so that a Union would be mutually advantageous to each of these bodies. Mr. Dundas concluded by a vivid description of the horrors of French fraternity, and besought the disaffected to draw lessons of experience from the confusion and despair which had overwhelmed Brabant, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, and Egypt.

Mr. Sheridan denied that a Union could in the least cause a relaxation in the designs of the French upon Ireland, since their hopes had never been built on the separation of the two Legislatures, but upon the discontent of the people. These discontents Mr. Dundas had attributed to the excluded situation of the Roman Catholics; if so, it was not likely that a Union should heal them, for they had always experienced more liberality from the Irish than from the British Parliament. Mr. Sheridan then followed Mr. Dundas through his review of the Scotch Union, and charged him with some inaccuracies of representation, particularly in regard to the Pretender's Manifesto; Mr. Sheridan said, that so far from the part containing a promise of the repeal of the Act of Union having been struck out, he was credibly informed the fact was just the reverse.

He then proceeded to the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the People, which Mr. Pitt had treated with so much ridicule and contempt, and which had met with equally hard measure from Mr. Burke, in one of his latter publications. That principle, however, Mr. Sheridan affirmed to be in truth the foundation and the security of all free Governments, and most emphatically the vital principle of the British Constitution. He thanked Mr. Pitt for the term which he had pronounced in scorn, "A Sovereignty in abeyance," was precisely the definition of this right, a right not in operation, nor in assertion, until some great occasion calls it forth, but always existing in the remembrance and contemplation of the Constitution. The People ought to be told that they possessed this right, for it was only where a nation instructed in its privileges, met the assaults of ill-used power with a consciousness that justice was on their side, that resistance to tyranny could be well directed or ultimately successful. If the Right Hon. Gentleman's doctrine were true, his Majesty, now on the Throne, was an Usurper, the House of Brunswick have all been Usurpers, the

Revolution was a foul Rebellion, and our present Constitution an unprincipled Usurpation. But his Majesty holding the Crown by the best of all titles, the choice of a free nation, must know the value of the principle which allows the People that choice; and the Constitution never can be praised by us their Representatives, without a grateful recollection of that Sovereignty by which it was obtained for us.

Mr. Windham could not help feeling a little impatience at the manner in which this measure had been received in Ireland: it was as if it had been proposed for the advantage of England at the expence of Ireland, whereas, in truth, the former had so much to lose, and the latter so much to gain, that all the advantage was clearly on the other side. He went over many of the arguments which we have before detailed; and contended, that little could be collected of the real opinion of Ireland during the present popular clamour. A dexterous party can always create a cry when the opinion of solid thinking people is quite the other way. Mr. Windham then added his suffrage to the denial of any Sovereignty in abeyance belonging to the People: whatever may be said in its defence as a moral right, nothing either in the Revolution or our Constitution justified its existence as a political right.

Mr. Tierney renewed the assertion that no advantages could be given by the Union which might not be afforded without it. He did not see what good the Catholics would obtain by it, for supposing that their disabilities were removed, such was the distribution of property in Ireland, that in fifty years fifty Catholics would not get seats in Parliament. It could not prevent the designs of the enemy, nor put an end to intestine troubles, for we saw that the very mention of it created greater discontents than ever. He by no means contended that the measure was radically bad, or should be wholly abandoned, but under present circumstances the Minister was bound not to press it. The only motive which he could conjecture for Mr. Pitt's obstinacy was the injury which his pride had received, but if the Right Hon. Gentleman was determined to play Guy Faux towards the Parliament of Ireland, Mr. Tierney earnestly conjured the House not to furnish him with a cloak and dark lanthorn for the purpose.

Mr. William Grant said, that the object of those Gentlemen who wished to prevent the Speaker from leaving the Chair, was to preclude discussion, because discussion at this moment might be mischievous, and in order to show the propriety both of their principle and their mode of acting upon it, they were the first to enter into that discussion most fully. It had been said that the Irish Parliament was not in circumstances to give a free assent to the measure, but they have given a free dissent, and therefore they have the power of freely assenting if they choose. When Ireland herself asserts that she is free, who shall undertake to say that she is not so? As to the competence of the Irish Parliament, if that Parliament cannot adopt the measure,

there is no other power that can. But the question of competence is more about words than things. Parliament is morally incompetent to do any thing that is wrong: Parliament is legally competent to do any thing. Parliament may do that which the People may do for themselves. Mr. Grant argued with great clearness and precision, that the doctrine of resorting to the People at large was untenable. He showed its impossibility, and even if it were possible, its absurdity, for the Electors, like the Elected, existed only by the Constitution, and had no greater competence than Parliament itself. And even if the vote of every individual were taken, there would be a previous point for discussion, whether the majority should or should not decide. Nor had any reasonable argument been adduced why, after what had passed in Ireland, we should postpone the consideration of this measure; for it would be highly improper in us who wish a Union to take place, to leave the Irish in ignorance of the terms we mean to propose: the consequence of keeping them back would be that every man inimical to the measure at large, would represent its details just as he pleased. The Parliaments were now upon an equal footing, and nothing could be done by either without the mutual consent of both. What attack upon independence was there in one of them proposing an agreement for their common benefit! The adjustment of 1782, had done little to this effect, something was unsettled, and nothing substituted in its stead.

After a few words in opposition to the measure from Mr. W. Smith, the House divided—Ayes 149. Noes 24.—The Speaker accordingly left the Chair, and the House having resolved itself into a Committee of the whole House, Mr. Douglas in the Chair, Mr. Pitt's resolutions were read. The House resumed, the Chairman reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

On the Order of the day being read a few nights afterwards, Mr. Sheridan, determined to throw every obstacle in the way of the Union which the forms of the House would permit, rose to submit an instruction to the Committee. He said it was not his intention at present to oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair, for the purpose of preventing the House from resuming the consideration of his Majesty's Message. But he would merely state a proposition which was fairly entitled to the consideration of the Committee. This proposition was no less than that all the advantages which were professed to be expected from an Union, would be more certainly attained by the Parliament of Great Britain setting the example of abolishing all civil incapacities on account of religious distinctions. He did not mean that any steps should be taken for that purpose which should have the least appearance of trenching upon the independence of the Irish Parliament; on the contrary, he had taken care to word his motion so as to avoid any such construction. Whether its fitness at the present crisis would or would not be disputed, it had this recommendation at

Feb. 11.

least, that it was considered by his Majesty's ministers, in 1795, to be a measure of prudence, safety, and indispensable necessity. Here Mr. Sheridan read an extract from Earl Fitzwilliam's letters to Lord Carlisle, stating the agreement of the Duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt in the opinion that the emancipation of the Catholics was necessary for the preservation of Ireland. Mr. Sheridan said, he would be glad to know, whether the events which had since happened in that distracted country, all of which were predicted by Earl Fitzwilliam, were not such as to induce the Right Honourable Gentleman to regret that he had not permitted the measure to be brought forward at that time? It was necessary that the Right Honourable Gentleman should explain the motives for the sudden change in his sentiments. If there had been no change, the inference then was, that when he appeared to countenance the scheme of emancipation, he never entertained any idea of carrying it into execution. Had the Right Honourable Gentleman attempted to prove that all the efforts of the Irish Parliament would be ineffectual to the extinction of religious feuds and political discontents, then, said Mr. Sheridan, it would be thought no way surprising that he had changed his opinion. The primary object of Lord Fitzwilliam's administration was avowed from the first moment of his landing in Ireland, to be the complete emancipation of the Catholics; and it was well known that it constituted the avowed ground his recall. The Right Honourable Gentleman had said, that he wished to wait for a moment of calm, when the irritation occasioned by the first view of the measure should subside, and its many advantages could be considered. In this the Right Honourable Gentleman had contradicted himself as to the principle, for he loudly talked of the necessity of an immediate remedy. If he avowed that he designed to carry by coercion, his anxiety to have his Resolutions carried would then excite no surprise. Mr. Sheridan, after a few general remarks on the Catholics, concluded by moving,

"That it be an instruction to the Committee to consider how far it would be consistent with justice or policy, and conducive to the general interests, and especially to the consolidation of the strength of the British Empire, were civil incapacities, on account of religious distinctions, to be done away throughout his Majesty's dominions."

Mr. Pitt said, that of all the speeches he had ever heard the Honourable Gentleman make in that house, that which he had just concluded was the most extraordinary; for he began it by saying, that though he rose to move an instruction to the Committee, yet he did not think any was necessary, and that it was equally competent to him to propose his motion in the Committee itself; and on this account he would not oppose the Speaker's leaving the chair. From this strange mode of proceeding, he said, he could hardly think that the Honourable Gentleman had any serious intention of persisting in his Motion.

The next singularity in the speech was, that his motion was inconsistent with the proposed resolutions; and yet he immediately after added, that it might be submitted in their stead, and that it would completely supersede the plan of a legislative Union. What was still more surprising, at a more advanced part of his speech, he laboured to prove, that, instead of producing the effect of consolidation, it would have in fact a direct contrary tendency.

Mr. Pitt next observed, that if the Honourable Gentleman's motion should be taken in the manner in which it had been opened, that the abolition of the religious disabilities were intended to operate by way of example upon Ireland, then there were three points which ought to be weighed before the House gave its assent to it. The first was, what probability there was that the adoption of such a measure by the Parliament of Great Britain would induce that of Ireland to adopt it; the second, whether their acceding to it would have the desired effect of annihilating religious animosity; and the third was, supposing these two objects accomplished, how far it would go towards strengthening the connection between the two countries? He said, admitting that religious exclusions were abolished here, he could not perceive how it was to operate upon Ireland, which was a separate Kingdom. But, indeed, the arguments of the Honourable Gentleman were throughout the most extraordinary he had ever heard. He would, therefore, no longer, detain the House from proceeding to the Order of the day.

Mr. Speaker observed, that if the House was of opinion that the tenor of his Majesty's Message did not warrant the introduction of the Motion, to discuss it at present was certainly irregular; but if it came within the Committee, it was not regularly worded; it ought to be couched in some such words as these: "That it be an instruction to the Committee in the first instance."

Mr. Sheridan said, he had not the least objection to withdraw his Motion for the present, or he would assent to the Amendment to avail himself of an opportunity of making some comments on what had fallen from the Right Honourable Gentleman opposite. He thought it very strange language, to tell a Member of the House he was not serious in the arguments which he pressed upon its attention. Probably the Right Honourable Gentleman only ascribed to him what he felt to be too much the habit of his own mind. He had argued that it was unsafe to grant Catholic Emancipation without Union. He would then ask, why he had authorised Lord Fitzwilliam to promise it? Why he had raised that expectation in the minds of the Catholics, of the fallacy of which he had since endeavoured to convince them by a system of torture of every denomination? The House, in adopting his Motion, would only repeat the sentiments of his Majesty's Ministers in 1795; however, it was not his intention to take the sense of the House upon the subject at present.

Mr. Pitt made a short reply to Mr. Sheridan. With respect to the transactions of 1795, he denied that the circumstance of refusing to grant the Irish Catholics at that time their requests was the cause of the insurrections which had since taken place; he also denied that there were any hopes which Lord Fitzwilliam was directed to hold out to Ireland, and which were afterwards withdrawn; and he contended that the Cabinet of this country never gave the Lord-Lieutenant any such authority, therefore there remained no such to be withdrawn.

Mr. Sheridan said, this was a subject upon which the Right Hon. Gentleman and himself were at issue, and was the material question which ought to be enquired into.

Mr. Pitt replied, that he could by no means agree that the House should be called upon to consider the situation of the Catholics of Ireland whilst both Parliaments remained distinct, because he considered such a Motion to be an attack upon the independence of the Legislature of Ireland.

On the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair, General Fitzpatrick said, he had not the vanity to suppose that any arguments of his could divert the Right Hon. Gentleman from a project on which he seemed to have set his mind. However, what he had to say was principally on the settlement of 1782. In that year he was officially employed in carrying into effect what, he would venture to say, was then universally considered as a final adjustment between England and Ireland. He was in Ireland, and had a seat in the House of Commons there, when the Resolutions passed in 1782: it was wished at that time to talk them over, which, he said, was done very fully; and he remarked that the whole assembly was satisfied with them. He observed, that there was one member of that House (Mr. Flood) who was not very well disposed to them; he called on him, as an official person in that House, to say, whether there was any other measure to be grounded on that Resolution; to which he answered that Gentleman, from the authority of those with whom he acted, that there was no Constitutional measure to be brought forward; there were some measures that were to be proposed, relative to commerce; but surely, said General Fitzpatrick, the Union is a constitutional point, and therefore is so far inconsistent with the settlement of 1782. He would venture to say, that for the fifteen years following the Resolutions, there had been no doubt entertained upon the Independence of the Irish Legislature in a Constitutional point of view. With respect to the terms of the Union he did not mean to say any thing, nor was it necessary, in the view he had of the matter, to consider any thing about the terms, because he looked upon the whole as a flagrant breach of good faith.

Mr. Ryder answered, that the Right Hon. General's error arose from his believing that the present measure was a violation of the independence of the Irish Parliament, whereas, on the con-

trary, it was the strongest recognition of it. He then shewed the mistake of imagining the adjustment of 1782, to be final in any thing but commercial matters, and argued the necessity and utility of a Union on the common grounds.

Mr. Pitt wished to give one more explanation relative to the adjustment of 1782; he thought it necessary once for all to state, that he had never said it could not be altered. He had only maintained that it was a final recognition of the Independence of Ireland, but so far from considering it to be a final settlement between the two countries, he had always regarded it as leading to future arrangements. The present measure had naturally grown out of the transactions of 1782, for after that adjustment a Resolution of the House was recorded on the Journals, that the connexion between the two Kingdoms should be settled on a permanent basis. He then pursued the details of Cabinet measures during that period, acquitting General Fitzpatrick of being a party to the acknowledged plan of establishing a farther connexion, but asserting that it could be distinctly proved by documents now in existence, that such was the primary object for which the Duke of Portland was appointed Lord Lieutenant; and that the mind of the Duke was deeply impressed with the necessity of some new system not confined to commercial regulations, but extending to imperial arrangements. Mr. Pitt then observed, that the only share he himself had in the adjustment of 1782, was by sitting in the House of Commons, in whose determination he, as a member, was, of course, ostensibly implicated. But he held no official situation, nor did he open his mouth during the discussion.

Mr. Tierney made a few observations relative to the transaction of 1782. He had met with an authentic document of the business in Ireland at that time. It was an Address of the House of Commons, on the Resolutions in question. The Address, he said, was moved by Mr. Grattan; and certain expressions in it, were so remarkable, as to leave no doubt on the subject. The passage stated, that in consequence of what had been done, *no Constitutional question could now arise* to interrupt the harmony between the two countries. The debate which arose on this subject, was suggested by the Recorder of Dublin, who had said, that actual recognition, instead of mere repeal, was necessary. In the same record he found the speech of his Right Honourable friend, General Fitzpatrick, on that occasion. The speech stated his Right Honourable friend to have said, that if the final adjustment was not considered as having settled the whole question, he had no hopes that it ever would be settled.

Mr. Sheridan contended, that the House had recognised Ireland to be independent by an act as solemn as the Bill of Rights. The Irish Address, entered upon the Journals of the House, declared that their separate Legislature was essential to their liberties. Therefore, he said, it was inconsistent then to enter upon the Journals a set of Resolutions directly contrary to the privileges which the

Irish Parliament, in its former Resolution, declared its determination to maintain. The Right Honourable Gentleman had found out, that those who opposed him laboured under a charge which had never before been deemed serious; those, indeed, who differed from him, were disreputable for the mere circumstance of being out of office. The Right Honourable Gentleman was offended with an allusion to the conduct of France with regard to Swisserland; but in the odium of that comparison he begged leave to share with his Honourable friend, for in principle the conduct of the Right Honourable Gentleman was the same as the most Jacobinical proceeding of the Directory. It had been said, indeed, that no force was to be used towards Ireland, and that her free consent would be required. This country, however, was to claim the privilege of judging, when Ireland was free to judge for herself. She was to be considered as mad and intoxicated till she acceded to the propositions which that House was to resolve were necessary for her interest; in principle, this was the same as the conduct of France, which had been so much reprobated. Every placeman who dared to vote according to his own judgment was deprived of his place.

He next made some observations in reply to what was said of the mischievous consequences of retracting the pledge given to the Roman Catholics in Ireland. An allusion had been made to the confessions of the conspirators in that country, and of a person who was described as his (Mr. Sheridan's) friend; and he had seen many attempts made out of doors at least to implicate those who gave evidence at Maidstone in the guilt of Mr. O'Connor. With respect to the evidence which he had given on Mr. O'Connor's trial, he did not in the least retract; and he called upon a learned gentleman who had been present at the trial to point out any inconsistency in his conduct. After a few remarks on the same subject, he concluded by urging the danger of continuing the agitation of the question at the present moment.

Mr. Perceval thought that those gentlemen who were favorable to the adjustment of 1782 ought by parity of reasoning to support the present measure, as it was admitted in 1782 that something of the same kind as the proposition now before the House was necessary. He exposed the inconsistency of the opponents of the project, who in one breath said that the authors of it were forcing it on the people of Ireland by intimidation, so that it could not be rejected, and in the next, assured us that the people of Ireland most certainly would reject it. One great advantage in the present discussion would be the removal of those objections which on the other side of the water had been thrown out against the competence of Parliament to the task. In the Parliament of England, a body to the full as jealous of the Rights of the People as the Parliament of Ireland could be, no Member had distinctly asserted any incompetence to the discussion.

Mr. Sylvester Douglas said that the four leading characters at the Irish Bar, Lord Clare the

Chancellor, Lord Yelverton the Chief Baron, Lord Carlton Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Lord Kilwarden Chief Justice of the King's Bench, had all voted for this measure: and the three first named had delivered solemn and elaborate opinions in its support. He gave this statement in answer to a taunt which had been thrown out regarding the difference of respectability in the opposite ranks by which the proposition had been attacked or defended.

Dr. Laurence reviewed the nature of our present connexion with Ireland, and contended from it that it was unnecessary to extinguish the separate Legislature as it now existed. He combated the charge of faction which had been advanced against the Irish Parliament, and defended the line of conduct which that body had pursued on the Regency question. He next proceeded to a consideration of the adjustment of 1782, and then denied that the late rebellion could be assumed as a sufficient reason for a Union. After this he commented upon the rapid progres in trade manufactures, and agriculture, which had been made by the Irish, during the last twenty years: and went at much length into the Catholic question, discussing in the course of his argument Lord Fitzwilliam's dismissal. He represented the impolicy of keeping this measure of Union suspended over the heads of a people who had shewn so much repugnance to it; and pointed out as one of the greatest evils which sprang from the agitation of this question, the inquiry which it necessarily raised in men's minds about the competence of Parliament, and the abstract Rights of the People. Dr. Laurence maintained the legal competence of the Legislature, as the supreme collective power of the State, to do whatever it may conscientiously think most conducive to the general good of the whole: and supported this principle upon the Revolution as he himself understood it, and as King William had expressed it in the memorial which he had designed to present at Ryswick. This masterly document, said Dr. Laurence, should be engraven in its minutest word upon the hearts of Englishmen during these days of wild doctrines. He then objected to the conduct of the present measure, and expressed a wish, if perforce it must be proceeded in, that Commissioners should be nominated by either Kingdom to consult on terms. In conclusion he reviewed Mr. Secretary Dundas's speech on a former night, and denied that such a resemblance existed between the circumstances of Scotland in 1708 and of Ireland now, as would justify a comparison of the two Unions, or allow arguments drawn from the one to be applied to the other.

The House then divided "that the Speaker do now leave the Chair." Ayes 131. Noes 19. Progress was reported and it was understood that at the next sitting the House should go at once into the Committee.

Accordingly on the following day, (Feb. 12.) after a few words from Mr. Sheridan, in which he expressed his intention of no longer attending the discussion, and gave notice that on a future

occasion he should submit a motion for removing the civil disqualifications in Ireland arising from religious distinctions, the House went into a Committee on Mr. Pitt's Resolutions.

In the Committee Mr. Bankes referred all the disorders of Ireland to religious feuds, for which he by no means considered a Union to be an adequate remedy. He recommended that Parliament should retrace its own steps, and found its policy upon these religious distinctions, instead of totally abandoning them by greater concession to the Roman Catholics.

Mr. Speaker Addington thought the Parliament of Ireland wholly inadequate in itself to restore tranquillity to its country, for it wanted public confidence, and was ill connected with the interests, the feelings and the sentiments, of the great body of the people. He entered upon a very comprehensive view of the grievances of Ireland, and the causes of them, from the times of James I. to our own; and observed that three plans had been proposed for the redress of them: Catholic Emancipation, the re-enactment of the Popery laws, and Legislative Incorporation. He pointed out the difficulties and dangers which attended the two first. Emancipation might perhaps ultimately be granted with safety, if preceded by a Union, without it (in the words of Mr. Foster) it would give influence to numbers, and take it from property, and overwhelm the Rights and the ascendency of Protestantism. The re-enactment of the Popery laws, for which Mr. Bankes seemed to wish, would cast an unjust stigma upon the Roman Catholics, among whom disaffection was by no means universal; and as it would increase instead of allaying irritation, it could convey no additional security to the Country. Now a union would not only avert much probable evil, but produce much positive good: first, in removing the apprehension of any discordant determination of two independent Legislatures. Again in the improvement which the internal state of Ireland must receive by assimilation of manners to our own and increase of wealth and industry. Upon the supposed surrender of Rights by the Parliament of Ireland which this measure had been said to demand, Mr. Speaker thought it unnecessary to dwell, for mutual incorporation implied no undue concession on either side; neither would he refer to the Scottish Union which had been already so ably represented to the notice of the House, farther than by observing, that there were facilities between this country and Ireland which had not existed between us and Scotland: namely, the same code of civil and criminal law, the same forms for the administration of Justice, and for the purposes of legislation, the same succession to the Crown, and the same established religion.

The two leading objections which had been urged against this measure, continued Mr. Speaker, were the supposed incompetency of Parliament to carry it through, and the final nature of the adjustment of 1782. In answer to the first he thought that the new doctrines of the present day were against him, but that the sound principles, the theory, and the

practice of the British Constitution, were decidedly for him. On this point he referred to Sir Edward Coke, to Sir Matthew Hale, and to Sir W. Blackstone. Parliament possessed the undoubted power and right, when called upon by the public weal, to new model the Constitution, to alter the succession, and to change the established Religion. In answer to the second objection, he observed that it was a dispute of words; for, if it was to be received in its literal sense, the phrase, "final adjustment," would bar the possibility at any time of adopting any ulterior arrangement, however called for by the interests and the wishes of both countries.

Among other objections, the alteration of the Constitution of that House which would be produced by a Union, could not be regarded without anxiety as to its possible effects, by any one as fully convinced as he was, that the Commons, as they now sate, were the true and faithful Representatives of the people. But no conjectural and contingent evil should be weighed against a positive and immediate good. Of danger to our commercial interests he saw no apprehension, for it was not true that Great Britain must necessarily lose what Ireland would gain. If it were asked why this measure had not been produced before, he would answer that its necessity had never been so clearly seen, and that precautionary wisdom, he was sorry to add, had small influence in the Councils of Nations. In the present times the view which he entertained on the subject extended far beyond the advantage to be conferred on Ireland only. He was intimately persuaded that whatever contributed to consolidate and increase the power and the independence of these Kingdoms, contributed materially also to secure the best and most valuable interests of mankind.

A short conversation took place on the sixth and seventh Resolutions, but the whole were agreed to, and ordered to be reported.

Feb. 14. Little fresh matter could now be left to the debaters on either side; yet the Report of the Committee was not brought up without a renewal of the discussion. Mr. Hobhouse objected both to the measure and the manner in which it was proposed.

He argued upon its injustice to Ireland, and then as an Englishman contended that it would destroy the fair balance of the Constitution; for the introduction of 100 members into the House of Commons, with strong motives to arrange themselves on the side of Government, would make a Minister altogether invincible. The proposition assuredly militated against the independence of Ireland, for however freely the two countries might meet, Ireland could not part freely if she consented to the bargain. He then touched upon the disputed competency of Parliament in this matter, and cited the opinion of Mr. Lee, who had said that the only Constitutional method of proceeding would be, to dissolve the old Parliament and summon a new one, giving notice at the same time, that it was to be assembled for the especial discussion of this measure. Even admit-

ting that Parliament had such power in itself alone, Mr. Hobhouse still asserted that the Sovereignty remained in the People, and that the People had a right to resist their Legislature if it attempted to destroy their liberties. This, indeed, was the basis of all free Governments; for if the People had no right to resist, the Legislature might destroy their liberties whenever it was in the humour to make such an experiment. It might be said that this doctrine led to Anarchy. He was certain the contrary doctrine led to Slavery, and in such a choice of evils he hoped the alternative would never be difficult.

Mr. Peel had been a Petitioner at the Bar of the House in 1785, against the commercial propositions, and was anxious to show that he was not on that account guilty of any inconsistency in supporting the present measure. Those propositions would have been prejudicial to the manufactures of Great Britain, the present plan from a change of circumstances will be advantageous to both countries. He called the attention of the House to the sixth Resolution which regarded the commercial intercourse of the two countries, and thought that some alteration should be made in it lest at a future period it might be unfavorable to England. He showed that in forming an Imperial Legislature, Ireland surrendered no Rights which Great Britain did not surrender also; that as every Member of the House considered himself a Representative not solely of the place for which he sate in Parliament, but of the Kingdom at large; so when the two countries were incorporated every Member would include Ireland in the Kingdom which he represented, and that country, instead of sending 300 members as she did at present, would in fact return 658. Mr. Peel concluded by observing, that the case of the two Kingdoms was similar to that of two commercial houses, one of which possessing the first respectability, great capital, and extensive connexions, wished to take into partnership another of little property, limited credit, and confined dealings. Though both might be benefited, it was not difficult to pronounce on which side the chief advantage lay.

Earl Temple vindicated Ministers from the charge of advancing this measure by corruption; and defended them for having brought it forward at this particular moment. He ridiculed the notion that Irish independence would be destroyed by a proposition which did not affect the succession to her Crown, her trade, her credit, nor her wealth, which did not withdraw English protection from her, abolish her Courts of Justice, nor compel her to pay our National Debt, or our taxes, which in fact did nothing in this way but change the place in which her Parliament was used to hold its sittings. He then entered on the adjustment of 1782, and the Regency question. He shewed that Ireland in her present distracted state was neither able to support, nor in fact possessed this much talked-of independence. He drew a vivid picture of the horrors of French fraternity to which the proposed Union had been insi-

diously and falsely compared, and in opposition to the charge of Jacobinism which Mr. Sheridan had thrown out against Mr. Pitt, the noble Lord replied that he would give his opinion of a Jacobin. He is one who vilifies the Constitution of his country, depreciates her resources, decries her credit, cramps her exertions, encourages her discontented, withholds the aid which every man of honour and of principle owes to her when in danger, and throws bitters into the vessels of her peace. These are the components of an English Jacobin, and while I have a nerve to feel or a voice to convey my feelings, concluded the noble speaker, I will never shrink from grappling with a monster so odious.

The Solicitor-general rose to answer Mr. Hobhouse's positions about the Sovereignty of the People. The broad principle upon which all Governments stood was this, that the People had delegated their power to the Government, and that as long as Government continued to exist, it was therefore the only organ which could act for the People. Upon this principle the practice of the Parliament of England had invariably been regulated. On this it had associated to itself Members from the Counties Palatine, from Wales, Durham, Newcastle, Berwick, and other places, and it had united itself with Scotland. The learned Gentleman then continued to argue the expediency of Union on the general grounds, and rested much upon the case of America, in which the Federal Union, not being found sufficient for purposes of general concern, a Congress from all the separate States was appointed for matters of common welfare. Even such a bond as this last, inadequate as experience had proved it to be, did not exist at present between Great Britain and Ireland.

The question was supported also by Lord G. L. Gower, Lord Morpeth, Colonel Mark Wood, and Lord Belgrave; and opposed by Mr. Jones, Mr. Bird, and Mr. Bankes. On a division the numbers were—Ayes 120, Noes 16. Mr. Douglas accordingly brought up the Resolutions, which were agreed to with some trifling amendments, and Earl Temple was ordered to communicate them to the Lords at a conference.

CHAPTER XIV.

Debates on the Union with Ireland in the House of Lords. Lord Grenville moves that the Resolutions, presented by the House of Commons be agreed to. Lord Fitzwilliam moves the previous Question. The Resolutions are carried. An Address founded on the Resolutions is moved and carried. The Address is communicated to the House of Commons. Debate in the Commons on the Reception of the Address from the Lords. It is agreed to, and presented to the Throne. Prorogation of Parliament.

After some necessary preliminary forms the Lords were summoned on the 19th of March, to take into consideration the Resolutions presented to them at a conference with the House of Commons on the 18th of February. Lord Grenville prefaced the Motion which he founded on the Resolutions, by observing, that two main points in the question were sufficiently established—the respect due to the exclusive rights of the Irish Legislature, and the importance of improving the connexion between the two Kingdoms. Without stopping therefore to answer any objections to the measure *in toto*, he argued that it was wise and politic, with as little delay as possible, to do away the mistaken prejudices entertained against it in Ireland. What had passed there in the Lower House must not by any means be regarded as conclusive; it was only a dead letter upon the Journals, such as if attended to in the progress of the Scottish Union, would have effectually prevented that salutary measure from taking effect.

In looking to the relative state of the two countries at present Lord Grenville could see but one common bond between them, the identity of the Royal power in both; a bond necessarily imperfect in any Government but an absolute Monarchy. He illustrated this position by a reference to the United Provinces, who felt the defect in every war in which they were engaged; to America, who, within two years of her separation from the mother-country, was obliged to connect her Executive and Legislative branches by bonds which even yet were far from sufficiently intimate; and lastly, to the Swiss Cantons, which from their disjunction were manifestly unable to resist the aggressions of France. In like manner the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, as it at present existed, was absolutely null. If we looked to the Royal power in that Kingdom, in Ecclesiastical matters, we should find it said that there was no hope for the country without Catholic Emancipation. What he might ask would be the power of a Protestant King controuled by a Catholic Parliament? In judicial affairs, every body must see the danger of separate establishments hourly liable to give different interpretations to the same laws. In all that related to the expenditure and administration of public money, the arrangement of 1782 had destroyed the unity of Royal power. In military concerns, the Mutiny Bill, by which alone our armies were supported, was every year at the mercy of the Irish Parliament, which might refuse also, at any time it pleased, a proposed augmentation of the forces. In external policy, the Irish Cabinet might advise his Majesty to war at a time when the British Ministers recommended Peace, or *vice versâ*. In internal management it would be a waste of labour to talk of connexion, the existence of which no one was found to assert. The nullity in all these points was evident, and the only remedy for it was an incorporated Legislative Union.

Lord Grenville next entered upon a detailed history of the religious dissensions which were

justly considered as one of the most deeply rooted causes of the present unhappy state of Ireland. He traced them from the Reformation, through the rebellions and civil wars under Elizabeth, the measures of James I. and of Lord Strafford's administration in the following reign; the colonial establishment of sectaries in the time of Cromwell, the subsequent rebellion, and the dangerous power of the Catholics under James II. The policy of the present reign had been one of unbounded conciliation, and he was sorry to add, it had met with little return of gratitude. In 1780 a free trade was granted—in 1782 a settlement exactly according with the desires which the Irish themselves stated—and yet a few years after Catholic Emancipation and Parliamentary Reform became the popular cry—terms which the mouths that used them could not explain, and which were in truth only watch-words for French principles.

Lord Grenville then touched upon the competency of Parliament to agitate the question. He denied the possibility of the existence of any Government if such a principle as that of the Sovereignty of the People was once admitted. It implied, indeed, in its very statement an inconsistency and contradiction, for it was not to be found even in the purest Democracy. Even in such a Government a channel always existed through which the Sovereignty of the whole was exercised. He concluded by exposing the fallacy of asserting that the independence of Ireland would be affected by a Union, and expressed his firm conviction, that, if Ireland was loosened from Great Britain, instead of becoming independent she would fall under the dominion of France.

The noble Secretary then moved that the Resolutions should be read; after which he said, he should propose that the House do agree to them, and that they be laid before his Majesty, in the form of a joint Address from both Houses, with an humble request that his Majesty would lay them before the Parliament of Ireland at what time to his Majesty should seem most proper.

Earl Fitzwilliam urged the impropriety of any discussion on the subject at present, since the Parliament of Ireland had expressly negatived the measure. It was by no means a matter of course, that the grievances of that country, whatever they might be, would be removed by a Union; for, if they were attributable to the Legislature, there was no reason why the same influence which prevailed in the Legislature now, should not prevail with equal strength by and bye. The inconveniences which had been stated as so many objections to the existence of the two separate Parliaments possessing independent powers, were not of modern date: they had existed from the most ancient times, and the House had the experience of ages to show that the dangers apprehended did not result from them. The noble Lord then entered into explanations personally relative to himself. He admitted, that during his Lord-Lieutenancy he had never received instructions to bring forward the question of Catholic

Emancipation on the part of Government, and that he assumed the administration under orders, clearly understood by him, that he was not to give rise to this question; at the same time he had entered a Protest against resisting the measure, and had distinctly declared to the Ministers, by whom he was appointed, that if the subject should be brought forward from any other quarter it should receive his fullest support. His Lordship having made this statement to the House, "upon his honour," sate down after moving the previous question.

Lord Grenville made a short reply to Earl Fitzwilliam, and said, that the noble Lord had asserted that he had entered his Protest against resisting the question, if it should be brought forward from any other quarter. Where that paper was he knew not; however, he could assure his Lordship, he had no knowledge of any such Protest and declaration.

Earl Fitzwilliam was sorry it was not in the recollection of the noble Lord that he entered his Protest.

Lord Grenville said, he had no recollection or knowledge of any such declaration.

The Marquess of Lansdowne expressed his opinion that there were two questions which ought to precede that of the Union now proposed; the first, whether Ireland could go on as it was now governed; the second, whether if a Union took place it should be Parliamentary or Incorporate. To show that the Government, as now constituted, was insufficient for the preservation of the country, the noble Marquess alluded to many public acts in the last few years. Among them were the contumelious rejection of the Roman Catholic Petitions in 1791 and 1792. The consequent heats which arose in 1793, the relief of their grievances by the English Parliament, and the want of gratitude on the part of the Catholics in return. The tranquil, but unfortunately too brief administration of Lord Fitzwilliam. The severe and coercive measures adopted by his successors, and the rapidity with which the people had passed from a state of quiet submission to open rebellion and treasonable connexion with France. He characterized the attainder of Lord Edward Fitzgerald after his death and without a trial as an act which could be called nothing less than tyrannical, and argued that a Government which could authorize it could not possibly continue for any length of time. All parties were attacked by a common enemy, and Union which was always desirable at present was indispensable.

His Lordship then went through the various points in which Union was necessary. In naval and military affairs, in legal concerns, in taxation and finances. As to the Union of Parliaments, he confessed that his mind was not as yet completely satisfied. In commercial and religious points he was thoroughly convinced that it would be advantageous. The noble Lord dismissed most of the other topics which had been brought to bear upon the discussion as irrelevant to it; and expressed his readiness to adopt all the Resolutions excepting that which proposed the addition of

100 Members to the House of Commons. Even on this also he was willing to concede his own opinion if the point was made out to the satisfaction of others.

Earl Camden defended himself, as the successor of Lord Fitzwilliam, from the charges which had been brought against his administration by the last speaker, and undertook to prove that the disaffection and disorders in Ireland were to be dated from a period long antecedent to his arrival in that country, and that no severity had been practised by Government till elicited by outrage. As far back as 1793, the Report of a Secret Committee showed the existence of a turbulent spirit, and that there was a party whose object was Revolution. Even during Lord Fitzwilliam's residence, disturbances to some extent were quelled by military force in the County of Cavan. In the beginning of 1796 the system of the United Irishmen began to show itself in nocturnal attacks and assassinations; and not till then was the Insurrection Bill, (which had been alluded to with so much severity) brought into action; and long before the passing of that Act the correspondence between the French Directory and the disaffected existed notoriously.

The noble Lord continued his detail of the separate acts of rebellion, and the separate measures of concern by which they were necessarily met, in order to his own exculpation. He then entered upon the advantages which might be expected to result from a Union, and combated the objections which had been raised against it, more particularly that which rested upon the disinclination of the Irish Parliament to entertain the discussion; since, inasmuch as the feelings of the Irish nation had been irritated by false colourings and unfounded representations, insomuch it became us to undeceive them by entering calmly and temperately upon the question.

The Earl of Darnley said, that on the abstract question of Union no difference of opinion could exist; but though he did not intend to oppose the measure, he much doubted as to its practicability. In England a degree of apathy which was astonishing, and a still greater degree of ignorance existed in regard to Ireland; and in many respects no two nations on the face of the globe were more different than the inhabitants of the two countries. The Irish numerically, perhaps, were not opposed to the measure, for, unfortunately the majority in that country was incapable of forming an adequate opinion on any subject; but he spoke of others when he said that the sense of the Irish nation was against it. Every description of the middle ranks opposed it—the country gentlemen, the yeomen, the merchants, and manufacturers in general, and the learned bodies collectively and individually. National Prejudice was against it, and of all things National Prejudice was the most difficult to conquer. The Scottish Union was not a fair parallel to the present measure, for the opposition to that question was entirely factious; and the proposition when first brought into the Scotch Parliament was carried by

a majority of 64. Lord Darnley then protested against the Jacobinical system which doubted the competence of Parliament: and stated that the raising of this doubt was one of the greatest objections which he felt to the present agitation of the Union. Under this impression, that the discussion is more likely to produce mischief than good, he should take no part in it himself, but leave the decision to the wisdom of their Lordships.

Lord Hobart defended the conduct of the Irish Parliament, and yet thought that framed as it was it never could suit the people of Ireland; inasmuch as a Protestant Parliament could never satisfy a Catholic country, and a Catholic Parliament was inconsistent with the British Constitution. He was decidedly of opinion that Catholics never could be admitted to a seat in Parliament as long as it should be thought necessary to maintain the present distribution of property, the Protestant establishment, and the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland. His Lordship then in detail corrected some statements in Lord Lansdowne's speech in regard to the treatment of the Catholics by the Irish Parliament. He contended that experiments enough had been tried, and that a Union was the only expedient now left.

The Earl of Moira strenuously opposed the measure after the marked reprobation with which it had been met by the Irish House of Commons. He perfectly agreed with those noble Peers who believed that the system of Government hitherto pursued in Ireland could not continue much longer: but he considered this consequence not as resulting from its Constitution, but from the severities which had been exercised in defiance of that very Constitution. It was not true that our only present bond to Ireland consisted in the identity of the Crown. We had mixture of blood, a common naval and military force, and reciprocal undiscriminated rights of Citizenship. To talk of inconveniences which *might* occur from the separation of the Legislatures was idle; for it was to argue that the possession of power implied the probability of the abuse of that power, when, in fact, that power was protected from abuse by the most permanent interests which could influence nations. At present, whether justly or not, the Irish think the demand on their country to be no less than the surrender of the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, her independent Parliament, her blood, her labour, her wealth, and her resources. Smarting from the lash of recent severities they regard the proposal for Union as a project for perpetuating the oppressions under which they groan. We began at the wrong end. The measure should be preceded by a system of conciliation, which should practically manifest the benefits of English intervention. The noble Earl then bitterly inveighed against the policy of Lord Camden's administration; he drew a highly coloured picture of the severities which had been practised under it, the tortures, outrages, picketings, rapes, and burnings which had been perpe-

trated with the view of crushing disaffection. He did not doubt Lord Camden's assertion that conspiracy existed to a most alarming extent; according to the confession of rebel chiefs themselves, the number enrolled to serve in the ranks of United Irishmen amounted to 500,000 men; but the very existence of such a plot, embracing so large a proportion of the population of the country, was the strongest censure which could be past on any Government. Nothing but conciliation could now preserve Ireland.

Lord Moira next defended the phrase which had been so much discussed, and so much misconstrued, the Sovereignty of the People. He appealed to the definition which Aulus Gellius had furnished in the words of Ateius Capito :—*In Populo, omnes gentes, omnesque ordines civitatis, continentur: Plebs vero ea dicitur, in qua ordines patriciæ non insunt.* The same distinction was as strongly marked in the English language by the words People and Populace. When the Sovereignty of the People is asserted, it stands simply in denial of the bestial doctrine of Divine Right; and maintains that the welfare of the People, not the interest of a single individual is the object of Government. It is nothing more than the declaration of that Parliamentary control under which the regal functions must always be exercised in this country. The phrase, in fine, specially alluded to the structure of the British Constitution. The Sovereignty of the People was recognized by Parliament universally, unequivocally, and unsophistically at every general election, and on every new return of a Member to its body; and the point, however extraneous to the present debate, was too important to be left unanswered, after the manner in which it had been attacked. To return to the main question. In a Union two parties must consent. Ireland hitherto evinced the strongest repugnance, and even if the Parliament of that country could be persuaded to vote it against the sense of the nation at large, it would be a dangerous and delusive step, for it would only add another class of discontented persons to the mass already hostile to Government.

Earl Camden expressed himself hurt at the harsh terms which had been applied to the acts of his government in Ireland, and declared that if tortures and cruelties had been exercised it was without the knowledge, or, when known, with the strongest reprobation of the Executive.

Lord Holland said, that the Union appeared, to him at least, but of a very doubtful policy; and that he was convinced the proposition ought to have originated from the Irish themselves. The noble Secretary of State had shewn the necessity of applying some remedy to the condition of Ireland, but he had by no means shewn that a Union was the remedy needed. The case of Scotland stood on widely different grounds. That country had a Parliament which could vote the crown to another Sovereign than that of England. The measure, when carried, by no means promoted tranquillity, and it was more than forty years before the

commercial interests of Scotland recovered from the shock they had received. Within five years after its settlement its movers proposed a repeal, on the grounds that experience had shewn the fallacy of the beneficial effects which had been anticipated, and that the people of England and Scotland had been made greater enemies than before. Lord Holland, at the close of his speech, commented strongly upon the apathy with which the addition of 100 members to the House of Commons had been received; though the proposition was incompatible with the opinion of all those who opposed Parliamentary Reform.

Lord Mulgrave conceived that the Resolutions, after having undergone a dispassionate discussion here, might, by affording clearer light to the Irish House of Commons, induce it to revise its opinion; and said that the reason for bringing forward the measure at the present moment, was obviously because Ireland had never before shewn such utter incapacity to defend herself.

The Earl of Carlisle said that during the time that the administration of Ireland had been intrusted to his care, the adjustment which took place in 1782 had been framed; but he was quite at a loss to know what was meant by calling it a final adjustment; for he did not see how two countries could make any adjustment which precluded them, under other circumstances, from entering into farther arrangements. It never could have been in the contemplation of any Ministry to fetter posterity, and legislate for future generations.

The Earl of Westmoreland termed the decision of the Irish House of Commons rash and hasty; he defended the conduct of Government in general in resisting the Catholic claims, and expressed his opinion that a Union would materially benefit the general interests of the Empire.

The Duke of Portland said, that having the honour to hold the government of Ireland in 1782, he certainly considered the remedies at that time adopted to be adequate to the existing grievances: but he, neither at that time nor at any other, imagined that the adjustment then made was to preclude any farther arrangement; much less that it was to be relied upon as an unanswerable argument against a Union, which he conceived to be the measure best adapted for the advantage of both Countries.

The previous question being then put "Whether the said question be now put," it was resolved in the affirmative: after which the Resolutions were read and agreed to.

In pursuance of the plan opened by Lord Grenville in this last debate, an Address founded on the Resolutions was subsequently moved by him. April 11.

Upon this occasion Lord Auckland entered most elaborately into commercial and financial details respecting the two countries. He first examined and answered the various objections which had been urged against the measure, then shewed that his own opinions for

a long series of years, as far back as 1779, had been uniformly favourable to some such proposition: and referred to documents which proved that the chief British merchants and manufacturers had coincided with him in these views. The noble Lord stated a variety of interesting facts, deduced from papers which had been laid before the House on his Motion, and which, in fact, gave the true valuation of the commerce of the whole Empire, upon incontestable authorities. By these it appeared that, in 1798, our imports amounted to nearly 47 millions, our exports to more than 48; being, together, more than 22 millions higher than the average of the four last years of peace. The annual average import into Great Britain from Ireland, during those four years, was about 4,900,000*l.*; for the three years ending January 5, 1799, it was above 5,500,000*l.* Upon our entire trade with Ireland the balance in her favour is more than two millions, and upon the interchange of respective national products and manufactures above 3,400,000*l.*

Two fifths of the average exports from Great Britain to Ireland, consisted for the last three years of East Indian, colonial, and foreign articles, to the amount of 1,468,000*l.* with an entire drawback of duties, and producing to the revenue about 345,000*l.* The remaining three-fifths are British articles. Woollens, in value 686,000*l.* about one-twelfth of the whole exported. Many things essential to their manufactures, oak-bark, bar-iron, hops, lead and salt—a few separately taken of small amount, cottons, wrought-iron, leather, glass, earthenware, &c.—more than 300,000 chaldrons of coals, subject to a duty of 1*s.* 2*d.* only, when our own coasting trade pays 5*s.* 9*d.* and the duties in London amount to 9*s.* 3*d.* Out of the 600,000*l.* which are raised in this kingdom on coals, Ireland only pays 17,900*l.*, and an Irish duty is levied in Dublin, of 1*s.* 9d. a ton, excepting on those used in sugar and glass manufactories. On the whole, the average revenue raised in Ireland on British products is 194,000*l.* The revenue raised in Great Britain on Irish products is 10,850*l.* These apparent advantages, however, under existing circumstances are but of little avail. The entire abolition of duties would have no effect whatever, for even now our woollens are subject in Ireland to about $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem*, yet the Irish market takes them to the amount of 686,000*l.* a year. Our cotton goods pay a duty in the Irish ports of 9*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.* per cent. *ad valorem*, yet the exportations to Ireland are 70,000*l.* a year. But the leather-trade is still more remarkable. We bring the chief raw materials from Ireland, charged with an export duty; and we prepare and send it back to the annual amount of 152,000*l.* subject to an import duty paid there of 10 per cent *ad valorem*. We are nevertheless able to enter into competition with Ireland even in her own market, though she possesses the raw material, and we supply her with tanners bark duty free.

Ireland supplies Great Britain with cattle and provisions to the

amount of two millions annually; a duty producing 30,000*l.* is charged there on this export. In times of peace, we prohibit the admission of provisions from other countries, and do not even permit the United States to send them to our Islands, and our Fisheries: great as this supply may at first seem, all the beef we take from Ireland is less than one-third of that which is annually sold in Smithfield, and the only other article of Irish produce which we import is oats, to the amount of 200,000*l.*

The noble Lord rated the linen exported from Ireland at 1*s.* 5*d.* a yard, which he believed to be below the true average price. In the accompts of the Irish Custom House the annual exports of Linen to all the world, are stated at forty millions of yards, seven-eighths of which, thirty-five millions, are taken by Great Britain and her colonies, amounting to more than 2,500,000*l.*, to which may be added linen yarn, the valuation of which is 243,000*l.* This too, free of duty, and under favour of a protecting duty of five per cent. imposed on the linen of all other countries. Lord Auckland by no means argued that this system was beneficial to England, but in order to shew that it was so to Ireland he submitted the following statement. The import of Irish linen into Great Britain in 1743, when the present system commenced, was 6,418,000 yards; in 1773, 17,876,000 yards; in 1783, 21,000,000; and in 1799, 37,000,000. The export with bounty in 1743, was 40,900 yards; in 1773, 2,832,000 yards; and in 1798, 6,400,000. The foreign linens in 1743 were three-fourths of our import; at present they are only one-fourth.

After this, it cannot be said that the independence of the Irish Legislature is necessary to the prosperity of Irish trade, for it must be remembered that it is the liberality of the British Parliament, which has given all these advantages to the sister country, and granted almost a monopoly to its Linen market, which constitutes in value, nearly one-half of its exports to the whole world. About eight-ninths indeed of her whole exports are received by Great Britain and its dependencies free of duty here, subject to a duty imposed as a charge on our consumption there. On the other hand, we send to Ireland about one-tenth of our whole export, two-fifths of which consists of foreign articles duty free. Ireland, taking one-ninth of our commerce, furnishes to our customs less than one hundred and fortieth part. She pays us 47,500, other countries 6,850,000; and even from that small sum of 47,500 we repay, in bounties, upon her linens an average of 35,000 annually. By an average of the last three years she has raised annually by import duties on her trade with Great Britain and her dependencies 622,000*l.*, of which 194,000*l.* was levied on English goods. From other parts she receives annually 209,000*l.*; and yet with a population equal to one-third of our own, and all these encouragements, she has not more than one-ninth of our commerce.

This commerce, small and dis-

proportionate as it is, is wholly dependent on British generosity; and now beyond certain limits we cannot be expected to enrich our Irish brethren, without some security that their wealth, strength and resources may partly be considered as our own. Let the Union take place, and all commercial and political jealousies will be annihilated, for there can be no competition between two parts of the same Kingdom, having incorporated interests directed by one Legislature. The domestic benefits and internal tranquillity which a Union might be expected to produce, next occupied Lord Auckland's attention, and he concluded a most lucid and argumentative speech by stating his opinion on the Catholic question, in which he clearly avowed that the indulgences, more or less limited, which were granted to the Catholics of England, should be our only measure in regard to those of the same persuasion in Ireland.

The Bishop of Llandaff observed, that he had been honoured with the confidence of the late Duke of Rutland, during the time in which that nobleman held the government of Ireland. The Irish propositions, as they were called, were then under discussion; these propositions the Bishop said had his approbation, though in deference to the sense of the people of Ireland, they were afterwards very properly abandoned. At that period, he remembered suggesting to the Duke of Rutland, that Mr. Pitt and himself might immortalize their characters by bringing about, on equitable terms, a legislative Union between the two Kingdoms. His Grace's answer was too singular to be forgotten. He commended the proposed measure most unequivocally, but, continued he, the man who should attempt it, would be tarred and feathered. The Bishop stated this circumstance in order that their Lordships might be aware that the opinions which he was about to express on the subject of Union were by no means recently adopted. In a few words he should say that a Union will enrich Ireland and will not impoverish Great Britain; and that it will render the Empire, as to defence, the strongest Empire in Europe.

Assuming that the strength of a State principally depends on its population, the Bishop took the lands of Great Britain and Ireland, if cultivated to that extent which they necessarily would be within half a century after a Union, as capable of supporting thirty millions of people at least; these thirty millions would afford five or six millions of men fit to bear arms, out of whom, without distressing Agriculture, Commerce, or Manufactures, one million might easily be called forth when occasion required. With such a force, with our insular situation, and with united hearts, we might securely defy all Europe, and suffer the Princes of the Continent to settle their own disputes without throwing our men or money into the scale, to preserve that equilibrium of despotic power, the existence of which as free subjects of a limited Monarchy, we must deprecate altogether.

The question of competency, whether in our own Parliament or in that of Ireland, must for ever remain undecided, until we have previously determined what is the quantum of power confided constitutionally by the constituents to their Representatives. On this previous point there is little hope of unanimity; and many men would wish to avoid the discussion wholly. With such persons the Bishop could not agree, for he considered Right and Obligation to be correlative terms, and that unless we understood what is Right, we could never understand our Obligation not to do wrong.

Whether the Roman Catholics being the numerical majority of the people of Ireland had a Right to an Ecclesiastical Establishment, and to the removal of all civil disabilities, was a point much perplexed as to both parts of it; and still more so from the consideration that the property by which such an Establishment must be supported, was principally in the hands of a small minority, who would receive no benefit in return. The Bishop recommended the speedy adjustment of this question, and exhorted both parties to measures of conciliation.

It ill befitted a retired and unconnected Churchman, he said, to enter into the Constitutional change which might, perhaps, be produced in both Houses of Parliament by the introduction of Irish Members; it was equally unbecoming such a one to discusss commercial advantages; the Bishop therefore, purposely declined these points, and passed to the three opinions which had been adopted in this country on the subject of Union as far as it respected Ireland. The first was, that such a Union would be the most effectual means of securing, enlarging, and continuing the prosperity of Ireland; and with this opinion the Right Reverend Prelate expressed his most sincere concurrence. A second was that British *connexion* was essential to Irish prosperity, but that British *Union* would be destructive of it; now the ordinary inference would be that if connexion was essential, the closer that connexion became the more efficient it would be; and that if a connexion, as it now existed, with a third part only of the Legislature, was useful, a connexion with the whole of the Legislature would be abundantly more useful. If connexion means less than community of friends and foes, a common strength, supported by a common purse, supplied according to the ability of each, an identity of counsels, and a reciprocation of benefits — such a connexion is destitute of that stability which is necessary to secure the permanence of Irish prosperity. If on the other hand it means all this, it differs in nothing but in name from Union. The third opinion was that British connexion and British Union were equally and irreconcileably hostile to the interests of Ireland. It was of late years only that any man had dared to avow such an opinion, and if it were too much to call it treasonable, he must at least say that it was preposterous, founded on no experience derived from the history of nations, on no acquaintance with human nature,

and utterly devoid of the first feature of political wisdom—foresight.

The Bishop here drew a most eloquent picture of the relative states of Ireland, as adhering to or separated from Great Britain: and maintaining the impossibility of her independence, he shewed, that ultimately she must belong either to Great Britain or to France. He then observed, that sincerely as he wished for the accomplishment of the present measure, he was no friend to its promotion by other than the most just and honourable means. It was a contract of the highest order, and in every contract the free consent of both the contracting parties formed its very essence. Ireland, as yet, had not taken a cool comprehensive view of the subject, and not seeming disposed to become a party to the contract, it cannot as yet be fairly entered into. The course now adopted, therefore, was precisely that which we were bound to adopt: we were giving time to our sister to consider the question in all its bearings. Every thing that was dear to us was now at stake from the wild ambition and annihilating doctrines of France, and no human means could be devised more suited to preserve these countries from the desolating fiend who crushes with undistinguished ruin all orders of men, and levels with the ground every Civil and Ecclesiastical Constitution, than a liberal, cordial, legislative Union between Great Britain and Ireland.

The Speech of Lord Auckland carried much conviction with it, from the documents by which it was accompanied, and the able deductions which were made from them. The Bishop of Llandaff also received many just compliments on the very clear and comprehensive view which he had taken on this question. But by far the most prominent part of this debate was occupied by Lord Minto, to whose masterly arguments it is utterly impossible to do justice in any abridgement.

Lord Minto commenced by assuming the necessity of a close connexion of some kind or other between Great Britain and Ireland, not only for the advantage, but for the preservation of the two countries. Any one who for a moment glanced at the map of Europe, would perceive that however disjoined other nations might be, the British Isles by nature formed one State; for in a state of political separation scarce a single transaction could be imagined in which they must not be rivals and enemies. Whatever disadvantages might arise from such a situation would be most sensibly felt by the smaller of the two, which could scarcely hope for an interval of tranquillity, security, or dignity. Every possible benefit which was a converse to these inconveniences would flow from connexion, and connexion must, therefore, be requisite for their mutual happiness.

The question then became, what was the most eligible form of connexion; and the general proposition which he should lay down would be this, that when two countries are so situated as to require connexion, the only mode which can perfectly remove the evils of separation, is a perfect identity and incorporation of their

governments. All other relations of a more partial nature are inconvenient and limited, tending gradually, but certainly to dissolution; and nations so connected necessarily arrive at some period or other to the alternative of perpetual separation or entire Union.

To elucidate this proposition, Lord Minto reviewed the different possible forms of imperfect connexion, beginning with Conquest, or that relation which is the consequence of Victory, and subsists after it. In this case the master nation was generally a tyrant, the subject nation a slave. The submission of the one does not purchase kindness or protection, and the authority of the other yields little profit. In the federal connexion which he next considered, this fundamental vice seemed inherent, that each State, professing only to provide for the common interests, establishes, in fact, a spirit of distinctness on most great points. Distinctness in national interests is but another term for opposition, and the members of a federal union in all things in which they are distinct, are generally rivals. They are always more afraid of giving some paltry advantage to a friend or an associate, than solicitous to contribute to the common security. The Noble Lord gave examples of his position in the recent downfal of the United Provinces, and of the Swiss Cantons, which he could only trace to the radical defect which he had described. He alluded also in terms of fearful anticipation to the distracted state of the grandest confederacy which the world ever knew—the Germanic Empire.

Lord Minto then passed to those connexions which arose from some identity in the municipal Constitution of the two countries, where each had some one part of its government the same, and all the rest distinct—such as our own connexion with Ireland, with one Executive and separate Legislatures. He argued this also on the general principle, for the present putting aside experience. The first defect here was precisely that which he had pointed out in federal relations, the great mass of interests was unconsolidated, and the public mind of the two nations remained distinct. In these circumstances, the vicinity of the two countries produced jealousy instead of friendship, and ripened every trivial discontent into grounds of total alienation. Another grand evil in such a connexion arose from the inequality of relative power. It followed of necessity that in the union of unequal countries, the superior must predominate, and hence arose a constant sense of irksome dependence in the inferior. Not only the spirit of faction, but even the virtuous feelings became irritated against an imagined oppression, and perpetual discontent goaded the lesser country on from an ardent love of independence to an ultimate separation. Connexion of this kind being the cause of ascendancy on the one hand, and of insubordination on the other, these grievances can only be removed by removing the cause—that is by Union or by separation.

If this reasoning was true, an uniform progress of events would generally be discovered in the history of countries so connected. The connexion will probably begin by conquest, then be refined

into nominal independence, advance into an independence so real as to threaten separation, and terminate in Union. So that a partial connexion between unequal countries must be considered as a stage and resting place, not as a permanent condition.

It was on this road that Great Britain and Ireland were now travelling. The two countries approached each other by a gravitation which seemed an invincible law of Political nature; however their cohesion might be retarded awhile, no power could prevent it in the end, and when once they were in contact nothing could tear them asunder.

But he would turn from speculation to history, though the speculations which he had hazarded were, in fact, no less than history. He referred their Lordships first to the Saxon Heptarchy—the Union of which seven independent Kingdoms was the birth-day of the Empire of England. If this Union had not taken place an extirpation of the Saxon name and power must have resulted from the Danish invasion, as perfect as the Saxons themselves had inflicted on the divided, and therefore defenceless Britons. Next he came to Wales, which, while held as a fief of the Crown, as it was by Henry III. or only partially governed by the same laws with England, as was the case from the times of Edward I. to those of Henry VIII. was harassed by civil disorder and border warfare. The incorporating legislative Union effected by the last-named Monarch, extinguished in a day the discord of ages, and the two centuries which had passed since had witnessed a progressive increase of power, happiness, splendour, and dignity. In regard to Scotland, though it was never conquered, both countries, in the long struggle of three centuries, suffered to their vitals. On the Union of the Crowns the two Kingdoms had one Prince and separate Parliaments; and Scotland continuing to assert independence and equality, experienced real subordination. Next followed many and varied discontents, till the danger of impending separation awakened both countries, and compelled them to take refuge in that inseparable embrace which he trusted would ever unite them.

The connection between England and Ireland began by conquest—it gradually assumed the more mitigated character of dependence in which the Irish having a Parliament of their own were subject to our Legislature—till at last it assumed its present form of a common Prince and separate Parliaments, an acknowledged sovereign independent Government on their part, and, with their acquiescence, an open ascendancy on ours. Till the present moment we have had no touchstone of the stability of such a connection; but the hour of danger has now proved to us that a system of this kind is not only inadequate for mutual support, but on the other hand is most active in augmenting the common peril. The legitimate exercise of his Majesty's prerogative in recommending measures for mutual safety is treated as the interference of a foreign power, and open Rebellion in close alliance with our natural and inveterate enemy professedly aims at the dissolu-

tion of all connection between the two countries. We have thus reached the point at which the evils of imperfect connection are at their height, and beyond which lies nothing else but the alternative so often stated of Union or separation.

The positive advantages Great Britain would derive from Union, are an accession of efficient force in military and naval power—the negative advantages are freedom from those embarrassments which, in times of difficulty, have made Ireland a dead weight round our exertions. The dangers of separation would arise from her immediate alliance with France—and the necessary Establishment of an Irish Democratic Republic. Of the distress and hazard resulting from such a state of affairs, his Lordship made an animated detail and necessarily deduced that Union, as far as Great Britain was concerned, was eminently desirable. Still the benefit must be mutual in order to be enjoyed by either, and it was therefore an English question also whether it would be beneficial to Ireland.

Now a total separation from England, and an alliance with France, would place Ireland in open hostility with us, a hostility partaking of civil war; for it could not be supposed that all the Irish at once would surrender British interests and predilections. A French army must protect her and be supported by her, and experience sufficiently teaches the price of such a protection. How this support is to be afforded, when she ceases to participate in our Commerce, and in the indulgences which we afford her trade is another question of no easy solution. Add to this the expulsion, confiscation, and massacre of those who still retain their ancient connection with England—the indiscriminate pillage and murder which follows in the train of such Revolutions—these are dangers which may *induce* England, but should *command* Ireland to take refuge in the proposed remedy.

There are circumstances in the internal and political state of that country which seem powerfully to recommend this measure. There are in truth two nations in it, one sovereign, and one subject, irreconcileable, bitter, malignant, and implacable in their hatred of each other, and the most numerous class cherishing fondly and tenaciously claims on the greater power and property which belongs to the numerical minority. Abstractedly there is no difficulty in adjusting these claims; practically there is the greatest. In the blind pursuit of abstract right, we shall often find ourselves innocently, but too effectually, instruments of great wrong: thus, in investing the Catholics with the civil franchises which they demand, we must not forget that the property of the Protestants is their eventual object, and that if we gave them the weight and influence belonging to Government and Legislation, we might endanger the possessions and even the personal security of the Protestants. These difficulties may be better determined by a United Parliament, in which no local partialities, interests, and passions can divert the straight and equal currents of Legislation, than in the Irish Parliament, where these

stumbling blocks must for ever bind and impede its course. In the United Parliament, Catholic disabilities may be removed without danger to Protestant ascendency. Justice may be given to both parties without injury to either, and the subjection of one Religion need not be made an article in the charter of the liberties of the other. His Lordship here observed, that his own wish would prompt him to see the Catholic claims provided for by an explicit Article in the treaty of Union itself, but that rather than expose the general measure itself to any hazard, he would restrain his wishes if any political peculiarities of the present time rendered them inadmissible.

The notion that a Union would be derogatory to the national honour and independence of Ireland, was an appeal from a just and generous feeling to one which was blind and inconsiderate. His Lordship here entered somewhat into the metaphysical nature of our local affections, and showed from experience that they were used to expand with circumstances; they did so in the seven Nations of the Heptarchy, in Wales, and in Scotland. In regard to the proposed repeal of the Scotch Union in 1713, to which Lord Holland had alluded, it was an expression of chagrin on the part of the sixteen Peers, who had been disgusted by the disallowal of the Duke of Hamilton's patent of Duke of Brandon, and felt that the malt tax was oppressive to their country. The repeal was proposed with no serious intention, it was solely to distress the Minister of the day—supported by the English Peers who had been the promoters of the Union, but were then in Opposition, and notwithstanding frequent grievances never afterwards renewed by the Scotch. His Lordship then accurately distinguished between genuine and spurious Patriotism, and named utility as the touchstone of public love. To this he referred, considering that if a separate existence was fatal or even contrary to the real interests of the people of Ireland, and if an incorporation with the British Empire was productive of security, aggrandizement, and happiness to them, such an incorporation on this single ground ought to be the first wish of every Irish heart.

The alternative at present in all moral probability was Union with Great Britain, or slavery to France; so that if Ireland rejected Union, instead of preserving independence, she would drop into that common sepulchre of nations which had already buried the names and memories of so many States. But what in fact was the present state of Ireland in point of independence? and here he would not estimate those circumstances of inferiority from which she had a right to claim our military protection and pecuniary aid in times of danger, for as a sister she was entitled to them; nor would he refer to the commercial advantages to which he conceived she had an equally fair claim. He passed at once therefore to those real indications of subordination which were derived from the very nature of human affairs:

such were her transactions and intercourse with foreign States, the declaration and conduct of war, the negociation and conditions of Peace. Between two nations connected so imperfectly as England and Ireland were, uniformity of opinion could only be secured by one tacitly permitting the other to take the lead when agreement was necessary. Thus the King of Great Britain, in virtue of that crown, is King of Ireland also. The Vicerory of Ireland is appointed by a British Minister, and is responsible to the British Parliament. The Legislative functions of the Sovereign of Ireland can be performed only under the Great Seal of Britain—Ireland can acquire no territory for herself by conquest, nor can she plant a Colony; all these rights of independent Sovereignty even now are wanting to her. So true is it, that subordination must be the constant companion of an Imperial connection with a more powerful State, and that Pride can only fly to one of two remedies—total and absolute separation, or perfect, incorporating and equalizing Union.

The question is not between distinct existence and total extinction—if Ireland foregoes her separate individuality, it is to become identified with a larger whole, and instead of admission by courtesy to indirect and circuitous advantages, she will have a clear title to, and a positive ownership in the glory and prosperity of Great Britain. Instead of remaining dependent upon and subordinate to Great Britain, she will become her perfect equal, and Ireland still being Ireland, a larger field will be opened for the Patriotism of every Irishman.

Lord Minto next examined the supposed disability of the respective Parliaments to sanction this measure, considering himself entitled if he debated the question at all, to assume for the purpose of his argument, that Union was expedient. The general rule of the Constitution, he observed, set no limit to the powers of Parliament; whatever the whole Nation could do if there was no Parliament is within the regular and fundamental powers of Parliament. Parliament is incapable of doing wrong, and there is no appeal from it, because no appellate tribunal can be imagined which is greater than itself. You cannot appeal back to the People at large, for the People not being able conveniently to make law or administer government for themselves, have framed Parliament as the most commodious and perfect organ for these purposes, and the most secure depository of the sovereign authority: this authority therefore can little be superseded by that very People at large, from whose inability and unaptness it takes its origin. This claim of unlimited power can be met only by a counter-claim of a right to resist an abuse of any power however legal—a question of no trivial concern and which ought not to be irreverently approached—a right of which one of the wisest men in Scotland said, (Mr. William Colvin quoted by Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun), "that he wished all Princes thought it lawful and

all subjects unlawful." In truth the Constitution has not foreseen any case of resistance, and therefore has not made provision for any—every such case must stand on its own individual responsibility, and must provide for itself without any antecedent principle to lean on. An established theory of resistance is but another term for anarchy; and that Government which once admitted such a permanent right in any case, however limited, would bear in its bosom the seed of its own dissolution.

But this, it may be said, is not a question of resistance, it is only whether Parliament is exceeding the measure of its authority; but the authority of Parliament is undefined, and there is nothing in this particular act distinguishable from other acts to which it is allowedly competent. Even a narrower authority, the prerogative of the Crown has the power of Union and incorporation. A country conquered or ceded by treaty becomes *de facto* United to Great Britain by the prerogative of the Crown solely, and therefore much more by the King in Parliament. But the present measure amounts, as it is again said, to an alteration in the frame and condition of Parliament: such an alteration only, however, as is perfectly consonant to the general spirit of the Constitution. If Ireland had been united with us from the beginning, she would have had Representatives in our Legislature. It would not be difficult to show from History, that before the institution of the Irish Parliament, that country sent Members to the Parliament of England. Thus Calais, while subject to the Crown of England, exercised the privilege of sending two Burgesses by Charter of Henry VIII. and Berwick upon Tweed, when, by the accession of James I. it became finally united to England, received the same franchise. The competence of the Crown to extend the territory of the country without giving a share in Representation, has never been doubted, yet this appears a more essential change in the Constitution than to accompany such an accession of territory with a legislative, as well as an incorporating Union. If, therefore, the smaller authority (the Crown) is competent to effect this greater change, *a fortiori* the larger authority (the Parliament) can effect one which is less.

But allowing the change to be as considerable as any objector chooses to make it—the alteration is a law, and therefore within the province of the lawgiver. The various laws for limiting the duration of Parliaments, for regulating elections, for altering the qualification of electors or elected, disfranchising offending boroughs, and communicating their franchises to strangers, all these have been passed by no higher authority than that of Parliament, without any objection being started to its competence.

Parliament can alter the established Religion.—It can change or regulate the succession to the Crown.—It is competent to all modifications of its own constitution and condition.—It is only in the Sovereignty of Parliament

that the Sovereignty of the People can be recognized in any visible, tangible, or perceptible form.

Lord Minto then, in a finely sustained ridicule, passed to the other and more popular modes of collecting the voices of the People, and having fully considered the general principle on which the competence of Parliament was supported, he cited the authorities by which it had been sanctioned, among whom Lord Somers was prominent. As immediately similar precedents, he brought forward the Welsh and Scottish Unions. As analagous and of superior importance, all Acts affecting the succession to the Crown which throughout our history have derived their validity from the sanction of Parliament alone. The Revolution was a case, if any, which must have called up the supposed dormant title of the people to administer the Sovereignty in their own persons; but so far from it the Convention to which King William first resorted, approximated as closely to a legal Parliament as any possible body under existing circumstances could do. A Parliament summoned by this Convention enacted the Revolution, which yet was hardly deemed perfect till ratified by subsequent and more regular Parliaments.

None of those Whig Statesmen who presided over every step of the Revolution, would have thought that great object secure, if the Act of limitation, by which it was succeeded, had been conveyed by any other organ than that Parliament which they employed. Lord Minto concluded by contrasting, in a most animated strain, the constitutional Whiggism and wholesome liberty of those times with the adulterated modern drug which now was poisoning the world; and expressed his full and deep-rooted conviction that any proposal to abdicate or surrender the sovereign power of Parliament into any other hands whatever, was a fraud upon the people, a violation of their privileges, and an invasion of their dearest right,—that of being governed by Parliament, and by no other human means.

Lord Boringdon supported the Address, which was then put and agreed to. A Protest against it was entered on the Journals, signed by Lords Holland, Thanet, and King.

On the following day this Address of the Lords was communicated to the Commons at a Conference, and on the 22d the Address having been read twice, Mr. Pitt moved "that this House doth agree with the Lords, that the said Address be presented to his Majesty." April 12.

Mr. Sylvester Douglas supported the Motion, on the ground of the unanimous opposition with which it was met by the disaffected portion of the Irish. He contended that, in spite of the denial of any analogy, the Scottish Union was, in most points, a precedent completely applicable to the present case. The question of Parliamentary competence to the subject was entirely decided by it. The Parliament of Scotland had done of itself what it was

now said the Parliament of Ireland was incapable of doing. Mr. Douglas here entered into a narrative of the proceedings prior to the Scottish Union, by which he clearly proved that no special delegation had ever been made by the People for the purpose of adjusting that measure, and also that the People possessed no Constitutional power, by which such a delegation, even if it had been appointed, could have been valid. Among the benefits which Great Britain herself would derive from Union was a less complicated machinery in her legislative and executive Councils, by the identification of the two separate Parliaments. Ireland on the other hand would gain a share in the government of the whole Empire, which she did not now possess, and every Member of the United Parliament would have Irish as well as British duties vested in him, in the ratio of the comparative weight of the two countries in the general scale. As for the loss of independence to Ireland, however fitted for declamation and popular deception such an assertion might be, it was an entire fallacy. Great Britain would no less lose her distinctness than Ireland, and each would become part of an united whole. Mr. Douglas then shewed, by the same illustrations as Lord Minto had used in the other House, that the independence of Ireland was much more nominal than real; and proceeded to examine the measure as it affected her commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural interests. He showed the mistake of supposing that the present prosperity of the linen trade was owing to any compact by which England, in exchange for advantages to be bestowed on this branch, had compelled the Irish to relinquish their woollen manufacture, which had become a dangerous rival to our own. So far back as the time of the Edwards, restrictive duties had been laid on the importation of woollen goods into this kingdom, whether from Ireland or elsewhere; and in Charles II.'s reign, this duty amounted to 8*s*. 6*d*. a yard on cloths, which in itself was a prohibition; and thus stood the law in 1782, when this imaginary compact was said to be made. The prosperity of the linen trade, therefore, instead of being attributed to the adjustment of 1782, which the Union it is averred will destroy, arises principally from the gratuitous liberal policy of Great Britain.

The principal importance of the adjustment of 1782 at the present moment was the evidence which it afforded of the opinions then entertained by the eminent Statesmen of both countries; and from these Mr. Douglas shewed at length that neither party intended to shut out in future all question of Union, that the progressive improvement of Ireland was not owing to that transaction, and that the only safeguard for the permanence of that improvement was to be found in the measure now under agitation. For the first purpose he read extracts from speeches of Mr. Fox, then in administration; for the second, he referred to the testimony of Mr. Arthur Young, who on the

authority of the late Chief Baron Foster, dated the increasing prosperity of Ireland from the general pacification of Europe by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle *. In proving the third, he entered into statements and calculations very similar to those produced by Lord Auckland, and examined and disputed a variety of opinions propounded in one of Mr. Foster's speeches.

Mr. Douglas then enumerated the advantages of general civilization, and settled habits of morality which a Union would introduce. He combated the false notion that British maladministration had hitherto occasioned all the evils of Ireland, and traced many of them to the existence of a separate Parliament. He shewed the probability of mitigation of Catholic discontent, the absurdity of imagining any undue extortion from the Irish purse by a common Legislature, and he again reverted to the Scotch Union for his experimental proofs, deducing, from a comparison of the revenues and population of Ireland and Scotland, the much more than proportionate prosperity of the latter country.

From these topics he proceeded to notice the opinions of Adam Smith, which had been partially adduced against the measure; and he read an extract from that writer, in which a Union between the two kingdoms is most strenuously enforced as the greatest possible advantage to both †. From the example of Scotland, he spoke of the improbability of an increase of non-residence among opulent proprietors. He noticed the present moment on account of its danger, as peculiarly calling for the measure, and shewed that so far from being a novel proposition, the Irish were perpetually expressing a wish for its execution during the whole period from the Protectorate of Cromwell to the Scottish Union. This part of his argument Mr. Douglas copiously illustrated by large extracts from public documents. He then shewed that from the present overflow of British capital, no disadvantage could arise to England from a portion of it being diverted to the sister Kingdom, and that the Royal prerogative, which at any time was able to increase the number of Representatives, whenever it had done so had done it without inconvenience; so that the proposed addition of 100 new members to the British House of Commons, had very trifling hazard in it. In regard to another objection, that the Union, after all, would be imperfect, from some distinction which must still remain on financial points, he shewed that distinctions of greater magnitude existed without evil between England and Scotland, and cited Lord Bacon's authority against a too close and compulsive uniformity ‡.

In conclusion, Mr. Douglas pointed out the disadvantage of the only two counterprojects which had been recommended. The unconditional emancipation

* Young's Tour in Ireland, Vol. I. p. 153.

† Vol. III. p. 460.

‡ Vol. II. p. 157.

of the Catholics, he remarked, would excite, while the local Parliament remained, an interminable struggle between property and numbers, and would probably lead, through a destructive and ferocious civil war, to ultimate Revolution and separation. On the other hand, the re-enactment of the penal laws against the Catholics was a scheme too hard, cruel, and impracticable to be entertained for a moment. As no other plans had been suggested, Union was, in truth, the only remaining alternative.

Lord Sheffield supported the Address under the impression that Ministers would stoutly adhere to the pledge which they had given of looking to the sense of the country and Parliament of Ireland, before they brought the measure forward there. Much as he objected to the injudicious manner in which the question had been produced, and little as he was surprised at the jealousy and distrust which the Irish had shewn in consequence of this want of judgment on our part, he saw nothing but absolute necessity in the proposition itself. He thought it would have been still better if a Union had taken place in the beginning of the century, and he deprecated the rashness which, in 1782, without supplying any way of keeping the Kingdoms together, gave away their dependence upon each other. All the benefits conceded in 1782, and afterwards in 1793, should have been reserved as the means of Union, and the strongest objection to them is, that they may be said, in some measure to have prevented it. The independence then given to Parliament suggested the idea of separation, and so miserably disturbed is Ireland, that among three millions of Roman Catholics, and half a million of Dissenters, there is scarcely a man who does not wish for something different from what now is; and the foundations of a conspiracy are already deeply laid by a coalition between these two bodies and Churchmen; hence then it became the duty of Ministers to bring forward some measure to prevent the possibility of such a calamity as separation.

Great as the commercial advantages are which have been already conceded to Ireland, still greater may be given by Union. Into some of these Lord Sheffield entered. He then enlarged on the increased security which the country would derive; a country in which life and property, at this moment, are exposed to perpetual inroads. This additional safety would necessarily diminish the number of absentees, and thus rebut one of the most fanciful objections which had been raised against the Union. The greater part of the arguments used in opposition to it were indeed such as before had been employed in the case of Scotland, and which had since been sufficiently disproved by experience. He would point out the certain increase of the Irish Corn Trade, the necessary facilities which would be opened to accommodation with the Catholics, and the conversion of the present theoretical independence of Ireland, into an independence practical and sub-

stantive: upon this last point he cited numerous authorities, and gave many historical illustrations. All these would be benefits to both countries; for the prosperity of Ireland is the prosperity of Great Britain, inasmuch as the inefficient state of a part is a great loss to the whole. After briefly arguing in favour of the competence of Parliament, Lord Sheffield concluded by approving the general principle of Union, but reserving his opinion upon matters of detail till they were formally brought before the House.

Sir F. Burdett considered a Union to be of two kinds, one accomplished by conviction of its advantages, the other brought about by the hollow vote of a corrupt Parliament, seconded by military power; the first of these was wholly inconsistent with the conduct which Government had hitherto pursued towards Ireland. The worthy Baronet then eulogized Lord Fitzwilliam, mourned over the lost liberties of his country, and concluded with a general attack upon the measures of Administration.

Mr. Buxton commented severely upon Sir F. Burdett's unprovoked arraignment of Ministers, and supported the measure; as did Mr. J. H. Browne also. General Fitzpatrick opposed it on grounds of delicacy to the King, who might be improperly called upon to decide between the Parliaments of the two countries; of delicacy to the Irish Parliament, which had already expressed a strong opinion against the measure, and upon the general principle of the disadvantages which would attend it. The gallant General then entered into explanations in regard to the statement which he had made on a former night, about the Duke of Portland's intentions, when Lord-Lieutenant. It now appeared to him, from a secret and confidential letter of the Duke, that he had entertained some vague idea of a farther connexion between the two countries; but this must soon have been out of his contemplation, for five days after the date of that letter the Duke authorized General Fitzpatrick to say, in the Irish House of Commons, that no farther arrangement was intended: a declaration the truth of which was established by the Duke's subsequent conduct and his Speech on the prorogation of Parliament. This letter General Fitzpatrick had never seen, till it was recently shewn him by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and as whatever floating ideas of future arrangement the Duke of Portland might have entertained for a time, as they were speedily given up when found to be impracticable, the adjustment of 1782, could not be considered other than final.

Mr. Canning left his Right Hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to reply to that part of General Fitzpatrick's Speech which related to the points in dispute between them; contenting himself by observing, that the Duke of Portland's intention to take further measures in 1782, was perfectly clear, notwithstanding the gallant General's want of privity to this intention. Mr.

Canning only proposed to answer the three objections which General Fizpatrick had advanced against the present Address. Delicacy to the Crown, he observed, would be little shewn by total silence, and disregard to the appeal of the Sovereign. Delicacy to the Irish Parliament still less required that we should obstinately refuse to acquaint it with our intentions; and lastly, among the evils which were predicted as consequences of the measure, that which was advanced as chief, the violation of the compact of 1782, would fall to the ground, when it was considered that this compact, at the time at which it was made, could not be expected to provide for future points arising out of itself. Mr. Canning then compared the conduct of Opposition on the present occasion, who were anxious that Ministers should desist on the first repulse from our friends the Irish, with the extreme earnestness which they had formerly expressed, that no rejection, however contumelious, should prevent the continuance of our efforts to negotiate with our enemies the French. From this he passed to a consideration of the Independence of the Irish Parliament which was said to be attacked by the Union; and shewed, that there could be no mode by which the differences of the two Kingdoms could be settled, short of Union, by which every shadow of its Independence would not be destroyed: for this purpose he reviewed the settled scale of proportionate contribution which had been proposed as a substitute for

Union, and proved that this, if adopted, would take away the essence of a House of Commons—the control of the purse. He then stated various other rights and privileges in which a separate and unconnected Parliament in Ireland must always remain deficient. The power of impeaching the British Ministers, who are his Majesty's Constitutional advisers for Ireland, as well as the rest of his dominions, and the power of limiting or altering the Succession to the Crown; these powers, which it did not now possess, Mr. Canning contended that the Irish Parliament would obtain upon its incorporation with our own.

The Right Hon. Gentleman then proceeded to answer Sir Francis Burdett's vague and intemperate charges against Administration, as the sole authors of the Irish disturbances; and in opposition to the Hon. Baronet's taunt, that the measure of Union originated in Mr. Pitt's wild and wanton intoxication of uncontrolled power, he finely introduced the probable effects resulting from the enlarged confidence of his Country, which, from the peculiar conjuncture of the times, that Minister possessed. It enabled him to act not to his own age only, but to Parliaments of future times, and generations yet unborn. Happy and prosperous as England had been for the last eighty years, well as the civil and political rights of the subject had been understood, uninterruptedly as they had been enjoyed, powerful as we had been abroad, peaceful as we had been at home, effectually as industry had been

protected, generally as wealth and comfort had been diffused, little proof was left to posterity by permanent statistical establishment of the wisdom or the splendour of this period. This particularity Mr. Canning attributed to the constant struggle for political power, and the conflict and balance of parties which had prevailed during this time; and instanced his theory by a reference to the long Administration of Sir Robert Walpole—perpetually occupied in maintaining power enough to preserve his place against his political antagonists, that Statesman twice only carried his view beyond his own times, and in both instances he was foiled. The Sinking Fund, which he once esteemed a lasting monument of his fame, he began to undermine with his own hands; and in the Excise Scheme, of the benefits of which he declared himself to be immoveably convinced, he was overborne by the violence of popular clamour. Little is it becoming in any one to regard with jealousy and suspicion the acts of a Minister whom other times and other circumstances have furnished with more extensive power, if he allows his views for the good of his country to expand in proportion to his capacity of serving it: if he lays the foundation of a fabric which may endure for ages, and which may afford to united nations a lasting shelter and security. True it is, that no Union but that of affection can be lasting or advantageous; if, however, this Union should, as we confidently believe it will do, furnish solid and permanent benefits, we need not doubt that affection will grow with them—*crescent illæ, crescetis amores.* The peace, the prosperity, the happiness, and the affection of Ireland, will be grafted on the same stock, and be consumed with the same strength.

Lord William Russell opposed the Address, and Mr. Pitt read a variety of extracts from letters which passed between the Duke of Portland, Lord Shelburne, and the Marquess of Rockingham, in 1782, relative to the propriety of adopting farther measures consequent upon the final adjustment. From these it was manifested beyond the possibility of doubt, that at one time the Duke of Portland confidently entertained a hope which he made the subject of a most confidential despatch to Lord Shelburne, that he should be enabled to carry through the Irish Parliament a Bill, "by which the superintending power and supremacy of Great Britain, in all matters of State and general commerce, should be virtually and effectually acknowledged; that a share of the expence in carrying on an offensive or defensive war, either in support of our own dominions or those of our allies, should be borne by Ireland in proportion to the actual state of her abilities; and that she would adopt such regulations as may be judged necessary by Great Britain for the better ordering and securing her trade and commerce with foreign nations." The Duke of Portland added, that he had received positive assurances of support from very important personages whose names he confi-

dentially communicated. Lord Shelburne in reply, deemed the proposed Act one which "must decide on the happiness of ages;" and expressed himself emphatically, "let the two Kingdoms be one, which can only be by Ireland acknowledging the superintending power and supremacy to be where nature has placed it, in precise and unambiguous terms." Little more than a fortnight, however, dissipated these hopes of the Duke of Portland by an "unexpected change in those dispositions which authorised him to entertain them;" and he felt that "any attempt to conciliate the minds of the Irish nation by any such measure at that moment, would be delusive and impossible."

These communications were so secret, being trusted to no other hand than his own by the Duke of Portland, that his Secretary, General Fitzpatrick, is clearly acquitted from any knowledge of them; but the argument upon which the opposers of the Union rested so strongly in the early seasons of its discussion, that the adjustment of 1782 was designed and understood to be final, is entirely overthrown; since even the framers of that measure themselves were far from imagining or receiving it as calculated to preclude ulterior arrangements.

The Commons then agreed with the Lords in the Address; which was presented by both Houses, on April 26, and received a gracious answer from the Throne.

So terminated the most important business of the Session. On the 12th of July, after the presentation of the Money Bills, Parliament was prorogued to the 27th of August, and afterwards to the 29th of October; it met, however, at an earlier period, the 24th of September.

In the speech from the Throne at the Prorogation, his Majesty dwelt upon the successes by which the favourable appearances announced at the beginning of the Session had been followed up. He particularly noticed the deliverance of Swisserland by the Archduke Charles, and the brilliant victories of Marshal Suwarroff in Italy. He noticed the intimate Union which he had established with his Ally the Empeperor of Russia, as affording a fair earnest of confirming the liberty of Europe. Turning next to domestic subjects, he expressed satisfaction that tranquillity was in some degree restored to Ireland, by the removal of the only remaining naval force of the enemy to a distant quarter, the zeal and bravery of his troops, and the unshaken loyalty and voluntary exertions of his faithful subjects in both Kingdoms; still the ultimate security of Ireland, he observed, could only be established by its intimate and entire Union with Great Britain, the accomplishment of which great and salutary work he was justified in expecting. His Majesty then noticed the provisions made for the suppression of seditious societies, he thanked the Commons for the unusual sacrifices with which they had met the exigencies of the State, and concluded by express-

ing his unabated reliance on the good sense and public spirit of his people, and his thankfulness to Providence for having averted from us those dangers by which all the establishments of the civilized world had in turn been threatened.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

4th. A MELANCHOLY accident recently happened at Emsworth; as Cornet King, of the Hampshire Light Dragoons, was preparing to go on a shooting excursion with a friend, his companion was examining the lock of his gun in the same apartment, when the piece went off, and shot Mr. King through the body, who survived only six hours.

Lonesome, near Dorking, the beautiful mansion of Mr. Haines, was on Friday last attacked by robbers, who are suspected of having some connection with one of that gentleman's servants. The window in Mr. Haines's own apartment was forcibly entered, and a bureau which contained money and valuables opened: the key of the iron chest being also unfortunately kept there, the rogues obtained access to the plate, which they carried off with other property, to the amount of 400*l.*

6th. *Seven* Hamburgh mails are now due, and *nine* British at Hamburgh: government have in consequence despatched a King's cutter, with an officer from the Post-office, to endeavour, almost at all risques, to bring off the letters, &c. He is to use his own discretion in making what port he chuses: and as ice-boats have been put on board, and every precaution taken, it is hoped the attempt may prove successful.

7th. Accounts from Ireland state, that the most horrible murders are nightly perpetrated in the County of Wicklow. On the 18th ultimo, a poor man, named Edward Tudely, was assailed in his house, near Baltinglass, and deliberately shot at his own door. On the 26th, William Heancy, of Coolamadra, another poor fellow, who had not ventured near his house for six weeks before, from fear of violence, was murdered by three men; and another person, named Thornton, is missing; who, as he was a protestant, it is too probable has shared the same fate. The county of Wexford is represented to be in a state nearly similar, and the terror to which the people are reduced, is such, that although the perpetrators of these atrocious acts are frequently well known, there is the greatest difficulty in procuring sufficient evidence to bring them to punishment.

An account was received in town, from Portsmouth, of the

arrival there of the Wolverene gun-vessel, commanded by Captain Mortlock. This vessel sailed from the Downs only on Thursday last, on a cruize off the French coast, and on the following day she fell in with two large French luggers, one carrying 16 guns, and the other 14, and having on board 140 men each. A very warm action immediately commenced, which was sustained for near two hours, during which, the Frenchmen attempted to board the Wolverene. Captain Mortlock, with his own hands, lashed one of the French vessels to an iron stanchion of his own ship, which, however, unfortunately gave way, and the enemy got off, and being close in with their own shore, they both escaped. Captain Mortlock was badly wounded, and the master was likewise wounded, and eight men, and a seaman and marine were killed. The Wolverene mounts only 12 guns, and carries but 70 men, and the united force to which these were opposed, was 30 guns, and 280 men.

8th. A few evenings since, a gentleman crossing the New River bridge, at Islington, was alarmed by cries of "Help, help, take me out, its very cold, take me out!" and hastening to the place from whence the voice issued, found a female in danger of being drowned: with great difficulty he at length pulled her out, and carried her to an adjoining public house. She proves to be a wealthy widow, who, from oddity of temper, has made several attempts to commit suicide; but this time the extreme cold operated so powerfully on her resolution, as to induce her to call for assistance.

The lease of Don Saltero's coffee-house, at Chelsea, was sold this morning, with all the curiosities. This well-known coffee-house was first opened in the year 1695, by one Salter, a barber, who drew the attention of the public by the eccentricities of his conduct, and by furnishing his house with a large collection of natural and other curiosities, which till now remained in the coffee-room, where printed catalogues were sold, with the names of the principal benefactors to the collection. Sir Hans Sloane contributed largely out of the superfluities of his own museum. Vice-admiral Munden, and other officers who had been much upon the coasts of Spain, enriched it with many curiosities, and gave the owner the name of Don Saltero; (see Tatler, No. 34, Nichols's edition, where Saltero is ridiculed for his credulity in appropriating his pincushion and hats to Queen Elizabeth's chamber-maids, &c.) In the same light is to be considered a famous relic we have seen in the museum of the Royal Society at Crane-court, under the name of Pontius Pilate's wife's grandmother's hat, but better calculated to fit Mother Shipton or her grandame. Such collections, however, aided by those of Tradescant, Ashmole, and Thoresby, cherished the infancy of science, and should be appreciated as the playthings of a boy are after he is arrived at manhood.

11th. It is with the utmost regret that we announce the death of the gallant Captain Mortlock, of the Wolverene, gun-vessel, who expired of his wounds yesterday evening, about half-past seven o'clock. He died as he had lived, like a hero. His spirits were

so good to the last moment, that he exerted himself to comfort his afflicted mother and brother, who attended him. Before he received the last fatal shot, he had been wounded badly in three different places; but no persuasions could induce him to leave the deck. During the action, which lasted an hour and fifty minutes, Captain Mortlock was seen to kill four or five men, and also the Captain of one of the opposing vessels, whom he picked off the Wolverene's round-house, in the act of cheering his men to follow him. One of the luggers, which had got a little athwart the stern, threw some combustible matter into the cabin windows of the Wolverene, and a dreadful explosion was heard, as if the magazine had blown up; every exertion was now become necessary to extinguish the flames in the cabin; all was in a blaze directly over the magazine; and whilst they were extinguishing the fire, the luggers made what sail they could, and stood in shore. In hauling off, one of them fired the shot which struck Captain Mortlock, and which was the last that was fired. It was a dreadful wound, his arm being shattered to pieces, and the flesh torn from his side. Immediately upon being carried below he fainted from loss of blood, and on recovering, sent orders on deck to "stick close to the enemy, and not *strike the ship while she could swim;*" but was informed that by superior sailing they had got off. The day following, they arrived at Spithead. Captain Mortlock is to be buried at Gosport, with all the honours due to his distinguished bravery and high general character.

The following are authentic particulars of the extraordinary circumstance which is now the subject of common conversation. On Saturday morning early, Lord Camelford arrived at Dover in a night coach, and breakfasted at the City of London Inn. Immediately afterwards he went upon the Pier, enquiring for a boat to carry him to Deal, whither one Adams, offered to take him for a guinea. His Lordship called him aside, and in the course of conversation told him that he wished to be landed at Calais, as he had some watches and muslins to dispose of in France. Upon this the boatman increased his demand to fifteen guineas; Lord Camelford offered ten, and ultimately agreed to give twelve, and after having appointed six o'clock in the evening for Adams to call for him at the inn, they parted. 14th.

Adams in the mean time having consulted with his brother, who was a sharer in the boat, a communication of the circumstance to Mr. Newport, the Collector, was the result, and it was arranged that his Lordship should be permitted to enter the boat, and then seized. Accordingly at six o'clock, in conformity with their agreement, Adams conducted Lord Camelford to the waters'-side; and he had no sooner seated himself in the boat, where there were four persons, than Mr. Newport arrested him. He surrendered without opposition, and was taken to the Custom-house. On being asked his name, he said it was Camelford, but mentioned no title, nor was it known who he was, till he arrived at the Secretary of State's office. When taken, he was dressed

in shabby and dirty apparel, and there were found upon his person a brace of pistols, a short two-edged dagger, about eight inches long, and somewhat curved, and a letter in French, addressed to some person at Paris.

His Lordship arrived at the Duke of Portland's office, about half-past eleven yesterday morning, under the care of Mr. Newport, and the two boatmen. At six o'clock, a Privy-Council met, at which were present, Mr. Pitt, the Lord-chancellor, Mr. Windham, the Duke of Portland, the Solicitor-general, Mr. Windham, and one or two other gentlemen. It sat about an hour, during which it was occupied in the examination of Mr. Newport and the two Adams's, of whom Lord Camelford hired the boat. Lord Grenville had afterwards a long conference with Mr. Pitt; but he did not see his relative Lord Camelford, who was committed to the custody of Johnson, a King's messenger. The Privy-Council is summoned to meet this morning, for the further consideration of his Lordship's conduct.

15th. Yesterday, Lord Camelford was again taken to the Duke of Portland's office, but not examined. The Lord Chancellor, and some other Lords of the Privy-Council, met there for a short time, when his Lordship was remanded into the custody of Johnson.

It is impossible to give any decisive opinion upon Lord Camelford's conduct, or to conjecture his motives for endeavouring to quit the kingdom, in a manner directly contradictory to the laws of correspondence between this country and France. The already general belief which exists of his insanity, would certainly offer both a solution of and apology for his behaviour; but there are some, very intimate with his Lordship, who contend that he is merely eccentric, and who, knowing him to possess a considerable degree of mental power, much acquired knowledge, and an ardent desire of distinguishing himself in the world, are led to believe that he was endeavouring to carry into execution some project, which although wild and singular in itself, he was persuaded would ultimately prove beneficial to his country.

The buildings erected by the late Duke of Orleans in the centre of the Gardens of the Palais Egalité, have been entirely destroyed by fire. It contained a theatre, the Lyceum of Arts, and more than fifty shops; but their destruction is not lamented by the Parisians, farther than the distress which it has occasioned to the inhabitants, as the miserable taste in which they were erected, their wretched state of repair, and the species of company who resorted thither, had for some time rendered those beautiful gardens, formerly one of the boasts of Paris, a receptacle for every thing that is vile and impure within its walls. The fire broke out about half-past seven in the evening from some cause not yet ascertained. No lives were lost, though several of the firemen met with serious accidents; even the wild beasts in the Menagerie adjoining the Circus, were removed in perfect safety, and without resistance, except a fox of a remarkably savage

disposition, whom no one durst attempt to remove forcibly from his cage, where he persisted in remaining till the flames entirely surrounded him, and even reached the end of his tail: looking around him, he thus, as if at once rendered desperate, and tamed by terror, threw himself into the arms of a soldier, who stood near, and became, in a moment, so gentle and docile, that the man carried him to a place of safety, without the slightest cause for apprehension.

19th. It appearing from the fullest examination, that the step taken by Lord Camelford originated from no improper intention, his Majesty has been pleased to grant him a free pardon for the breach of the statute of last session, which renders the mere act of embarking for France illegal. His Lordship was consequently discharged from custody yesterday morning, by an order from his Grace the Duke of Portland.

Yesterday being the Queen's birth-day, it was celebrated with the usual demonstrations of loyalty, and the drawing-room was attended by every person of rank and fashion in and about the metropolis. Nearly every member of the royal family were present, not excepting even the lovely young Princess Charlotte. Immediately after his Majesty alighted at the palace, he appeared at the window with her Royal Highness in his arms, and as he held her forward to the view of the multitude assembled below, said with all the affability and good humour for which he is so conspicuous, "Here we are, young and old." The only cloud which obscured the general festivity of the day, arose from the increased indisposition of the Princess Amelia, who purposed to attend the drawing-room, and had even proceeded thither, but was obliged to remain in her Majesty's private apartments being wholy overcome by the fatigue of the ride.

The corning mill belonging to the gun-powder works of Messrs. Pigou and Co. at Dartford, blew up on the 14th instant, by which unfortunate accident, five men and a boy were killed. A few of their scattered remains were collected together and interred; but by far the greatest part were literally blown to atoms. One man had fortunately left the mill scarce a moment before the explosion took place; and singular to say, this is the third time he has miraculously escaped from similar accidents.

Among the presents of which Sir Sidney Smith is the bearer from the King to the Grand Seignior, is a perfect model of the Royal George, and twelve brass field pieces, three pounders; the cassoons of which are constructed in such a manner as to render them portable by camels.

22nd. Yesterday morning his Majesty narrowly escaped being thrown from his horse, as he was coming out from the entrance of Buckingham-house, occasioned by two of the centinels resting their arms just as his Majesty approached them, which caused his horse to start back about six yards and fall upon his belly; the horses of Prince Edward and Prince Augustus who accompanied his Majesty, also nearly threw them; and orders have been issued in consequence,

that the centinels shall in future rest their arms some time before the near approach of his Majesty.

23rd. Yesterday an inquisition of damages was held at the Sheriff's office, Took's-court, Cursitor-street, in a cause wherein Captain Ricketts, R.N. the heir of Lord St. Vincent was plaintiff, and Captain Hargrave, of the Lancashire Fencibles, was defendant, for criminal conversation with the plaintiff's wife, Lady Elizabeth Ricketts, the damages were laid at 20,000*l.*

Mr. Dallas attended as counsel for the plaintiff; and it appeared from his statement, that the defendant had suffered judgment to go by default, so the fact of adultery must be considered as proved, and the next question was, what damages his client was entitled to receive; these, he thought, could not in justice be trivial, when the circumstances of the case were considered. Lady Elizabeth was one of the most lovely, and till her unhappy introduction to the defendant, had been ever one of the moxt exemplary of her sex; her marriage had been one of strong attachment, and two beautiful infants had blessed a union which had been uninterrupted in its happiness, till some months after Captain Ricketts was obliged to leave home on the service of his country; during his absence the acquaintance of Lady Elizabeth with the defendant, commenced, and was followed by the criminal connection which formed the subject of the present action. He would not ask the jury what that man deserved, who could, in the absence of the husband, plan the seduction of his hitherto spotless wife, and deliberately carry it into effect, by pursuing her into the retirement, where, with her two smiling infants, she awaited in reputable seclusion, the return of their father; as he was persuaded that a simple narrative of the real circumstances of the case would induce them to pronounce it one of the blackest that ever came within their cognizance, and that they would visit it, by awarding to the plaintiff as heavy damages as were ever given for a similar injury.

Several witnesses proved the marriage of Captain Ricketts to Lady Elizabeth Lambert, daughter to the Earl of Cavan; his uniform affection for, and tenderness towards her and their mutual happiness, until she became acquainted with the defendant, in whose behalf the jury were addressed by Mr. M'Intosh, who endeavoured to prove that Lady Elizabeth had been the seducer, instead of the seduced; and that Captain Hargrave, far from attempting to alienate her affection from her husband and children, had himself fallen a sacrifice to advances which it was scarcely possible for a youth of twenty to resist, when made by one of the most beautiful women in England. He farther stated, in mitigation of damages, that the defendant was one of three orphan children, wholly dependent upon the bounty of an uncle, and that he trusted a fortieth part of the sum demanded would, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, be sufficient punishment for the crime, into the commission of which, the defendant had been unhappily tempted.

The jury retired for a few mo-

ments; and on their return, gave their verdict for one thousand pounds.

25th. The perfection to which the machinery for spinning cotton, has been brought to at Manchester, may be seen by the following statement of the result of a wager last week. One pound of raw cotton was spun into 356 hanks, each hank containing 840 yards; so that the thread produced by this single pound would have reached very nearly 170 miles. This is said to be much finer than any thread produced in India.

The following is an official return of French prisoners in Great Britain, to the 19th of January, 1799, inclusive:

At Portsmouth	10,576
Plymouth -	8,398
Norman Cross	4,127
Liverpool -	4,009
Edinburgh -	736
Chatham -	1,298
Stapleton -	1,121
Total	30,265.

OFFICERS, PRISONERS ON PAROLE.

At Lichfield - -	66
Bishop's Waltham	60
Tiverton - -	114
Peebles - - -	60
Total	300

29th. The Dublin paper states that on the 25th inst. Master James Moore Lett, a child not fourteen years of age, was brought up by Habeas Corpus, to the Court of King's Bench, from Wexford Gaol, where he had been confined seven months on a charge of having commanded as a *general* at the battle of Ross! The Court declared that they had no doubt of the illegality of the child's detention, and ordered him to be immediately discharged.

Among the sanguinary acts produced by the French Revolution, the following, which happened in last December, at Paris, is not among the least curious and horrible. Citizens Deschamps, Daumer, and Laurent, having been sentenced to die, agreed to put a voluntary end to their existence; Deschamps, who proposed the measure, officiated as hangman, and effectually strangled his two companions; he then attempted to hang himself, but the cord failed, and he was removed in a miserable state to the Hospital de la Force, from whence, when recovered, he was taken and executed, in conformity with the original sentence.

The late robbery of the Dublin mail, was one of the most daring acts committed since the suppression of the rebellion. It was attacked near Rathcool, by forty ruffians well armed, who in an instant surrounded the coach, and a number of post-chaises which travelled in company. They took on the whole, twenty-seven horses, and property to the amount of between eight and ten thousand pounds! Colonel St. Leger, who was one of the passengers, mounted a horse in the midst of the confusion, and rode off full speed to Dublin. He returned immediately with two troops of horse; but could not overtake the banditti, before they had arrived at their fastnesses in the mountains.

The new grand aqueduct bridge, over the river Mersey, near Maple,

Cheshire, will be, when finished, a most beautiful structure. It consists of three arches, each having a space of sixty feet; the keystone of the centre arch is more than seventy eight feet above the surface of the river; and the height of the whole, from the foundation to the top of the parapet wall, will exceed one hundred feet.

It is impossible to bestow too much praise upon the exertions of the Humane Society, during the late severe frost, both to preserve and restore life. Several men were employed by them to warn skaiters upon the Serpentine river, against venturing upon those parts of the ice which were considered dangerous: and the Receiving-house erected in the Park, by the Society, contains a large electrical apparatus, a couchette, a warm bath, a dispensary, and every thing essentially necessary for the preservation of life. A large fire, warm blankets, &c. were kept in constant readiness; and we are happy to say, that several persons were, by these means, restored to existence, to their families, and their friends. Immediately opposite the entrance is the following inscription.

A.D. 1792,
Erected by the Royal Humane Society,
With the gracious Permission of His Majesty,
Patron.

31st. An earthquake was felt on the 25th inst, in several parts of the department of Finisterre, which appears to have extended itself in a variety of other directions. At Nantes, the shock was extremely violent, and was felt about four in the morning. Several walls were thrown down, the river was much agitated, and many boats went to the bottom. At Rennes it was not so violent, and of much shorter duration; it happened there a few minutes earlier. At Ferté Bernard it was felt about the same time, and although it scarcely lasted more than a second, was extremely violent. It was also felt nearly at the same time at Caen and Rouen, but occasioned no damage at either place; and we have heard that a slight shock was, on the same day, experienced at Jersey.

3rd. Died at Craike, county Durham, aged 104, Simeon Ellerton, a noted pedestrian, in which line he had often been employed by gentlemen in the neighbourhood on commissions to the South, which he executed with diligence and fidelity.

8th. At Halle, in Germany, John Reinbold Forster, L.L.D. in the University of Oxford, the celebrated navigator. He was a native of Prussia, and a clergyman; elected F. A. S. 1767, and, at the same time, F. R. S. In the "Archæologia," Vol. II. are his "Observations on some Tartarian Antiquities found in Siberia." In Vol. III. "Observations on the Parthian Epoch, as found on a Coin in the Imperial Cabinet at Vienna," published by Frœlich. Upon Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander declining the second voyage with Captain Cook, 1772, on account of the want of some proper accommodation, the board of Admiralty, at the short warning of ten days, engaged Dr. Forster and his son, George, who drew up "An

account of a voyage round the world, in his Britannic Majesty's sloop, Resolution, commanded by Captain Cook, during the years 1772, 1773, 1774, 1775," published in two volumes, quarto, 1777; translated into German, Berlin, 1778, 2 volumes, quarto. Mr. Forster having here said that Mr. Arnold's watch *was unfortunately* stopt, Mr. Wales, the astronomer of the voyage, to whose custody it was committed, felt himself charged with having wilfully stopped it; and Mr. Forster not immediately issuing out, by way of *erratum*, a declaration that the word *was* slipt in by mistake, Mr. Wales published, 1778, some warm "Remarks" on the voyage, which were answered, with no less warmth, in a "Reply to those Remarks," the same year, by Mr. Forster, jun. who, the same year, addressed "A Letter to the Earl of Sandwich," to prove that he and his father were not rewarded sufficiently, nor agreeably to contract, for accompanying Captain Cook in this voyage; which serves but to confirm our general observation, that foreigners, however glad to court, even to servility, the patronage of England, rarely make those returns which the liberality and candour of Englishmen demand. If we wanted any other specimens of foreign discontent with us, we may read the junior Mr. Forster's philosophical and picturesque tour through England and France, 1787. Dr. Forster published "Novæ Species Infectorum, 1771," 8vo. "An easy Method of allaying and classing Mineral Substances; containing plain and easy Instructions for any Person to examine the Products of his own Lands, or such as are obvious in Excursions or Travels in foreign Countries, without having a complete chymical Apparatus. To which is added a Series of Experiments on the *Fluor Spatosus*, or Sparry Fluor; abstracted from the Memoirs of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, for the Year 1771," 8vo. 1772. "A Catalogue of the Animals of North America, 1771," 8vo. "Account of Quadrupeds and Birds from Hudson's Bay," Phil. Trans. LXII. "Account of Fishes sent from Hudson's Bay," ib. LXIII. "Specimen of the Natural History of the Volga," LVII. "Account of a new Map of the Volga," LVIII. "Management of Carp in Polish Prussia," LXI. "Account of Roots used by the Indians near Hudson's Bay to dye Porcupines Quills," LXII. "Flora Americæ Septentrionalis; or, A Catalogue of the Plants of North America, 1771," 8vo. printed with his translation of Bossu's "Travels through North America, illustrated with Notes, relative chiefly, to Natural History, 1771," 8vo. 2 vol. Also, in 1771, a translation of Bougainville's "Voyage round the World," with additional observations, and the chart improved. Translation of Osbeck's "Voyage to China and the East Indies, 1771," 8vo. 2 vol.; of Kalm's "Voyage to North America, Vol. I. Warrington, 1770, 1772, 1773, London, 1771." Translation of Baron Reidesel's "Travels into Sicily, and that Part of Italy formerly called Magna Græcia, and a Tour through Egypt, 1773," 8vo. dedicated to Thomas Falconer, of Chester, esq. Mr. Pennant's bro-

ther-in-law. "Characteres Generum Plantarum, quas init mere ad Insulas Maris Australis collegerunt, 1776," 4to. the first specimen of the natural productions of those remote countries in the South Seas which Dr. Forster and his son were sent out with captain Cook, at the national expense, to collect and describe. It contains seventy-five new genera of plants. "Liber singularis de Bysso antiquorum, quo ex Egyptia Lingua res vestiaria antiquorum imprimis in S. codice Hebræorum occurrens explicatur. Additæ ad calcem mantistæ Egyptiacæ v. on Zaphanath Paaneah, Abrech, Ark, Cherub, the Topaz, 1776," 8vo. "Observations made during a Voyage round the World, on Physical Geography, Natural History, and Ethic Philosophy, 1778," 4to. translated into French, as a 5th volume to Cook's Voyages, Paris, 1778, 4to. In 1780, Dr. Forster published a translation, from the German, of "Chymical Observations and Experiments on Air and Fire, by Charles William Scheele, Member of the Royal Academy at Stockholm; with a prefatory Introduction, by Torbern Bergman; to which are added, Notes by Richard Kirwan, esq. and a Letter to him from Dr. Priestley," 8vo. He published at Halle, 1781, in Latin and German, "Illustrations of Natural History," with fifteen plates, in small folio, engraved at the joint expense of Sir Joseph Banks, Mr. Loten, a Dutch East India governor, and Mr. Pennant; with the addition of a dissertation on the climate, winds, and soil, of India, and another on the bird of paradise and the phœnix (Pennant's Literary Life, p. 10.) In 1786 he published, in German, translated into English, the same year, "A History of the Discoveries and Voyages made in the North, illustrated with new and original Maps," 4to. a useful compilation, without much original matter.

19th. At Edinburgh, Mr. Peter Williamson, well known for his various adventures through life. He was kidnapped when a boy at Aberdeen, and sent to America, for which he afterwards recovered damages. He passed a considerable time among the Cherokees, and on his return to Edinburgh, amused the public with a description of their manners and customs, and of his adventures among them, assuming the dress of one of their chiefs, and imitating the war whoop, &c. He instituted a penny post at Edinburgh, which was afterwards taken up by government, who allowed him a pension for it. He was also the first compiler and publisher of a Directory, so essential in a large city.

FEBRUARY.

4th. Thursday a heavy gale of wind came on, attended by a deep snow. Several of the West Indiamen, just arrived at the Motherbank, were driven from their moorings. On Wednesday the Bee Cutter, from London to the West Indies, was driven on the sands at Pool, and will be totally lost; the situation of the crew was dreadful in the extreme, several boats having attempted to relieve them without success, when Charles Sturt, Esq. member

for Bridport, at the eminent risque of his life, went off to the wreck, and succeeded in conveying the unfortunate sufferers safe to his residence at Brownsea Castle. Mr. Sturt's boat was several times filled by the sea, and himself and people twice actually thrown out of her into the breakers.

5th. Private advices from Lord Nelson state his arrival in the Vanguard at Palermo, on the 28th of December, after a most tempestuous passage of five days from Naples, during which, Prince Albert, the youngest son of their Neapolitan Majesties, died from excessive fatigue and sea-sickness. The King was received on his landing with every token of respect and affection by his Sicilian subjects; but the Queen was so much agitated and distressed by the loss of her son, that she went on shore privately in the evening.

The 5th, or Royal Irish Dragoons, have been disbanded for particular reasons; and the non-commissioned officers and privates drafted off into other regiments. The only officers of this corps who are now mentioned in the Army List are, Lord Rosmore, and the Hon. C. W. Stewart, Colonel and Lieut. Colonel.

10th. The Mail guards who arrived in town on Saturday, declare they never experienced so severe a night as that of Friday. The storm of hail was so driven against their faces as to benumb and swell them.

The Birmingham Mail for Bristol reached Worcester about eleven on Friday night. It brought an account of the Admiral Duncan, long coach, being nearly buried in the snow on Bromsgrove Liekey, so much so, that it required ten horses to extricate it, which was at length safely effected. A gentleman who should have arrived in the Chester mail relates, that from Northampton, which it quitted on Friday night, they got on tolerably well to Broughton-field, whence for two miles the guard explored a passage for the horses, which could with difficulty be made to face the driving storm. At length arriving at Hockliff, they found among other coaches, the Manchester mail, and were told by persons who had returned with the heavy Coventry and Chester coaches, that they and their passengers were stuck fast on Chalk Hill. The dawn having by this time broken, the narrator, with one of the superintendants of the Post Office, and the guard, set off on horses to Dunstable; and taking a chaise and six from thence, they arrived with the mail at the General Post Office at half-past twelve on Sunday. The Shrewsbury and Worcester mail coaches have been equally unfortunate, and the second fall of snow has completely blocked up the Newmarket road. The Welch mail coach in its passage to Bristol was buried in an immense body of drifted snow on Mash Common. It was with the greatest difficulty that the passengers and horses were saved; the letter bags have since been conveyed in Post-chaises.

12th. *Plymouth.* — Yesterday was experienced the most severe hurricane ever remembered here, at N. W. and W. N. W. At four P. M. the Naiad frigate broke from her moorings, and got ashore on the wet mud; but, the tide

flowing, she was floated off without damage. The Bon Ordre, privateer, in Catwater broke adrift, and got ashore on the Cat-down side, where she now lies; the New Church was partly unroofed, several stacks of chimneys were blown down, and the slates and roofs were blown to a great distance. At six P.M. a large stack of chimnies at Ladywell-school, at the east end of the town, broke in upon the roof of the house, forced through into the children's bed-room, carried away the beams, flooring, and beds, accompanied by near ten tons, down into the first floor, where near thirty children were working. By the beams resting for a few moments, the mistress and twenty-seven of the children escaped; but the cries of three children were heard under the ruins, and Mr. Rentfree, the master, with great exertions, dug them out, almost suffocated, and much bruised. By the interference of Providence, every person was miraculously saved from apparently inevitable destruction.

At night, a man walking home mistook his road, near Catdown-road, (the hedge having fallen in,) walked over a precipice 200 feet high, and was dashed to pieces.

An awful phenomenon occurred in the Isle of Wight; a large tract of land, containing 130 acres, with a dwelling-house and other edifices upon it, occupied by farmer Hervey, was suddenly separated from the adjoining ground, and propelled forwards towards the sea; leaving in the place which it before occupied a stupendous gulph or chasm that instantly filled with water. The estate in question was situated on the southern coast of the island, a wild romantic tract of country, which wears every appearance of having heretofore experienced many similar lapses or land-slips.

Much injury was sustained on the river by the tremendous storm of last night. Several vessels, particularly such whose cables had been hurt by the floating ice, were driven from their moorings, and, by getting foul of each other, they received considerable injury in their rigging, as well as in several other respects. Among the small craft there is great havock, both below and above bridge, great numbers of them being dashed to pieces, sunk, or driven away. By the overflow of the river, at Weybridge, considerable tracts of the adjacent meadows and corn-lands are laid under water.

13th. We have received numerous accounts of persons having perished from the inclemency of the weather; among them are the following:—Mr. Lindsey, riding officer on the coast of Sussex, returning from the pursuit of smugglers; supposed to have dismounted from his horse and fallen over a precipice, where he was found killed; his horse returned home in safety. Rebecca Freeman, 60 years old, frozen to death between Ickleton and Chesterford. Three men and a shepherd's boy frozen to death near Newmarket, within ten days, one of them, servant to an Officer in the West Sussex Militia, perished in the snow near Newmarket turnpike, and was found by some persons attracted by the howling of a spaniel, which, entirely covered with snow, lay by the body of his master. A poor woman, named Woodcock, who

on the evening of the second inst. left Cambridge to return to Impington, and has not since been heard of. Two women found dead in a field near Aylesbury, Bucks. Charles Macauley, a poor aged man, sent out of Buckinghamshire on an errand to Paulerspury, in Northamptonshire, missed his way in the snow, and was found frozen to death about half a mile from that place. Thomas Rawbones going from Grafton-Regis to Blisworth, in the evening of Monday last, missed his way, and was found frozen to death in Stoke Bruern field.

14th. Yesterday, at his Majesty's Levee, Captains Peyton and Thompson appeared in the Medals presented to them by his Majesty, for their meritorious conduct in Lord Nelson's engagement off the Nile. The insignia are, Britannia standing on the basis of Liberty, and Neptune rising from the sea; the inscription is, "In memory of the defeat of the French Fleet on the coast of Egypt." They are suspended from the button hole by a blue and white ribband.

18th. During the late frost there were taken in a decoy pond belonging to Mr. Bate Dudley, in Essex, upwards of *ten thousand* head of wigeon, teal, and wild duck.

Bath.—The rapid thaw accompanied on Sunday by a heavy rain, produced the greatest flood on our river that has been experienced since 1774; Monday night, when at its highest, it was more than ten feet above its usual level. A most distressing scene presented itself in Horse Street, Avon Street, and on the Quay; the kitchens, cellars, &c. were nearly full to the ceilings, and in the lower parts the inhabitants were driven for shelter to the upper stories. The road to Bristol was scarcely passable, the water being in many places as high as the bellies of the horses. Accounts from the country, state that similar inundations have almost generally taken place.

19th. The waters are above four feet deep in the streets of Eton, and the inhabitants are supplied with necessaries by people in boats.

22nd. Yesterday, the trial of Mr. Cuthell, the original publisher of Mr. Wakefield's Address, and of Mr. Wakefield himself, occupied the attention of the Court of King's Bench, (before Lord Kenyon, and a special jury,) from nine o'clock in the morning, till very near five at night. Cuthell was the first tried, and was found guilty, notwithstanding he was defended in a most eloquent speech by Mr. Erskine, and several witnesses gave testimony to the excellence of his moral character. Mr. Wakefield attempted to defend himself in a written address, more than two hours long, in which he indulged in his customary strain of invective against ministers, and also against the Attorney-general, who treated this personal attack with the silent contempt it merited; and in answer to the tedious tirade of the defendant, simply proposed a single question to the jury, "Whether Mr. G. Wakefield was to be governed by one law, and all the rest of his Majesty's subjects by another?"

Lord Kenyon treated this gentleman with the utmost mildness

and consideration; and after gently reproving him for the violence and abuse with which his speech had abounded, directed the attention of the jury to the material facts of the case: after which they found the defendant guilty. Bail was immediately given for his appearance to receive judgment, himself in 1000*l.* and Mr. J. T. Butt, and Mr. S. Lewin, in 500*l.* each.

23rd. A most atrocious outrage has been committed near Castle Lloyd, County Limerick. Nolan, a man who had given evidence against some men active in the late rebellion, was sought for in the houses of two of his uncles, by the very men whom his evidence had convicted, and who had lately returned from transportation. Both houses were set on fire, and dreadful to relate, every person within them, to the number of eight, were either put to death, or consumed in the flames; a child perished from having been thrown into the snow by one of these disgraces to human nature. It is not yet ascertained whether they had succeeded in destroying the object of their search, as the ruins of the houses had not been entirely cleared away, when the above intelligence was sent off. (*Limerick Chronicle.*)

26th. Yesterday James Turnbull, late a soldier in the 3rd guards, was brought to the bar at the Old Bailey, to take his trial for robbing the Mint of 2380 guineas. It appeared that Turnbull and one Dalton who were employed there, returned immediately after the men had quitted their work to go to breakfast, as was usual at nine o'clock. Dalton stopped at the door, and Turnbull forced the keys from Finch, apprentice to one of the moneyers, by presenting a pistol. There being only Finch, and a Mr. Chambers, present. Turnbull succeeded by means of his pistol, in forcing both into an inner room, where he fastened them in, Dalton remaining inactive at the door. When they obtained their liberty, it was dicovered that four bags were missing, to the amount mentioned above. After Mr. Gurney and Mr. Alley had spoken for the defence, in the most learned and ingenious manner, endeavouring to prove, that in point of law, the offence committed by the prisoner was not a robbery, owing to the manner in which the indictment was worded; Mr. Justice Brook asked him what he had to say in his defence. He began with the greatest coolness and indifference an attempt to exculpate Dalton, while he admitted his own commission of the robbery. He said being all ordered to go out on the morning in question, he asked Dalton to return with him, who asked, "For what?" to which he replied, "Never mind, but come back? and that when he presented the pistol to Finch, Dalton called out two or three times, What are you about?" and at length went away, and gave the alarm, which he certainly would not have done had he been a party concerned.

The jury pronounced him guilty; but allowed his counsel to take objections against the indictment, which are to be decided by the twelve judges.

William Brice, and Peter Pollard were both found guilty of assisting his escape; this Turnbull also denied, and said when he left

the Tower with the money, he certainly did receive assistance, but not from either of the prisoners.

A gentleman, last summer was going through Hyde Park with his dog, when the latter was bitten by a mad dog, after which the mob were making hue and cry at the same moment: the injured animal, being a very valuable creature, his master lost no time, but took him that same day to the gunpowder mills at Hounslow, where, by the hands of the workmen, he underwent so severe a bathing in their salt-petre pits, that it was with fatigue and difficulty the poor creature was got home. He, however, escaped every ill effect of the accident, and to this moment continues well.

The library of Metastasio has been purchased of his heirs by Don Aloyse Oareus, for the king's library at Lisbon.

The Leyden papers are full of the most afflicting details of the sufferings occasioned by the ice, and the overflow of the Rhine, the Danube, the Mein, the Neckar, the Rhone, and all the principal rivers of Germany and France. The ravages have been so considerable, as to have become the subject of a message from the Directory to the two Councils. The Danube in particular is frozen to the bottom: fish, therefore, are very scarce and dear. On the road to Sophia, a caravan, with all their cattle, were frozen to death by the severity of the weather. Their goods were found untouched. The Pacha of the district, caused their effects to be removed to the next town, where they will remain until claimed by the heirs of their late unfortunate possessors.

Last week an unfortunate and distressing circumstance occurred on the forest line of the Leicester canal, near Sheepshead. In consequence of the thaw, the water swelled so rapidly in the reservoir, as to occasion the middle part of the head for about thirty yards, the aqueduct and large embankment to give way. The reservoir covered about thirty-five acres of land, and was eighteen yards deep, the whole of which was empty in eleven minutes. The centre of the bank gave way in an instant to the very bottom, and the waters rushed forth with the noise of thunder sweeping all before them. A new built house was demolished instantaneously, and a large farm-house with out-buildings, &c. belonging to Mr. Chester, which stood many yards above the level of the brook: the water rose to the roof, turned the house quite round, and threw it down. The Telegraph Coach was passing at the time along the Derby road, near Dishley; and the coachman, on seeing the waters coming down with great rapidity, drove his horses at full gallop, and just escaped being carried away by the torrent, which was quickly after six feet deep in the turnpike-road; and the mail and other coaches were stopped for some hours before they could pass. Many stacks of corn and hay were carried off, large oaks were torn up by the roots, and several waggons were actually swept over the top of the aqueduct, which is thirteen or fourteen yards in perpendicular height. At Black Brook the scene was truly awful, provisions, feather-beds, and furniture of all descriptions

27th.

were seen floating down the torrent. Many hundreds, from all parts of the country have been to view this scene of tremendous devastation.

During the late storm, two gentlemen who were thereby detained at Weighton, and anxious to arrive at Beverley, not finding any one willing to accompany them, had it suggested to them to turn loose an old post-horse, which had travelled daily, between these two towns for upwards of ten years, and they determinined upon accepting him as a guide; but after following him for two hours, they began to despair; the snow being so deep, that they were obliged to alight and lead their horses. Thus situated, they communicated their fears to each other, with a full determination to follow their guide as the only probable means of being extricated from danger. He, regardless of the storm kept his journey through the trackless snow, and in another hour conducted them safe to Bishop Bourton, and from thence to Beverley; whence, next morning he was employed by a traveller to conduct him to Weighton, which he performed with equal safety and success.

28th. Yesterday being the day appointed for a general fast, it was kept with great decorum: the shops were closely shut, and the places for Divine worship fully attended.

At the Chapel Royal, their Majesties, and the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth, heard Divine Service performed, and a sermon preached by the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, from Psalm cxlix. verse 6.—"Let the high praises of God be in their mouths; and a two-edged sword in their hands."

The King, Queen, and Princesses, and every person admitted within the chapel, were in mourning.

The Cambrian frigate encountered a tremendous gale on the 20th inst. in the channel; accompanied by thunder and lightning; a fire-ball struck the forecastle, and killed two men, and wounded seventeen; two of the latter are rendered totally blind, and one has continued ever since in a state of raging madness. The scene was so awful, that every soul on board expected immediate destruction.

Yesterday, a Mr. Laminius, calling himself a merchant and broker, and living in the city, was put upon his trial in the court of King's Bench, on a charge of seducing artificers out of the kingdom. It appeared that he had not only entered largely into the scheme of enticing artificers in the cotton branch to go to Hamburgh, and from thence to France, but had likewise purchased large quantities of implements used in the cotton manufactory at Manchester, &c. for the purpose of exportation. The case being made out in the particular instance of the seduction of one James Tagg; the defendant was found guilty. The penalty under the statute is 500*l.* and one year's imprisonment.

Last week the house of a gentleman, of the county of Galway, was attacked at night by a large party of insurgents; but the owner of the house, having received previous information, and obtained the assistance of a few soldiers, managed so well as to take nearly

the whole of the gang in the very fact; when upon examining their leader, he was discovered to be his own natural son! The truth of this anecdote may be relied upon, though we decline mentioning names, as the circumstances are of too lamentable a nature to bear public inspection.

It may be remembered, that the French prisoners who had left Alexandria for Corfu, having anchored at Syphante, were carried off by the inhabitants of that island, and taken to Constantinople, where they were placed under rigorous confinement. To the honor of Sir Sidney Smith, he has never ceased soliciting the Porte in favor of these men, demanding their deliverance into his hands as prisoners of Admiral Nelson, at Aboukir. Having at length attained his purpose, these unfortunate men are now maintained by the English government, until they are sent home on their parole.

1st. Died. — In his 105th year, Lazarus Levi, a Jew, well known in Leeds and its neighbourhood, as a vender of spectacles, and various kinds of hardware, which occupation he continued until within two days of his death.

2nd. In his 82nd year, Mr. Thomas Payne, for more than forty years a bookseller of the first reputation, at the Mews-gate. He was a native of Brackley, in Northamptonshire; and began his career in Round-court, in the Strand, opposite York-buildings, where, after being some years an assistant to his elder brother, Olive Payne, (with whom the idea and practice of printing catalogues is said to have originated), he commenced bookseller on his own account, and issued, "A Catalogue of curious Books in Divinity, History, Classics, Medicine, Voyages, Natural History, &c. Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, in excellent Condition, and mostly gilt and lettered," dated Feb. 29, 1740, being almost the first of the catalogists, except Daniel Brown, at the Black Swan, without Temple-bar, and the short-lived Mears and Noorthouck. From this situation he removed to the Mews-gate, in 1750, when he married Elizabeth Taylor, and succeeded her brother in the shop and house, which he built, whence he issued an almost annual succession of catalogues, beginning 1755, and, in the years 1760 and 1761, two catalogues during the year. This he continued to do till 1790, when he resigned the business to his eldest son, who had for more than twenty years been his partner, and who opened a new literary channel, by a correspondence with Paris, from whence he brought, in 1793, the library of the celebrated Chancellor, Lamoignon. The little shop, in the shape of an L, was the first that obtained the name of a literary coffee-house in London, from the knot of literati that resorted to it; and, since the display of new books on the counter has been adopted from the Oxford and Cambridge booksellers, other London shops have their followers.

Mr. Payne is mentioned in the Pursuits of Literature, as "that *Trypho* emeritus Mr. Thomas Payne, one of the honestest men living; to whom, as a bookseller, learning is under considerable obligations."

9th. At Yarracombe, Devonshire, Mrs. Martha Praed, relict of William Mackworth Praed, Esq. She was born on the first of January, in the year 1700, retained perfect possession of her senses to the last moments of her life, and read without spectacles to the 84th year of her age.

14th. At Geneva, in his 59th year, Horatio Benedict de Saussure, the celebrated naturalist, professor of natural philosophy, and fellow of the Royal Society of London. Well known to the public by his philosophical writings, and particularly by an account of his journey to the summit of Mont Blanc, in August, 1787. "His fame," says the author of L'Ami des Lois, "will last as long as the Alps of which he has given us such interesting descriptions."

MARCH.

1st. In the beginning of the present year, a convoy of ladies for the Seraglio of the Pacha of Belgrade, passed by the countries occupied by Papwan Oglon, who, far from stopping them, escorted them to Belgrade by fifty of the finest and best equipped men in his army. This Turkish Rebel, who in his youth was so dissipated, we find still retains the spirit of gallantry.

Elizabeth Woodcock, the poor old woman who was buried under the snow for seven days and nights at Impington, near Cambridge, is still living; but her hands remain contracted together in the act of prayer, and no art can move them. She is well in health. A print is engraved of her, and the charitable are solicited in her behalf at the Inns on the road.

5th. Accounts from Amsterdam of the 14th ult. state, the swelling of the Rhine to have been so great as to burst a dyke which kept out the sea at Nimeguen, and a considerable part of Dutch Gueldre has been inundated. Many of the inhabitants were drowned, and the remainder got upon the roofs to save themselves, but were frozen there. Rotterdam is in a most alarming situation; the water there is only six inches below the top of the dykes, by which the sea is prevented from rushing in. In the Tower of Dewentre, six leagues from Amsterdam, the water is five feet above the dykes, and seventeen in the town. The number lost is unknown, as it is now impossible to approach the place. Amsterdam itself cannot be inundated unless the great dyke at the gate of Muyden should happen to burst. Should the thaw, however, set in with a strong wind from the south, it has as much cause for apprehension as Rotterdam or Dorth, which latter town expects the breaking up of the frost with dreadful anxiety, as it is situated lower than the Legaval, a river as impetuous as the Scheldt; indeed many consider it on the point of being swallowed up, and the inhabitants are flying in all directions.

The Court of Directors of the East India Company has consented to the wishes of Government, and given up the point of recruiting for its own service. This puts a period to a very long controversy. Chatham barracks is to be the

depot for East India recruits, who are in future to be engaged for a period of ten years, leaving it to their option to enlist at the end of that time for a further period of five years. The Company are to defray the expence of their passage home after their discharge in India.

7th. One hundred and sixty English prisoners arrived on Thursday at Prye, in Sussex, in a cartel from France. The wretched and pitiful situation of these people, excited the commiseration of the Quakers resident in that town, who in the short space of three hours, most liberally collected the sum of 70*l.* to furnish them with comfortable necessaries; and also sent money by the persons who conducted them, to different public houses on the road to town for supplying them with refreshment.

12th. Two Irish gentlemen having had a disgreement last week, a meeting in the Phœnix Park was consequently agreed upon. Seconds, surgeons, pistols, and the whole apparatus of combat was prepared; the parties, punctual to the hour which had been agreed upon, were in the Park by break of day; when a gang of unpolished rebels appeared, stripped the intended combatants and their companions of their arms, watches, cash, and the greater part of their apparel, and sent them home in melancholy plight, but perfectly reconciled to each other.

Three days after the Proserpine frigate had been quitted by the officers, crew, and passengers, the people at Newark perceived that she had swung round and drifted higher up the bank, and although the ensign was down when the ship was deserted, they clearly discerned the colours flying with the union downwards. It was afterwards ascertained that they had been hoisted by George Hodges, a seaman, who had returned to the ship and broken open all the trunks, stealing whatever he could carry, and maliciously destroying most of the remainder by throwing them overboard, &c. Another sailor, a most drunken blasphemous fellow, when he left the ship, took with him all the money he could collect, and dressed himself in the officer's best cloaths, having Capt. Wallis's epaulets on his shoulders, and a silver candlestick in his hand. He had not gone far when a loose piece of the ice gave way, and when he saw that his destruction was inevitable, he raised his voice, and cursing the ship, the officers, and the ice, sunk between two pieces which immediately closed over him, and he was seen no more.

13th. From the sinking of the pavement nearly opposite the front gate of the Royal Exchange, a very large deep well of great antiquity has been discovered, the water is of most excellent quality, and upon examining Stowe's London, it appears to have been covered over several hundred years; for he mentions a conduit and a watch-house as standing on that identical spot, contiguous to a place of confinement for disorderly persons, at the top of which stood a pillory for their punishment; all which he says were removed in the year 1380. What is very remarkable

is, that the top of the well was not secured by either arch or brickwork, but only covered by planks.

Last week one of the long chain of hills, called Hambleton Hills, in the north riding of the county of York, fell into the plain below, and spread over a considerable quantity of ground; falling in the night, fortunately, no person was injured. It was called Brockell-sear, situate near the village of Kirby Knowle, and contained on the surface about three quarters of an acre, with much wood growing upon it. Probably the weight of snow, filtering as it thawed through the fissures of the earth, may have loosened this hill from that to which it was joined, and occasioned its fall.

16th. At the Nisi Prius bar, before Sir Nash Grose, in the cause of Mathews v. Baden, the obsolete remedy of a writ of right was brought to recover an estate in which the tenant and his ancestors had been in possession above fifty years, and his title was proved to be a good one. The trial was carried on before four knights girded with swords, and a jury, agreeably to the form prescribed. There has been only one similar instance for upwards of a century.

In the late inundations in Holland, Citizen Jongh, Lord of the village of Heidickhuissen, near Heusden, having fled for safety with his whole family to the roof of his castle, it was suddenly separated from the lower part of the building by an enormous piece of ice, on which he with fifteen others floated for a length of time in the middle of the night. They would have been all carried off to sea, had not the floating ice been arrested in its progress by the trees of a large forest which was at a considerable distance from the place of its departure, and from whence they were taken in boats the following morning.

20th. On Monday afternoon his Royal Highness Prince Edward left town for Winchester, and taking Windsor in his way to visit their Majesties, he was stopped between Langley Broome and the Dolphin public-house, near Ditton Lane, by two highwaymen. The prince having but one servant following, one of the men insisted on his dismounting or he would blow his brains out: the servant accordingly acquiesced, but would not leave his horse. The highwaymen on approaching the carriage, ordered the post-boys to stop; Capt. Smith informed them from the window that the family he accompanied would never be interrupted on the road. The post-boys still drove on, and the Captain held a pistol out of the window threatening to fire, and the servant on the box firing upon them, the highwaymen set spurs to their horses, and galloped off towards the right of Langley Broome. The prince on arriving at Windsor, gave each of the post-boys a guinea for their good conduct.

22nd. The following is a copy of a very curious printed card, found under the table of the Royal Oak public-house, in memory of O'Coigly's virtues:—

Sacred
to the Memory of
John James Coigley.
His independent virtue! His benevolent spirit!
His sympathizing mind! His affectionate heart!
And his indefatigable exertions to promote,
Moral Rectitude,
Pure Religion,
Political Emancipation,
All combined to make him dreaded by Apostates:
by whom, he was on
Thursday, June 7th, 1798, sacrificed,
A willing Victim at the Shrine of
Selfish Bigotry,
and
Legal Forms.
The tears of the Virtuous! The sighs of the Oppressed!
The regret of the Patriot! The vengeance of his Country!
And the grateful regard of his Country,
will bear
Ample Testimony
of his
Matchless Wrongs
and his
Unrivalled Worth.

A melancholy accident happened yesterday at the gun wharf at Plymouth. Mr. Brace, his son, a boy about twelve years old, G. Newman, R. Herden, and G. Searles, were employed in removing a quantity of bomb-shells landed from the different French prizes brought in there and purchased by Mr. Brace at a public sale, when by some accident, one of the shells took fire, and communicating with several others, caused such a dreadful explosion, that Mr. Brace and his son were killed on the spot, G. Newman had his right thigh blown off, and the other two were dangerously wounded. The explosion was distinctly heard at Catdown, near four miles from the spot.

There are at this moment in the London Hospital, four patients, namely, two Lascars, an African from the Island of St. Thomas in the West Indies, and a Prussian seaman, each of whom has had both his legs amputated, on account of mortifications from cold during the late severe weather.

A man at Paris, of the 24th name of Lambert Laurent, has been condemned to death for administering arsenic to his two brothers and two sisters, in order to inherit their property; the unfortunate persons are not dead, but in great danger. Circumstances occurred during the trial to produce a suspicion, almost amounting to certainty, that the wretch had before poisoned his father and mother.

Sunday last, a woman got admittance into the Dublin Gaol, in order, as she pretended, to see

Michael Barry, sentenced at the last assizes to be transported, when after changing cloaths with Barry, he got off unnoticed, and she remained as his substitute.

Last week a waggoner, servant to Richard Jeffries, carrier, between Scarborough and York, called at the Inn at Ayton, near the former place, and here he attempted to kiss Jane Brown, a girl about fifteen, and servant belonging to the Inn. A slight struggle ensued, which being perceived by a mastiff dog belonging to the waggon, he flew at the unfortunate girl, and seizing her by the thigh, inflicted two deep wounds upon it, in consequence of which a gangrene commenced in a few days, and she died upon the following one in great agony.

26th. A fire broke out on the 3rd inst. in the suburbs of Pera, at Constantinople, and notwithstanding every exertion was made to suppress it, more than two-thirds of that quarter were burned down. Among the buildings destroyed are the houses of the English Ambassador, the Austrian Internuncio, and of several other distinguished personages; the hotels of Spain and of Poland, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Stone Magazine, which contained all the riches of Pera, as it was thought a place of perfect safety. The damage is estimated at twenty millions of florins.

On the 21st inst. the house of Mr. Bowering, school-master, near Taunton, was burnt to the ground; the premises were insured, and happily no lives were lost. The fire was occasioned by a maid servant throwing some ashes in the yard, which communicated to some out-houses, and destroyed the whole building, with its entire contents, not one of the scholars saving even a change of garments. Providentially it happened in the day-time, or the consequences might have been dreadful, as the flames spread with such rapidity as to consume the whole house, out-buildings, &c. &c. in an astonishingly short space of time.

A vein of silver, tolerably rich, has been discovered in Hurland-mine, commonly called the Old Manor-mine in Gwinear-parish, in the county of Cornwall, on which the miners are at present at work.

A subscription was this day set on foot at Lloyd's for 27th. the purpose of purchasing a piece of plate, value 500l. to be sent as a present to the gallant commodore Truxton, of the American frigate, Constellation, who has captured the French frigate, L'Insurgente, captain Buroe, of 44 guns, and 411 men, after an hour's well-fought action. The Constellation had 1 man killed and 3 wounded; L'Insurgente, 29 killed and died of their wounds, and 29 wounded.

A poor woman has been killed at Bromley, owing 28th. to the wind blowing her petticoats into the machinery of a cotton mill, by which she was literally torn to pieces.

Dispatches received from commodore Trowbridge, dated February the 27th state, on the authority of accounts from the continent most satisfactorily accredited, that the plague, uncommonly extensive and virulent, had broken out in Egypt, and that the French were literally and specifically dying by thousands. They

add, that should this malady continue its destructive influence six weeks longer, it is not probable that a Frenchman will be left alive in Egypt.

Died. At Arsley, near Sheffield, aged 108, Anne Day, a gypsey, who died under a hedge in that neighbourhood. She has left a son aged 82, and a daughter 89, and several great great grandchildren. She used to be carried round the country on an ass, attended by three females of the gypsey race. She had grown very nearly completely double, had not slept in a bed for 70 years; and for the last 40 had not a tooth in her head, and only a faint sight from one eye, having lost the other when young. But 12 years before, when at the advanced age of 96, she suffered so severely by cold as to be obliged to have three toes amputated.

Found dead in his bed, at the Carpenter's Arms, a public-house, in the parish of Wick, Gloucestershire, about six miles from Bath, James White, Esq. a gentleman well known in the literary world. He was educated at the university of Dublin, and was esteemed an admirable scholar, and possessed of brilliant parts. His conduct, for four or five years passed, has been marked by great wildness and eccentricity. He is said to have conceived an ardent affection for a young lady, who, he supposed, was as warmly attached to him: but, (as he imagined) some plot had been contrived to wean her regard, and to frustrate all his future prospects in life. He attributed the failure of his application for patronage and employment from the great to the machinations of those plotters and contrivers, and even supposed their influence upon the London booksellers prevented his literary talents being more amply rewarded. The winters of 1797 and 1798 he passed in the neighbourhood of Bath, and many persons noticed in the pump-room, the streets, or vicinity of the city, a thin, pale, emaciated man, (between 30 and 40) with a wild, yet penetrating look, dressed in a light coat of Bath-coating. His means of subsistence were very scanty, and he obliged the cravings of nature to keep within their limits: he has been known to debar himself of animal food for months, and to have given life a bare subsistence by a biscuit, a piece of bread, or a cold potatoe, and a glass of water. Unable to pay his lodgings, and too proud to ask relief, he would many nights wander about the fields, or seek repose beneath a hay-stack; almost exhausted, he once took refuge in an inn at Bath, where his extraordinary conduct, and his refusing every sustenance, alarmed the mistress, and impelled her to apply to the magistrates: they humanely ordered him to be put under the care of the parish-officers. Instead of appreciating these precautionary means, as he ought to have done, he, in letters to some persons in Bath, complained of "the undue interference of magisterial authority, and this unconstitutional infringement of the liberty of the subject!" When his mind was more composed, and his health partly recovered, he behaved with more moderation, and, though apparently sensible of the good intended him, he strongly

suspected that his imaginary host of enemies had again been plotting. It was about this time that he published his "Letters to Lord Camden on the State of Ireland;" the elegance and strength of his language, the shrewdness of his remarks, and the perspicuity of his arguments were generally admired. A small subscription was privately raised for his relief; and, though given to him with the utmost delicacy, he could scarcely be prevailed upon to take it but as a loan. He then left Bath; nor had the writer of this account heard of him till he learned that the coroner's inquest had been called to determine on his premature death. This unhappy gentleman had respectable relatives residing in Bath; but who possessed no influence over his passions, nor means of controuling his conduct.

APRIL.

1st. During the late tempestuous weather, his Majesty's residence at Weymouth, has been materially damaged: the lightning shivered one of the main bearers, and injured the principal walls of the building: the paling round the house was completely demolished, and various damage done to other parts of the premises. A sloop lying in the bay, had its mainmast split by the lightning.

His Grace the Duke of Newcastle has given twenty guineas (exclusive of his annual contribution,) to be distributed among the crew of the Northumberland life-boat, at North Shields, as a testimony of his approbation of their conduct, in going off at imminent peril, through a vast quantity of floating ice, and in a very high sea, and thereby bringing safely to shore a number of shipwrecked sailors, the crews of four ships, which had struck upon the Herd Sands.

4th. Last week a great number of birds were cast on shore, a few miles to the southward of Sunderland, among which were many black and white crows, some of very beautiful plumage. It is conjectured that they have been blown over from Norway in the late strong N.E. gales, and appear to have been starved on the passage, as the bills of many of them were placed under their wings; the same circumstance has occurred upon the Holderness coast, where some hundreds of birds of passage, Royston crows, grey plovers, lapwings, woodcocks, &c. have been cast on shore.

Advices from New York mention a singular occurrence which took place on the 28th of February, between Captain Jones, of the British packet Chesterfield, and some peace-officers.

The steward of the packet, (which was just preparing to sail,) employed a cartman to convey some stores or merchandize on board; the cartman, on unloading, let fall some part into the river, for which he refused to make restitution: payment for the cartage was accordingly refused, when a writ was obtained by the cartman to apprehend the steward; but Captain Jones refused the officer admission on board the ship, and, as is understood, threatened him

with violence in case he persisted. The officer withdrew, when another writ was issued to apprehend Captain Jones for a breach of the peace, which was accordingly served upon him; when finding himself a prisoner, he ordered his colours to be struck, and the mail to be thrown overboard, an order which was instantly obeyed. Captain Jones, in the character of a prisoner, then went before the magistrates, and acquainted them with his proceedings; he was, however, soon dismissed; and we are told, set out for Philadelphia. We have not learned whether the mail was found.

6th. In consequence of a heavy fall of snow on Thursday, many of the mail-coaches did not reach town this morning, till several hours after the accustomed time; and the Manchester coach had not arrived at a late hour on Saturday evening. So deep was the snow in the neighbourhood of Congleton, that the Liverpool mail was entirely buried in it, and the bags forwarded on horseback. Near Stowe, similar impediments presented themselves, and the communication between Holyhead and Chester, has been wholly suspended. Add to these, so thick was the sleet and fog last night, for twenty or thirty miles round the metropolis, that the coachmen and guards were obliged to alight and lead their horses.

The following is the list of Governors and Directors of the Bank of England, for the ensuing year:

Governors.

Samuel Thornton, Esq. *Governor.*
Job Mathew, Esq. *Deputy Governor.*

Directors.

Thomas Amyand, Esq.
Thomas Boddington, Esq.
Roger Bochus, Esq.
Samuel Bosanquet, Esq.
Bicknell Coney, Esq.
Edward Darell, Esq.
Nathaniel Bogle French, Esq.
Daniel Giles, Esq.
Thomas Langley, Esq.
Thomas Lewis, Esq.
Beeston Long, Esq.
William Manning, Esq.
Ebenezer Maitland, Esq.
William Mellish, Esq.
Sir Richard Neave, Bart.
Joseph Nuts, Esq.
John Pearse, Esq.
Charles Pole, Esq.
Thomas Raikes, Esq.
Edward Simeon, Esq.
Peter Isaac Thellusson, Esq.
Godfrey Thornton, Esq.
Brook Watson, Esq. and
Alderman Benjamin, Winthorp, Esq.

8th. The passengers who arrived at the General Post Office, by the Edinburgh mail this morning say, the snow began falling about seven on Friday morning at Newcastle, and continued till six at night. No carriage could proceed farther than Northallerton; they attempted with a chaise and six, but in vain; and then with the guard, took saddle-horses to Easingwold, and a chaise from thence to York. They say they never saw snow fall so fast, and that it was six feet deep. The snow was so deep between Nottingham and Leeds on Friday night, that no coach could travel, and the mail was sent by horse.

The Liverpool stage coaches, and mails were dug out of the snow at Talk-on-the-hill. The Whitby and Scarborough coaches were set fast on the Woulds. The snow was about six feet deep, a mile from Garstang. The Manchester and Liverpool stages, and mail coaches, on their way to Carlisle, were set, and left till the next day, the passengers walking to the inns. Between Leek and Macclesfield, on the Cheshire hills, the Manchester stages that ought to have arrived on Friday night and Saturday morning, were stuck fast, and did not reach London till Sunday.

On the 23rd ult. a duel took place at Grenville, in Jersey, between Mr. Barrow and Mr. Hagan, both of the 69th regiment, when after firing six shots each the latter gentleman fell and expired in a few moments, being shot through the heart. The parties met at six o'clock in the morning, Mr. Barrow attended by Captain Lee, and Mr. Hagan, by Dr. Chadwick, of the same regiment. When three shots were fired, Captain Lee proposed that the business should be settled by each party shaking hands; but Mr. Hagan refused, upon which Captain Lee declined having any thing more to do with the business. Dr. Chadwick remained on the ground with the combatants, and he stated that when the last shot was fired, they having broke ground, were within four paces of each other.

9th. Last week, the cabin of a boat at the canal-basin at Chesterfield, was discovered in flames, and two young men were taken thereout, burned to death, in a manner too shocking to describe. It is supposed, from the severity of the weather, they had made too large a fire in the cabin, which set the boat on fire, and caused them to be suffocated.

Answer of Lord Nelson to the Vote of Thanks of the British House of Commons.

Vanguard, Palermo, Jan. 31, 1799.

Sir,

Believe me, I feel, as I ought, the noble reward which our country has bestowed on me by its thanks; and I beg you will, Sir, have the goodness to express to the honourable House my gratitude. I can answer for that of my brave brethren who fought with me in the battle of the Nile. To you, Sir, who have not only so handsomely but so elegantly conveyed to me the resolutions of the House, words are inadequate to express what I feel; but believe me, Sir, I am, with every sentiment of respect and esteem,

Your most obliged and faithful Servant,

Nelson.

To the Right Hon. Henry Addington, Speaker of the House of Commons.

Mr. Grey, baker and corn-chandler, of Palmer's-green, near Southgate, was stopped, robbed, and murdered, on Wednesday night, at about a mile's distance from the place of his abode.

On Saturday evening Lord George Murray was stopped between Eltham and Sidcup, by a single highwayman, who robbed him of his purse and watch.

12th. A few days ago, two women, in De-la-port-

court, Hull, were suddenly taken ill, after drinking tea in the afternoon. As their illness seemed to be the effect of poison, the kettle was examined, and in the water were found spiders and other insects, which it is supposed, had remained there so long, as to make it putrid, and occasion the death of both mother and daughter. The former died shortly after, and the latter on Tuesday last.

The Paris papers report, that General Suwarrow, on arriving at Vienna, issued the following order to his aid-de-camp:

"One hour to put things in readiness, and another for setting off. George shall go with me in my carriage; the other three shall go in sledges; George shall go to the banker's Thomas, for a loan of twenty-five thousand rubles for the expences of the journey.

"Quick—make haste, for I go not for matters of pleasure, but on serious business. If I have sung bass like a church-warden here, I shall howl like a tiger in Italy."

A private in the Northumberland militia, in Chelmsford barracks, was drummed out of the regiment on Thursday, after having received two hundred severe lashes. On his back was pinned a paper with the following inscription—"A Jacobin;"—having repeatedly and openly declared himself in favor of French principles.

The following account of the burning of the theatre at Odeon, appears in the French papers of the 20th ultimo. "The theatre of Odeon has just been the prey of flames. The fire broke out on the morning of the 19th inst. At seven, the Minister of Police was made acquainted with the fatal event, and mounting his horse repaired to the spot, where he gave the necessary orders to stop its progress; but the fire was fed with such combustible matter, that it was impossible to extinguish it. At a quarter past eight, the dome of the theatre, and all the upper timbers fell in with a dreadful crash; and the flames for some minutes rose above sixty feet; at half-past nine, the inside was entirely consumed, and there only remained the walls. Three firemen, who were on the dome, fell with it into the flames, when it gave way. They had gone there for the purpose of saving several valuable monuments of the arts, among others, the fine statue of Voltaire. It is not yet known to what cause this unexpected event is to be attributed. The armed force has surrounded a house in the street called Neuve Egalité, in which were many persons concerned in the management of the Odeon-lodge. Citizen Sagaret has been arrested, and interrogated at the Police-office, but nothing has yet transpired.

13th. This morning a fire broke out in the house of a taylor, of the name of Creed, in St. Owen's-street, Hereford. The whole of the building was almost instantaneously in flames; and the master, wakening his wife, called on her and his apprentices to follow him through the window from one pair of stairs into the street; but the benevolent woman refused to save her own life, till she had secured that of an old man of the name of Kemble, said to be an uncle to Mrs. Siddons, who has been blind for many years, and is otherwise very in-

firm. One of the apprentices assisted her in the humane attempt; but shocking to relate! the floor suddenly fell in, and the three perished together. Another apprentice suspended himself from the garret window above, and imploring assistance, was happily saved by means of a ladder. The distress of the poor husband is not to be described.

A singular circumstance recently occurred, on a trial of a capital nature in Dublin. On charging the jury, the learned judge observed, that the vital charge against the prisoner rested on the oath of a man whose credibility was impeachable; and as they could not remove doubt from their minds, he instructed the jury to acquit the prisoner. The jury, however, returned their verdict guilty; and the judge, by whom it was highly disapproved, began to expostulate, when the witness, who remained in court, appeared dreadfully shocked, and dropped down dead instantaneously.

17th. The following distressing circumstance has recently taken place at St. Dunstan's, near Canterbury, in the family of Mr. Thomas Chatwine, shopkeeper. The man, his wife, and three children, each in the morning, took what was supposed to be cream of tartar and brimstone as physic; the effect, however, soon proved deleterious, as they were all seized with such alarming symptoms, that the most skilful medical assistance, proved ineffectual.

A circumstance happened on Wednesday last in the Court of Chancery, which reflects the highest honour upon that Court, and the noble Lord who presides there. M. De St. Mory's, who has taken the title of Count de Carriere, having by a proceeding rather severe, obtained a writ of *Ne Exeat è Regno* against his uncle L'Abbè de Calonne, the latter prayed to be heard in his own cause. The Lord Chancellor heard him with his usual attention; and after making some pathetic observations upon the misfortunes of the emigrants, declared it was but just to give the defendant every opportunity of making his defence without putting him to expences which he was ill able to bear. His Lordship then directed his Secretary to receive the memorial which had been read by L'Abbè de Calonne, and to lay before him every document without the customary fees. On the suggestion of the Chancellor, that the Abbè would find counsel in Court to undertake his defence, the Solicitor-general, and Mr. Campbell, immediately offered him their gratuitous assistance. No decision, however, took place at that time.

The following orders were issued on Monday, on the Parade, in St. James's Park:

Monday, April 15th, 1799.

In consequence of communications from the Adjutant-general, Field-Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, orders the following letter to be inserted in brigade orders:

Horse-guards, April 8th, 1799.

Sir,

I have received the Commander-in-chief's directions to transmit to you the King's pleasure, in regard to the 5th, or Royal Irish Regi-

ment of Dragoons, which it his his Royal Highness, the Commander-in-chief's desire that you shall, without delay, carry into execution.

His Majesty has taken into his most serious consideration the representation which has been made by his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, of the conduct of this regiment; and is of opinion, that the insubordination and departure from the discipline and principles which have ever distinguished the British army, therein exhibited, required, especially in these times of warfare and exertion, that they should be marked by a punishment which may be severely felt, and be long remembered by those misguided persons, who have been guilty of the atrocious acts of disobedience which have brought this indelible stigma on the corps, and may serve as an example to all others, as well as of the consequences of such seditious and outrageous proceedings, as of his Majesty's firm determination to maintain subordination and discipline in his army, and to support the authority of his officers in the execution of their duty.

It is on these grounds his Majesty's royal determination, that the 5th, or Royal Irish Regiment of Dragoons shall be forthwith disbanded; which you will please to communicate to that corps, and carry it into immediate effect. At the same time that the King judges it requisite for the good of the service, to make these severe examples, his Majesty has graciously condescended to direct, that General Lord Rosmore shall be assured, that his Majesty is persuaded of the concern which, as a soldier, his Lordship would feel at such a circumstance occurring in any part of the army; and is sensible of the particular mortification he must experience in the present instance; from the event of which, however, his Lordship cannot, in the smallest degree, suffer in his Majesty's estimation. His Majesty has been pleased farther to direct, that you do express his persuasion, that there are many valuable officers in the regiment, who have used their best endeavours to restore the order, and preserve the credit of their corps; and though in this measure of indispensible severity, it was impossible to make any exceptions, the majority being clearly implicated in the misconduct for which the whole are suffering, yet his Majesty will hereafter make the most pointed discrimination; and those of any rank, who are deserving of the royal favor, may rely upon his Majesty's disposition to reward their merit, and to avail himself of their future services.

In consideration of the expence to which the officers of the 5th, or Royal Irish Regiment, have been unavoidably exposed, his Majesty has been graciously pleased to direct that their full pay shall be continued to them to the 24th of December next, at which period they will be placed on half-pay.

I have the honor to be,
(Signed) HENRY CALVERT,
Adjutant-General.

The Dublin paper states, 22nd. that on Wednesday last, information was received at Car-

rick-on-Suir, that Aldridge, a noted robber, a man of the name of Welsh, and another, his associates, had passed in a small boat from the county of Waterford-side of the Suir, and taken shelter in Bolton's Wood, near Portlaw. Parties of the yeomen and Dorset Militia immediately marched to the place, and having invested it, as well as was practicable, some of them entered, and did not proceed far before they met with those desperadoes. Aldridge was preparing for defence, when one of the Dorset seeing he was determined not to be taken alive, levelled his piece, and killed him on the spot, the ball having passed through his head. Walsh on seeing his companion fall, was cocking a blunderbuss at one of the militia, when a yeoman discharged a musket at him, the shot from which entered his body: he did not die for some time; but though able to speak, refused making any confession as to others who may be connected with him.

A short time since, a genteel dressed woman went to Mrs. Couchman, who takes in nurse children, at Blackheath, and requested her to take her child; but as Mrs. Couchman's husband was not at home, she declined giving an answer then. The woman, however, requested permission to leave the infant with Mrs. Couchman, while she went, as she pretended, to purchase it a couple of frocks: but she has not since been heard of, though a reward has been offered for her apprehension. The upper servants of the Princess of Wales, agreed to pay for its keep, which they did till last week, when the circumstance coming to the ears of their royal mistress, her Highness desired to see it, and with that humanity which characterises her, declared she would take it entirely under her protection. The child, which is a fine girl, is brought once a day for her Royal Patroness to see her, and thus the inhuman desertion of an unnatural mother, may be productive of infinite advantage to her unfortunate child.

25th. A considerable embankment of land from the sea has lately been completed on the Essex coast, highly beneficial to the estates of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, in Tellingham parish, in that county. This embankment is a mile and a half in length, thirty-two feet at its base, brought off in an angular direction; seven feet in height, to a surface of five feet at top. It encloses several hundred acres of the deepest and richest soil, which is now divided by spacious dykes into several square marshes, that from this process of expeditious draining, will render the whole soon fit for the plough. This great agricultural improvement has been effected, under a leasehold tenure, by the Reverend B. Dudley, who some years since had the gold medal from the arts and sciences for a similar embankment, by which he considerably augmented the glebe of Bradwell rectory, within the same level.

Thellusson v. Woodford, and Woodford v. Thellusson. These causes were instituted in the Court of Chancery, for the purpose of taking its opinion upon the will of the late Mr. Thellusson. The one bill being filed, praying that

the will might be declared void, as containing devises contrary to law; the other, to pray that the purposes of the will might be carried into effect.

The case having been opened long ago before the Lord Chancellor, his Lordship desired the assistance of the judges; accordingly, the Master of the Rolls, Mr. Justice Buller, and Mr. Justice Lawrence, attended with the Lord Chancellor, before whom the case was argued, and this day the Court delivered judgment.

Mr. Justice Lawrence commenced with opening the two bills; after which he read the clause in the will upon which the question turned. He then took a view of the whole case, as did also Mr. Justice Buller and the Master of the Rolls. The objections taken by the counsel against the will, came under three distinct heads, of which the following is the substance.

First, whether according to the true construction of this will, the testator has clearly exceeded the utmost bounds within which executory devises, even in their utmost latitude, have been confined by the rules of law, or has transgressed those rules which are established?

Secondly, Whether the testator's meaning be so doubtful, as to render it impossible to find it out?

Thirdly, Whether such accumulation as may possibly take place under this will, may not be such as to become dangerous to the state, and, therefore, ought not to be suffered? (It may, in one possible event, amount to eighteen millions, in the hands of one individual.)

Upon the first of these two heads, the learned judges Buller and Lawrence, and the Master of the Rolls, were most clearly of opinion, that the testator had not exceeded the bounds of executory devise, and that the meaning was not doubtful: and that, therefore, the will ought to be established. And they also think that if the last head be a subject for complaint, neither a court of law nor of equity has any authority over it; and the remedy, if any be necessary, must be provided by the legislature; it being a question of mere state policy.

The Lord Chancellor — I am extremely obliged to his Honor, and the learned Judges, not only for the very able assistance they have given to me in forming my own opinion on this case, which entirely concurs with theirs in the result, and almost in the whole of the argument, but also because they have been so good as to relieve me from the duty of entering into the particulars of the several points of the case, in the statement of the argument, and in the statement of the ground on which the plaintiff's counsel have failed to produce their intended effect on my mind. I could not go over the case without a necessity of repeating an argument, a great part of which has been much better stated already; because, although we may vary a little in the expressions, yet the same arguments must occur to those persons who have studied the same points and taken the same course of inquiry on the case.

I am not surprised that this cause has been brought forward, and has called forth such great

exertions of learning and ingenuity. The great amount of property, and the testator's not having sufficient reason for such a disposition, is a full motive for the plaintiff's to seek to reject the testator's will, and endeavouring to establish that natural right to this property, which would have been in force, if no disposition had prevented it; and I have no difficulty in saying, that the disposition of the testator is so harsh, so unkind and illiberal, that I reckon it no breach of duty in the family to endeavour to set it aside.

The great amount of the property, is an object which can in no possible case, enter into the principle of the Court in giving judgment:—the same rule of law that governs property to the amount of one hundred pounds, governs one million.

The piety, or the prudence of this testator can afford no fair or just grounds for the controul of the court, though they leave with me a very fair bias on the mind, and there are before us many considerations, that affect the feelings and might blind the understanding; but the Court must not be affected by considerations of that sort; it is the duty of all courts, in the construction of wills, to give effect to wills as far as the intention of the testator can be found out. It is not permitted to me to be ignorant of the intention of the testator, if the will has no meaning, much less to controul the intentions of the testator upon my own ideas of it, on the liberality or political tendency of the disposition.

The argument of the accumulation, used as a ground against the bequest, I apprehend to be (unless in the case of Lady Dennison's will,) entirely new. I take it the Court has never considered it essential to the validity of a devise, that the rents and profits should attend the estate until the time the absolute property rests.

In the extent to which this executory devise goes for the lives, though not correctly so either, no valid objection can be raised; for, at the expiration of these lives, there is an estate given to avoid perpetuity. And although this executory devise goes farther than others, yet it is on the same principle as those cases upon which opinions have been given, and cases decided, and that is sufficient:—It is not for me to make new rules of law. I cannot see where I am to draw the line, and fix precisely how many lives shall be included in a limitation, or what is to be the extent of an executory devise, or on what calculation of chances an executory devise shall continue. I must hold myself bound by the rules and established matter of positive law, as already decided on considered cases of executory devises.

Here his Lordship took a view of several decided cases upon this point; that of Long and Blackall, and a case that he had sent to the Court of King's Bench, not, he said, on account of any doubt in his own mind, for he had antecedently formed the same opinion as that court delivered upon that case, but because there had been some doubt whether there was not a difference between the courts of King's Bench and the Common Pleas upon that point. His lordship then quoted the case of Law and

Reeves; and also several others—and likewise the opinion of Lord Somers in the House of Lords. He observed, that all the cases from 1600 to our own time, proved that the judges had been clearly of opinion, such as had been delivered by the learned judges to-day. The last case his lordship quoted was the case of Doe on the demise of Brown and Clerk, confirming the doctrine that children in the womb were, for all beneficial purposes, the same as if born at the testator's death.

With respect to the only other legal point in this case, continued his lordship, 'whether the description of the person ultimately to take' is sufficiently certain, the point does not now arise, but if I was called upon to give a decided opinion, I should say it was sufficiently certain, and that for the reason which was so very ably stated by Mr. Justice Buller. I have no doubt who is the person meant' by 'heirs male of the testator;' but if there were a doubt upon that point, it is impossible for me to say that this will should not now take effect, because events may happen, that will put it out of all possible doubt to whom that description will apply at the time that devise shall take effect.—I should do myself no credit, nor give the bar any information, were I to proceed farther—I, therefore, now return thanks to his Honour and the learned Judges for what they have done in giving me assistance.

The will was then established and a future day appointed for carrying its purposes into effect.

Came on, in the Court of King's Bench, at Westminster, a trial at the Bar, on an information filed by the Attorney General, against Sackville, Earl of Thanet, Denis O'Bryen, Robert Fergusson, Thomas Thompson, and Thomas Gunter Brown, for a riot and assault at Maidstone, at the conclusion of the trials of O'Connor and others for High-Treason. The trial continued until a quarter past ten o'clock, when the Jury retired and returned at half-past eleven and pronounced a verdict of guilty against Lord Thanet and Mr. Fergusson. The others were acquitted.

26th. This day Captain Peard's Divorce Bill was read a second time, and ordered to be committed on Monday.

It appeared in evidence that this Gentleman is a Post-Captain in His Majesty's Navy, and had several times distinguished himself by his services during the present war. He had married from motives of strong atttachment the daughter of another gallant and meritorious officer, Admiral Bligh, with whom he had lived most happily for several years, and by whom he had a son. In the year 1793, the duties of his profession obliged him to quit his wife and country, and being constantly on service for the space of five years, it was not in his power to revisit either till the latter end of the year 1797. His lady received him at Gosport, with every appearance of affection, and they lived in happiness together for rather more than five months, at the end of which period Mrs. Peard was suddenly taken ill, and from the peculiar symptoms and their knowledge that she was pregnant, her husband and medical attendants were led to apprehend a miscarriage, when to the

astonishment of all she was delivered of a fine full-grown child. An enquiry naturally followed so remarkable a circumstance, the result of which was Captain Peard's perfect conviction of his wife's infamy and his own dishonour. The partner of her guilt was soon discovered to be a Mr. Lyss, a surgeon in the army, against whom an action was brought by Capt. Peard, and damages to the amount of 400*l.* awarded, for non-payment of which sum he is now in confinement. These were the circumstances upon which Captain Peard humbly entreated the House to grant him a bill of divorce and bastardy.

James Smith, carpenter of the Captain's ship, proved his enforced absence during the period already stated.

Mr. Theymer, surgeon and man-midwife, proved the birth of the infant, and the impossibility that it could be the child of Capt. Peard, under the circumstances of its birth, in which he was supported in the strongest manner by the evidence of Dr. Sherson to the same effect. Several other witnesses attended, but the adultery being considered to be incontestably proved, their depositions were not required.

6th. Died at his house, in Queen-square, Westminster, aged 70, the Reverend Clayton Mordaunt Cracherode, M.A. student of Christ Church, Oxford; one of the Trustees for the British Museum, and fellow of the Royal and Antiquarian Societies. The attainments of this gentleman were various and considerable. He wrote elegantly in latin verse as may be seen in the 'Carmina Quadrigesimalia,' for the year 1748, which is the only thing he was ever known to have published. His fortune was very considerable, and he employed it chiefly in charity, and in making collections of what was best and most curious in literature and certain branches of the Arts. His library is unrivalled in its kind; and his cabinet of medals, and collection of prints and drawings is considered as among the most select and valuable, in a country which possesses so many of them. He was an exquisite judge of art, both ancient and modern, particularly of sculpture, painting and music; and collected the choicest of early printed books, also of drawings, coins and gems, to make a complete *catalogue raisonnée* of which would fill a volume. We must however particularize his cameo of a lion on a Sardonyx, and intaglio of the Discobolos; his Tyndale's New Testament, on vellum, formerly the property of Anne Boleyn. His Lord Finch with wings on his head by Marshall, and his Olbiopolis and Dichalcos, the first and smallest coin, being the fourth part of an obolus. Mr. Cracherode's library was as celebrated for the intrinsic value of the authors of the works it contained, as for their scarceness and the beauty and splendour of their condition. His collection of minerals also was of exquisite beauty and uncommon rarity. Every friend to the arts and to literature must rejoice to hear that he has bequeathed the whole of this magnificent and unparalleled property to the British Museum, where they are intended to occupy a distinct room, under the title of *Museum*

Cracherodeanum. Mr. Cracherode is thus mentioned in the pursuits of literature:

"Or must I as a wit, with learned air,
Like Dr. Dewlap to Tom Payne's repair;
Meet Cyril Jackson, and mild Cracherode there?
'Hold,' cries Tom Payne, 'that margin let me measure,
And rate the separate value of the treasure;'
Eager they gaze; 'Well sirs the feat is done,'
Cracherode's *Poetæ Principis* have won."

"Note c. The Rev. Clayton Cracherode, M.A. Student of Christ Church, Oxford, and one of the Trustees of the British Museum. A rich, learned and most amiable man, (to use the words of the son of Sirach) living peaceably in his habitation. His library is allowed to be the choicest in old Greek and Latin Authors of any private collection in the country."

In Micktown of Davist, Aberdeenshire, James Dyce, in the 107th year of his age, being born, as appears by the session-register of the parish of Rayne, in February 1693. He retained all his senses to the last, and kept his bed only three days before his death. His mother Isabel Wultner died some years ago aged 112.

24th. At his lodgings in Dean-street, Soho, of a dropsy, in the prime of life. William Seward, Esq. F.R.A. SS. author of 'Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons,' 5 vols. 1795, and Biographiana, 2 vols. 8vo. 1799. His remains were interred in the family vault at Finchley.

MAY.

3rd. Lord Thanet and Mr. Fergusson were brought up before the Court of King's Bench, to receive the judgment of the Court, for the part they took in the riot at Maidstone, to facilitate the escape of Mr. O'Connor, when they were committed to the King's Bench prison, and ordered to be brought up the first day of next term. The Duke of Bedford and Lord Derby attended to give bail which the Attorney General refused to accept.

Same day, Mr. B. Flower, the printer of the Cambridge Intelligencer, was brought to the bar of the house of lords, for reflecting, in a paragraph, in his paper, on the bishop of Llandaff's speech in the house of lords, on the subject of an union with Ireland; and Lord Grenville moved that he be fined 100*l*. and committed to Newgate for six months. Lord Holland complained of the practice of this summary proceeding respecting only a breach of privilege; but Lord Kenyon justified it, and Lord Grenville's motion was carried.

7th. Sir J. William Anderson (the late Lord Mayor) read, in Common Council, the following letter from Lord Nelson:

Vanguard, Palermo,
Jan. 31, 1799.

Sir,

I have only this day received the honour of your letter (when Lord Mayor) of the 16th of October; and I beg that you will convey to the Court of Common Council my sincere gratitude for all their goodness to me, and assure them it shall be the business of my life to act in the manner most conducive to the prosperity of the city of London, on which depends that of our country.

I am truly sensible of your politeness in desiring me to say what particular devices I should wish on the sword which is to be presented to me by the city of London, but I beg to leave that to the judgment of my fellow citizens. Believe me, when I assure you that I feel myself,

Your most faithful and obliged servant,

NELSON.

Sir J. W. Anderson also read a letter to the same effect from Capt. Sir E. Berry, and both letters were ordered to be entered in the city journals.

Answer of Mr. Horne Tooke to the Clerk of the Commissions for collecting the Income Tax, in consequence of their objection to his return of income, which he stated as not exceeding 60*l.* per annum.

To Mr. W. B. Luttley.

SIR,

I have much more reason than the Commissioners can have to be dissatisfied with the smallness of my income. I have never yet in my life disavowed, or had occasion to re-consider any declaration which I have signed with my name. But the Act of Parliament has removed all the decencies which used to prevail between gentlemen, and has given the Commissioners (shrouded under the signature of their Clerk) a right by law to tell me that they have reason to believe that I am a liar. They have also a right to demand from me, upon oath, the particular circumstances of my private situation. In obedience to the law, I am ready to attend them on this degrading occasion so novel to Englishmen; and to give them every satisfaction and explanation they may be pleased to require.

I am, Sir, your humble servant,

JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

10th. A letter from Barbadoes states the melancholy death of Sir C. Lindsey, a most gallant and promising young officer, Commander of the Daphne Frigate, stationed off Demerara. He had dined on shore, and, though the night was dark and windy, would not be deterred from going off in a small boat to his vessel, which was full ten miles out at sea. About half way in their dark and dangerous progress the boat filled and its crew was instantaneously precipitated into the ocean. Two of the men were washed ashore alive, one of whom died soon after; the body of Sir Charles has also been washed on shore.

At the sittings before Lord Kenyon a case was determined; Middleton versus Blake, which merits the most serious attention from the clergy. An action was brought against the Rev. Mr. Blake, vicar of the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, to recover eleven penalties for non-residence. It appeared that this gentleman had been vicar of that parish for 19 years, but had resided on his estate at South Molton, Devon, and never came up to London to visit his parish, but to receive their Easter Offerings. On the part of the Rev. defendant, witnesses were produced to shew that he was in an extremely poor state of health; that he was very much afflicted with the gout; and, very generally, after he had resided in England

about a month, he was seized with illness, and sometimes was obliged to remain in town three months before he was able to return to the country. The Lord Chief Justice, in a most luminous and excellent address to the Jury, after strongly commenting upon the necessity of the union of religious with civil polity in every well-governed state, adverted to the act requiring residence from the clergy, as one of the first fruits of the Reformation, previous to which many of the richest bishoprics and benefices in the country were held by foreigners and others actually resident in foreign countries. He believed—but of this he did not speak with certainty—that an oath of residence was required from every beneficed clergyman—but setting this aside, the moral and religious obligation to do any duty, for the performance of which we receive emolument, must be equally binding upon the conscience of every honourable man. Upon the point of residence itself his Lordship held it to be in the parsonage-house if there be one; this was also the decided opinion of Lord Mansfield, Sir Michael Foster and others of equal learning and ability. The Act of Parliament provides for the possibility of an exception to this rule; but the necessity for a deviation from it must be clearly made out to the satisfaction of a Jury. I do not see that this has been done in the case before us. The Rev. Gentleman is subject to a very common species of disorder: he has the gout in London, but there is no evidence whatever to shew that he does *not* have it in the country. 'I do not,' concluded his Lordship, 'see that he has made any excuse that ought to avail him. It is not from any improper feeling that I have made these observations; but I wish him to be admonished by your verdict, that he ought to reside in his parish and to discharge his duty. It is of infinite importance that the law should be sufficiently promulgated, that the clergy should reside on their livings. When a clergyman has more livings than one, he is only bound to reside on one of them. This gentleman has been absent for a great length of time; and whether that has been an improper absence, it is for you to decide. Every action of this kind must be brought within a year after the offence has been committed; and therefore you cannot give more than eleven penalties of ten pounds for each month, but whether you do give eleven penalties or any smaller number is entirely for your consideration.' The Jury found a verdict for the plaintiff for 110*l.*

Lord Nelson's letter to the Governor of Bombay, dated 'Vanguard, Mouth of the Nile, August 9th, 1798,' concludes with the following passage: 'All useful communication is at an end between Alexandria and Cairo: you may be sure I shall remain here as long as possible. Buonaparte has never yet had to contend with an English Officer, and I shall endeavour to make him respect us.

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'If my letter is not so correct as might be expected, I trust your excuse, when I tell you that my brain is so shook with the wound in my head, that I am sensible I am not always as clear as could be

wished; but, whilst a ray of reason remains, my heart and hand shall ever be exerted for the benefit of our King and Country. I have the honour to be, &c.—Horatio Nelson.'

A gentleman, in Hertfordshire, lately married his grandmother; the particulars of this novel case are as follow: "On Friday Mr. John Palmer, second son of Mr. William Palmer, of Gatten Marsh, Aymstrey, was married to Mrs. Mary Palmer, relict of the late Mr. John Palmer, of Leiuthall-Earls, who was grandfather to her present husband. The bride, though she may properly be called grandmother to the bridegroom, is not more than 30 years old, and should the present union produce a family the son will be uncle to his father, and great grandson to his mother."

11th. A woman drawing water from a well at Surlingham, in Norfolk, was, by the breaking of the rope, precipitated to the bottom, a depth of 42 feet; the water was not more than five feet high; and in this condition she remained for some hours, till, her long absence from home inducing search, she was discovered, and, a cord being lowered, she tied it round her waist, and was drawn up much bruised, and nearly exhausted.

12th. Eight gentlemen belonging to the Walton association, formed a party to go to Hounslow, to see Haines, the highwayman; on their way home, they stopped at the Flower Pot, at Sunbury, till ten at night; and, being flushed with what they had drank, in crossing the Thames at Walton, some of them jostled the boat so violently, that it overturned; by which accident three of the gentlemen were drowned.

15th. This morning were executed, pursuant to their sentence, in the Old Bailey, the following malefactors, viz. James Turnbull, for robbing the Mint, and Hugh Campbell, William Harper, and Joseph Walker, for forgery. Their behaviour was strictly becoming their unhappy situation.

16th. In an action for an assault, brought by a Mr. Humphries, against Lord Camelford, committed by the latter, in a very violent and unprovoked manner, at Drury-lane, theatre; a jury this day gave the plaintiff 500*l.* damages.

29th. This morning a fire broke out at the house of Mr. Moses Haman, in Cob-court, Petticoat-lane, which consumed the inside, with a great part of the furniture. A child, about three years of age, was burnt so shockingly as to be taken to the London infirmary without hopes of recovery.

A few nights ago, three gentlemen set off from Hawkeshead to go to a place near Ulverston, in Lancashire: soon after they got upon the road, which is in some places very indifferent, and in general very uneven, two of them proposed to gallop their horses to a certain distance, of only a few furlongs, for a trifling wager. They were riding at full speed, when, coming to a place called Foss Bridge, (about six miles from Hawkeshead,) at the bottom of a steep hill, both horses ran with such violence against the

parapet wall of the bridge as to break it down; both, of course, plunged into the stream, the sides and bed of which are rock. One of the gentlemen (a young man of the name of Taylor) was killed upon the spot, as was also his horse. The other had one thigh broken, and the other leg shattered in the most horrible manner. The third person, whom they had left at some distance behind, passed the bridge soon afterwards without perceiving what had happened; but not long after, the sad discovery was made by a man travelling that way, who was attracted by the groans of the survivor, whom he found with the dead body of his companion in the dreadful situation just related.

A subterranean passage has been discovered in Mr. Washbourne's garden, near the church, at Edmonton, by the falling in of the ground at the foot of an elm which grew upon it. It appears to be capacious, and extends 18 feet to the westward, but how far east has not yet been ascertained. It is in the form of a gothic arch, 3 feet wide, and 5½ high. The marks of mining tools are quite fresh for above 20 feet. At the end of the 36 feet, they dug down and found pieces of board which appeared to have covered some chasm formed by the earth falling in some time before, but at present it has not been traced farther. Conjecture is, that it was dug by Mr. Muffit, Vicar of Edmonton, from which living he was ejected in 1642, being a powerful loyalist, either to secrete himself from the Cromwellians, or to escape into the woods, which, as tradition says, then covered all that country which is now common field from Turkey Street to Long Hedge, Tottenham. There is also a tradition in the late Mrs. Adams's family, that an ancestor of her's was concealed about that time in a great wood, and privately fed for six months; and that that great wood was Windmill Field, between Green Street and Enfield.

Nothing could be more splendid and magnificent than her Majesty's ball yesterday evening, in honour of the Princess of Wales. Above two hundred of the flower of our nobility attended, and dancing was kept up with spirit from half past nine until ten o'clock, when the numerous and elegant supper rooms were thrown open, offering every choice delicacy in and out of season, amid every beautiful and appropriate ornament which the most refined taste could devise. After supper, dancing re-commenced, and was continued with unabated spirit until a very late, or rather an early hour. The ladies' dresses were of the most splendid description, chiefly white, with the richest gold embroidery, and a profusion of jewels. His Royal Highness the Prince was not present. 17th.

A most horrible transaction has lately taken place at Aix: four wardens of the Military Hospital at that commune, having perceived that an invalid conscript under their care, possessed some louis d'ors in a belt round his body, smothered him in his bed with circumstances of great atrocity. They were discovered, however, and are imprisoned.

The following paragraph recently appeared in a provincial

Irish paper:—"Travellers should be careful to deliver their luggage to proper persons, as a gentleman a few days since, on alighting from a stage coach, entrusted his wife to a stranger, and has not heard of her since."

25th. This day was tried in the Court of King's Bench, an action for an assault, and for false imprisonment, wherein Mr. Dowding, a respectable wine merchant was plaintiff, and General Watson, of the Third Regiment of Guards, was defendant. The case made out by the former, in evidence, was shortly this: Mr. Dowding and his sister were riding on horseback through Knightsbridge on the 22nd of July last, and as they drew near to the gate of the barracks, a gentleman was coming towards them: his horse was in a jog trot, theirs were in a walk; they were on the proper side of the road, very near the footpath, so that there was abundant room for this gentleman to pass, nevertheless he seemed bent upon obliging them to give way, when Mr. D. came up to him and said, "Sir, I hope you will never turn a lady out of the road," which speech was returned by a volley of abuse, and at the same instant an attempt to strike Mr. D., who instead of resenting this conduct, rode back to his sister to allay her natural alarms at so unlooked for an outrage. The gentleman, however, quickly followed Mr. Dowding, and, without any provocation, struck him with what is called a crutch stick, a very violent blow upon the head, which cut through his hat: he then immediately ordered some soldiers out from the barracks, who surrounded Mr. Dowding with fixed bayonets: he demanded Mr. Dowding's name, who gave it to him; he ordered the soldiers to take Mr. D. into custody, when Mr. D. asked for his name, which he refused to give, and told the soldiers, on the peril of their lives, not to reveal it; it soon, however, appeared that he was General Watson. The defendant's case was supported by the evidence of three of the soldiers who had acted under his command, but the defence was altogether so lame and unsatisfactory that the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, damages 250*l.*

31st. At half past ten yesterday morning, Mr. Gilbert Wakefield was brought up before the Court of King's Bench to receive judgment; when Mr. Justice Grose, after an appropriate speech, pronounced the following sentence: "The Court having fully considered the whole of your case, do order and adjudge that you be committed to Dorchester Gaol for the term of two years; that at the end of this term, you give security for your good behaviour for five years, yourself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each; and that you continue in the said Gaol until you have given such securities." The prisoner bowed and withdrew.

At the same time the Attorney-General prayed judgment of the Court on John Perry, the Editor of the Courier newspaper, for a paragraph stating the Emperor of Russia to be "a tyrant among his own subjects, and ridiculous to the rest of Europe;" he was sentenced to pay the sum of 100*l.*, to

be imprisoned in the King's Bench for six calendar months, and to enter into security for his good behaviour for five years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each. The printer and publisher of the paper were also sentenced to the same prison for one calendar month.

A lad, not more than 17 years of age, was executed on the 22nd inst. in front of the New Prison, Dublin, for treasonable actions. When first turned off, the rope broke, and he fell to the ground: he was tied up a second time, with both thighs and one arm broken, when shocking to relate, through some unpardonable negligence, the rope broke a second time, and the unfortunate creature's brains were dashed out upon the pavement.

4th. Died, at Ashwick, Jane Gould, Elizabeth Stock, and Ann Clare, three old women, all of the same parish, whose united ages amounted to 285 years; they all died on the same day.

10th. In Stamford Street, James Moore, Esq. F.A.S. His well known publications, "Monastic Remains," and "Castles," entitle him to a distinguished rank among the picturesque topographers of this country.

17th. At Belton, in Rutland, aged 99, Mrs. Elizabeth Dickenson, this lady had lived in a state of widowhood above eighty years, having married early in life, and lost her husband within two years of their union.

26th. At Edinburgh, in his 85th year, James Burnet of Monboddo, Esq. commonly called Lord Monboddo, one of the senators of the College of Justice; promoted to the Bench in 1767. His first publication was "A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of Language, 1773," 6 vol. 8vo; 2d edit. 1774; ascribing the invention of alphabetical writing to the Egyptians. When he was so near the fountain head, he might as well have supposed it an immediate communication from the Deity. He published also a work in 5 vol. 4to. just completed in a 6th, intituled, "Ancient Metaphysics;" a performance remarkable for a surprising mixture of penetration and genius with the most absurd whim and conceit. He strenuously maintains, that the Ourang Outan is a class of the human species, and that his want of speech is merely accidental. We remember it was said, that Maupertuis died just as he was going to make monkeys talk. Lord Monboddo also endeavours to establish the real existence of sea nymphs or mermaids.

JUNE.

5th. Yesterday being his Majesty's birth-day, the several associations of the metropolis and its neighbourhood, consisting of 65 well equipped corps, and amounting to 8,000 effective men, assembled in Hyde Park, where they were reviewed by the King. Upwards of 100,000 people were present, including all the beauty and fashion of London. The sight was truly grand and gratifying, and the whole of the evolutions were performed in a manner that reflects much credit

upon every corps present, and fully entitles them to the very handsome compliment paid them by his Majesty's order in the Gazette of the evening, through the medium of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief.

The question respecting Mr. Palmer has been discussed in the House of Commons. His friends insisted, that for the services he had rendered the country and revenue by his plans in expediting the mails, he was fully entitled to the original agreement with Government; which was, that he should receive a pension of 1500*l.* a year, and have a per centage upon the net revenue of the Post Office, which exceeds 240,000*l.* On the other hand, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Long, and Mr. W. Dundas, contended, that his present allowance of 3000*l.* a year was an ample compensation for the services he had rendered, it was as much as was given to Lord Duncan for his services; and, as to the agreement, he had, by his improper conduct, in throwing the Post Office into confusion, and endeavouring to delay the delivery of letters for private reasons of his own, entirely broken through it, and made it null. Mr. Palmer's friends were unsuccessful, as on a division, they amounted to only 28; and 112 voted with the Minister.

Between nine and ten o'clock on Saturday morning, Colonel Shadwell, of the 25th Light Dragoons, on alighting from his carriage at the Bull Inn, Maidstone, where his regiment is in quarters, recognised two deserters of the 17th Light Horse; and inquiring for their furlough, one of them, instead of producing it, fired a pistol, and shot the Colonel through the body; the pistol was loaded with five slugs, which entered the Colonel in as many different places; he staggered a few steps, fell, and expired without a groan. The ruffians made their escape in the horror and confusion of the moment, but were pursued and taken by some towns-people. The fellow who shot the Colonel fired his pistol at them without effect, which was returned by the contents of a fowling piece, wounding the offender in the head; the Coroner's Jury sat on Sunday evening, and the desperadoes were committed to Maidstone gaol for the murder.

The fatal death of Colonel Harvey Aston was occasioned in the following manner. During a temporary absence from his regiment, a misunderstanding arose between Majors Picton and Allan, and a young Lieutenant, the particulars of which being reported to Colonel Aston, he gave his opinion, in a private letter, that the young man had been rather illiberally treated by the two Majors. This letter was shewn, and on Colonel Aston's return, Major Picton called upon him for an explanation of the word "illiberal," to which Colonel Aston replied, that he could not yield any account of his conduct, as Colonel of the corps, to any of its officers; but if Major P. had aught to allege against him as a private gentleman, he was ready to give him any satisfaction in his power. They met the next day; Major Picton had the first fire without effect; Colonel Aston then fired his pistol in the air, 11th.

and they shook hands after a mutual explanation.

The same scene was now acted over with Major Allan, who had also the first fire, which the Colonel received without the seconds having a suspicion that he was wounded; he stood erect, and with the utmost composure, deliberately levelled his pistol, to shew that he could return the fire; then drew it back, and laying it across his breast, said in broken accents, that he was shot through the body, he believed the wound was mortal; and it never should be said of him, that the last act of his life was an act of revenge. He then sunk to the ground, was carried home, and after languishing for six days in extreme agony, but with the most heroic fortitude, expired. He was generally considered to be of a fierce character, and had been concerned in more than one duel in his native country: he was also a noted amateur and patron of pugilism. The fatal event of his decease occurred at the Cape of Good Hope.

Lord Thanet and Mr. Fergusson were yesterday brought up for judgment into the Court of King's Bench. They were accompanied by the duke of Bedford, lord Derby, and several other gentlemen.

The Attorney-General said, he had received his majesty's commands to enter a *nolle prosequi* with respect to the first, second, and third counts.

Mr. Justice Grose then addressed the defendant in a speech of considerable length. After commenting upon the impartiality of the trial, and the justice of the conviction, he observed, that the rank and situation of the defendants were such as ought to have made them the last men in the world to have been guilty of such conduct. He then proceeded to pass the sentence of the Court upon lord Thanet, which was, that he be imprisoned one year in the Tower of London; that he should pay a fine of 1000*l.*; that at the expiration of his imprisonment he should give security for his good behaviour, himself in 10,000*l.*, and two sureties in 5,000*l.* each: and that he should be farther imprisoned until such fine was paid, and such security given. The sentence upon Mr. Fergusson was, that he should be imprisoned one year in the King's Bench, pay a fine of 100*l.* and give security for his good behaviour for seven years, himself in 500*l.* and two sureties in 250*l.* each, and be farther imprisoned till the security was given and the fine paid.

The duke de Sorentino, a Sicilian nobleman, who has resided in this country some years, destroyed himself yesterday at Lowthorp's Coffee-house, St. George's Fields, by blowing out his brains with a pistol. He had previously sent the waiter with a note to Count de Lambert, who arrived only a few moments after the fatal act had been discovered. The Count observed, that he had twice saved the life of the Duke de Sorentino when he had attempted a similar crime. A Coroner's inquest sat on the body, and returned a verdict of lunacy. The unfortunate nobleman had been married to a respectable English lady within the twelvemonth; he resided in Charles Street, Fitzroy Square. Embarrassment in his affairs is

said to have occasioned his derangement.

18th. Last night, about ten o'clock, a fire broke out at the Horse and Groom public-house, in Curtain Row, Shoreditch, by which accident, the flames caught the cloaths of a Mrs. Tomlinson, and she was burned in so shocking a manner as to cause her immediate death. The fire was got under without damaging the premises in any material manner.

Letters from Ramsgate state, that a large Danish ship, the Hosenung, bound from Altona to Malaga with a cargo of staves, went on shore on the Goodwin Sands on the morning of the 11th inst. A mackarel boat observing her distress, made for the sands to render her assistance. The crew, consisting of six hands, with some difficulty got on board the Dane; but they had not been long there, before their own boat broke away from the ship and was lost, and they were thus left with the ship's crew, thirteen men and a boy, all that day and night following, in momentary expectation of being buried in the sands, or swallowed up by the waves which were tremendously high, it blowing a very hard gale. About six o'clock the next morning the ship parted into five pieces; but all the persons in her most providentially preserved themselves on different parts of the wreck to which they clung, till a Deal boat observing their signals of distress, after much difficulty, picked up the whole, and safely landed them at Dover.

A very valuable discovery of coins has been lately made at North Creake, near Wells, in Norfolk, by a shepherd. About 1400 Roman brass coins, said to be Constantines, in high preservation. 1100 of them have, we understand, been reserved for Earl Spencer, in whose manor they were found.

On Sunday, about eleven in the forenoon, a young man, a recruit, was found dead in his bed, with his head almost severed from his body, at a crimping house in Westminster, where he had been kept after being enlisted. He had three large wounds across the throat, one of which had completely divided the windpipe. An old razor, with some blood on it, was found in a bag in the room; but from the opinion of the surgeon, who went to view the body, the deceased could not have inflicted the wounds on himself, and even if he had, it was impossible he could afterwards have deposited the razor where it was found, as the sudden effusion of blood from three such dreadful gashes must have caused him to drop instantaneously.

An action has been brought in the Court of King's Bench against Col. Whaley, for an assault committed on Mr. Hort, at Philips's gaming-house in St. James's Street. The plaintiff is a Jew, and a man of fortune; the defendant is brother-in-law to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. The assault arose out of some gambling transaction, and the Colonel appeared to have behaved with great violence towards Mr. Hort.

Lord Kenyon said, he supposed he should by degrees become fully acquainted with what were termed the laws of honor, but he

must confess that the better he knew, the less he liked them. He recollected, very lately, at Guildhall, that not only an honourable, but a Right honourable gentleman, (General Fitzpatrick,) had refused to pay 400, or 500*l.* because it was money lost at play. But when that Right honourable gentleman became the winner, he had insisted upon payment, and carried the money away in his pocket. This was fully proved in evidence. His Lordship said that he should always leave these people to settle their self-constituted laws of honor as they pleased, but it was his duty, and that of the jury, to keep the peace among them, *if they could.* They would consider the amount of the damages. Verdict for the plaintiff, damages 10*l.*

The Earl of Thanet, on his removal from the King's Bench Prison to the Tower, left in the hands of the marshal the sum of fifty guineas, to be distributed among the poor prisoners.

22nd. Yesterday, between eight and nine o'clock, his Majesty mounted his beautiful white charger, and went from Buckingham House to inspect all the volunteer corps in different streets of the metropolis. He passed over Westminster Bridge, and proceeded by the Obelisk to Blackfriars Bridge, on the centre of which he was met by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who afterwards rode before him, the Lord Mayor carrying the sword of state. His Majesty proceeded through Bridge Street, St. Paul's Square, Cornhill, &c.; in front of the different associations, making a circle to the Artillery Ground, where the Prince of Wales, as Colonel, appeared at the head of the Artillery Company, and thence to the Lord Chancellor's, in Upper Guildford Street, where all the Royal Family breakfasted; the king then reviewed the Bloomsbury and other corps in that neighbourhood, and about six o'clock returned home. The number of volunteers visited by the king were 12,200; and no Sovereign ever experienced greater proofs of the loyalty and attachment of his subjects, than did his Majesty on this day of display and rejoicing.

A prisoner, confined in Newgate on a charge of forgery on the Bank, lately made an attempt to assassinate Mr. Winter, solicitor to the Bank, in the following manner: he pretended to have something of importance to communicate, and requested an interview with that gentleman. Accordingly the latter met him in a room in Mr. Kirby's house. Mr. Kirby was present, and the prisoner, on pretence that the matter he had to impart required the greatest secrecy, requested him to retire, to which Mr. Winter consented: Mr. Kirby, however, considered it his duty to remain, and the prisoner, although baffled in this point, resolved, notwithstanding, to make the sanguinary attempt, and suddenly pulling out a knife, would have stabbed Mr. Winter, but was prevented by the interference of Mr. Kirby.

The account published by General Ramel, of the cruelties experienced by Barthelemy, Pichegru, and the other transported deputies, after the Revolution of the 18th of September, on their

passage to Cayenne, abounds with instances of the most horrid atrocity, exercised on them by the agents of the Directory. La Porte, the captain of La Vaillant Cornette, in which they were embarked, practised every means to make them perish. Constant confinement in the hold, and a scanty allowance of the worst provisions, purposely mingled with hairs and vermin, reduced them to the most miserable situation. He would not allow them the use of steps to go upon deck, so that being obliged to swarm up a rope, those who were too weak to perform this exertion, and to whom fresh air was most necessary, could not procure that indulgence. When they asked, as a favour, for a little straw to sleep upon, to prevent their being bruised by the rolling of the ship,—"They are laughing at me," he said, "our boards are too soft for the rascals, I wish I could have the place paved for them." Some of these unfortunate men were deprived of their senses by continued cruelty and want of proper nourishment, whilst others lost every hope, and eagerly prayed for death to relieve them.

30th. A writ, for an enquiry of damages in a civil action, was this day brought by Richard Crewe, Esq. against Sir Harry Inglefield, Bart. for criminal conversation with his wife.

Mr. Erskine addressed the jury on the part of the plaintiff, and observed, that no detail of proof was necessary, as the defendant had acknowledged his crime by suffering judgment to go by default. He did not believe that the defendant had set about deliberately and maliciously to destroy the harmony which he saw subsisting between Mr. and Mrs. Crewe, but still the consequence of his guilty intimacy with the latter was the same to her husband; and what trebly aggravated this destruction of all his hopes of domestic happiness was, that it had deprived his five children of their mother, and covered them with her disgrace,—painful to relate, the eldest of these was a lovely amiable daughter of eighteen.

Colonel Mac Mahon, and the Rev. Mr. Hinde, deposed to the perfect affection subsisting between Mr. and Mrs. Crewe, up to the period of their acquaintance with the defendant, and the affectionate attention always evinced towards his lady by Mr. Crewe.

Being cross-examined by Mr. Gibbs, they admitted that Mr. Crewe was fond of field sports, and played occasionally. They also acknowledged that Mrs. Crewe had once been abroad without her husband, and that while at Brighton, where the criminal intimacy commenced, Mr. Crewe was not constantly with her.

The counsel for the defendant made the most of these circumstances in his speech upon mitigation of damages, but nothing had been elicited from the witnesses to prove any palpable neglect on the part of Mr. Crewe, or any thing like disagreement between him and his lady. The jury assessed the damages at 3,000*l.*

In a trial of a similar nature before the Court of King's Bench, —Henderson, Esq. was Plaintiff,

and Sir Harry Vane Tempest, Defendant.—We gladly omit the disgusting particulars of this tissue of wickedness, in which all parties seem almost equally disgraced by the grossest criminality. Mr. Henderson marrying a woman on a fortnight's acquaintance, after having been positively informed of her previous great levity of conduct, thus furnishing her with every facility for dissipation and extravagance, without the least controul or watchfulness, and himself indulging in dissolute amours. Mrs. Henderson from as it appeared natural levity of disposition, as well as her husband's imprudence and neglect, becoming worse than the unfortunate women who are seen in the streets,—and the plaintiff commencing his adulterous intrigue, while under an engagement of marriage with a lady of high rank, and only one month previous to the celebration of his nuptials with her.—To complete this disgusting picture, the witness by whom Mrs. Henderson's guilt was proved, not only with Sir H. V. Tempest, but several others, was a girl only fourteen years of age, the daughter of a deceased friend of Mr. Henderson's, who had been taken by the latter to reside with him from charitable motives. Lord Kenyon commented with great eloquence, and just indignation, upon the peculiar atrocity of the parties, and the jury found a verdict for the plaintiff, damages one shilling.

6th. *Died.*—At Merrow near Guildford, Surrey, in her 104th year, Mrs. S. Batley. She had been bedridden for several years, but retained her senses to the last. Her birth is registered at Effingham in the same county, April 19, 1696.

8th. Joah Bates, Esq. one of the Commissioners of his Majesty's Customs, and a Director of Greenwich Hospital. He was among the first musicians of his day, and had directed his attention to the profound parts of musical composition, and the perfection of musical instruments. It must be remembered by all those who were present at the several commemorations of Handel in Westminster Abbey, how much those wonderful performances were indebted to this great musician. To him, also, may be ascribed, the undeviating energy and correctness of the choral performances at the concerts of ancient music. Mr. Bates married a lady whose vocal powers are well known, and who added as much harmony to his life, as melody to his music.

In Spanish Town, Jamaica, in her 112th year, a jewess named Torres, who had never tasted medicine, or experienced any illness to the hour of her death.

At the Hague, aged 90, D. Klinkenberg, Member of the Society of Sciences at Harlem, and corresponding Member of the late Academy of Sciences at Paris, distinguished for his skill in geometry, astronomy, and hydraulics.

JULY.

4th. A very splendid meteor was observed on Saturday evening, at 36 minutes past ten,

near Woburn. Its apparent course was nearly in a line from the North Pole,—its duration about two seconds. The light it emitted was remarkably brilliant, very similar to the electrical sparks on the discharge of a large jar. A tail began to appear about the middle of its course, and at the end was very lucid. Before it disappeared, it threw off two large sparks to the southward, more inclining to a red colour, than the body of the meteor.

Letters from Buenos Ayres, dated January 15, give a melancholy detail of a disturbance in that city, created by Vizier Ali, actuated as it appears, by a dreadful thirst for revenge, in consequence of his having been compelled from the impropriety of his conduct, to resign the Musnud in favour of Sudour Ally, the present Nabob Vizier of Oude. Since the period of this reluctant resignation, his Highness has resided at Benares, until it was deemed expedient to remove him from thence to Calcutta, a measure which he strongly deprecated, and earnestly endeavoured to prevent. The orders of government to this effect were transmitted to him, through Mr. Cherry, senior, Judge of the Provincial Court of Appeal at Benares, and the time appointed for his departure was nearly arrived. On the morning of the 14th of January, Vizier Ali, went to visit Mr. Cherry, with a large train of attendants all completely armed. He alighted, and when seated with that gentlemen, began to remonstrate with him respecting the order for his removal, and upon Mr. Cherry stating himself to be a mere agent of the commands of government, the Vizier proceeded to use violent language, and finally drew his sabre and struck at Mr. Cherry who fled wounded into the garden; he was pursued there by the followers of the Vizier, and murdered in the most inhuman manner; as was a Mr. Evans who also endeavoured to escape through the garden. Capt. Conway was not in the House when this tragedy commenced, but the murderers perceiving him approaching on horseback shot his horse, when the unfortunate rider became an easy prey. The bodies of all three were barbarously mangled; one of Mr. Cherry's arms was entirely severed from the body.

The house of Mr. Davis who holds a high situation under government, was the next object of their fury, and meeting on their way thither Mr. Robert Graham, first Assistant to the Collector at Tirnoot, they dragged him from his Palankeen and assassinated him. The alarm having been given, Mr. Davis had but just time to get Mrs Davis, the children and servants to the top of the house when the murders entered it. Mr. Davis had fortunately a long spear with which he defended the passage to the top of the house above an hour and a half, when some cavalry arrived and kept them at bay until a greater force with four cannon succeeded in dispersing them. Vizier Ali has escaped, but his Highness the Nawab, has offered a reward of 50,000 rupees for his apprehension.

The houses of Mr. Davis and the unfortunate Mr. Cherry, were

ransacked of every thing valuable within them that could be carried away, and every other article destroyed in the most wanton manner. Pachause Moochin's Bungalow and all the buildings near were burned to the ground. An attack was made on the Treasury, and an elephant of Shololl's Dobeh's with 15 or 20,000 rupees was taken at the bridge near Mr. Cherry's.

Advices of the 4th of February state, that the latest accounts of Vizier Ali, report him to be journeying to Napaul. Letters from Benares of as recent a date as possible, describe that district as still in a very unsettled state.

A highwayman during his examination at Union Hall on Monday, took a pistol from his pocket, and aiming it at his own head shot away part of the skull. He is not dead but his recovery is deemed impossible.

Bonaparte has addressed a letter to Ghezzar Pacha, dated March 9th, in which he reproaches the Turkish Governor with exercising hostilities against him, and offers him his friendship and protection. The verbal answer carried back by the French messenger was as follows, "You may march against Acre when you please; we shall be prepared for you, and are resolved to bury ourselves under its ruins ere we yield it to you."

5th. Yesterday his Majesty reviewed on Wimbledon Common, the Volunteer corps of the County of Surrey. The line which was very extensive, consisted of 12 cavalry corps and 24 of infantry; the effective strength of the whole, 2,300.

An old lady resident in North Allerton, lately bought some turnips of a gardener in the same place named George Wood. In cutting through one of them the cook found the knife graze against something hard in the centre, which upon cutting it asunder, was discovered to be a gold wedding ring. The gardener's wife was sent for, and asked if she had ever known any one lose a ring in the garden, to which she replied, that she should never forget having lost her own wedding ring there about fourteen years since when weeding. She was asked to describe it, and she gave an exact description of the one found in the turnip, which on being shewn to her, she immediately recognized as that which she had lost. It is supposed that the turnip must have grown through the ring and gradually enclosed it. The above is known to be a fact by all the respectable inhabitants of North Allerton and its neighbourhood.

A boy lately crossing a brook near Horsemonden, Kent, found in the water a large crucifix of gold worth about three hundred pounds. Near the spot there formerly stood a cell belonging to the Priory of Beaulieu, in Normandy, which continued till the general suppression of Alien Priories in England, in the year 1414.

10th. A few nights since a gentleman stabbed himself in one of the dress boxes at Drury Lane Theatre, and was carried in a state of insensibility though not mortally wounded to an hotel in Covent Garden; where he was this day taken into custody, and on the opinion of the medical

gentleman who attends him that he might be removed without danger, has been committed to Tothill Fields Bridewell. His name is William Montague Clark, and he is accused of defrauding Mr. Beckford of Fonthill, of above six hundred pounds with which he had absconded.

15th. On Saturday afternoon, one of the largest powder mills on Twickenham Common blew up with a tremendous explosion, four men employed within the building were blown to atoms in the air; twenty lives have been lost in this manner in the space of the last three years.

A melancholy accident happened last week at Maesgyr in Carmarthenshire, the seat of Walter Powell, Esq. Mr. C. A. Sanxey and Mr. Davis, together with Mr. Powell to whom they were on a visit, partook of some posset in which ginger was used, which prevented their detecting any unusual taste, and with which some arsenic that had been procured for the purpose of poisoning rats had unfortunately been mixed. The effects of the poison became apparent almost immediately, and Mr. Powell and Mr. Davis after suffering dreadfully for three days, by timely medical aid recovered; but notwithstanding every effort to preserve Mr. Sanxey, he died after lingering eight days in torment. He was a gentleman much respected, and of the Pembrokeshire Yeomanry Cavalry.

13th. This evening as Captain Adolphus of the Swedish Brig Mercurious now lying in Limehouse Beach, was coming up the river in his ship's boat, accompanied by the owner Mr. Twaitman and one seaman, on their entrance into Greenwich Reach, they met with a baffling wind, and, endeavouring to tack under a press of sail, the boat which was evidently over-rigged was suddenly swamped. The sailor who could swim a little, laid hold of the boat on its rising, and was shortly relieved. The Captain and Mr. Twaitman were never afterwards seen. The drags were used to recover their bodies but without effect.

The north-west wing of the King's Bench Prison was about nine this evening discovered to be on fire. The flames burst forth with incredible fury, and were driven by the wind towards the centre of the building. The consternation which immediately ensued is hardly to be expressed, not only within but without the prison. Many of the prisoners wives and relatives who reside within the rules, alarmed at so dreadful a conflagration appeared under the walls, shrieking, and demanding the release of those whom their fears represented to be in such imminent danger; but at the very first intimation of the accident, the St. George's, Bermondsey, Lambeth, St. Saviour's, Christ Church, and Newington Volunteers, with a party of the Surrey Cavalry, attended and prevented the populace in general from taking steps which some of the best feelings of human nature had upon the spur of the moment dictated. Within the prison we are happy to learn, not the slightest disposition was manifested on the part of any one to escape beyond the walls; all were engaged in assisting those more immediately within the reach of danger. Above

an hour elapsed before the engines arrived and began to work, by which time the flames had arrived at an ungovernable height. They raged with such violence, that it was with difficulty a small part of the prisoners furniture and effects were saved. Many wretched and indigent families, whose whole property was contained in their rooms, were compelled to leave it a prey to the devouring element. How the fire was occasioned no one can with certainty tell. It broke out at No. 10, in an upper room, in the farther corner of that part of the building where the tap is situated, just at the entrance of the prison. There was no fire in the room it not having even a fire place. The person who occupied it was an old man named Adams, who at the time of the accident, was drinking in the Brace, a public room at the farthest end of the prison. The story he relates is, that his son had called upon him early in the evening, and had left with him two ten pound notes, for which he was to call again on Monday morning; for the better security of these notes he put them in his trunk, and he supposes that at the time he did so, a spark from the candle fell into the trunk. The part where the fire commenced is called the Old Building, and the upper rooms are not vaulted, consequently they was all consumed; the flames also spread through the two upper stories as far as the chapel, consuming nearly the whole of them, both in front of the parade and in the back of the prison. Here the firemen prevented it from extending farther by forcing off the Division, No. 6, adjoining, at the back of which it ended in destroying the apartment occupied by Lady Murray, at No. 1, in Division 15. There are between 80 and 100 rooms consumed. When this building was erected, the floor of the upper story was not vaulted; had it been so, this accident would have been comparatively trifling. The second story is vaulted, otherwise the whole fabric must have been destroyed. There are also a few rooms which are vaulted, and are preserved, although they were surrounded by the flames. It was not till one in the morning that the fire was subdued, and it was near four ere it was finally extinguished.

16th. At the Assizes at Hertford on Monday last, John Mason, a boy only 14 years of age, was capitally convicted and left for execution, for wilfully setting fire to, and burning his master's barn at North Mims. It was clearly proved that he had committed this dreadful offence with a great deal of cunning and art, and entirely from revenge on account of his master, who was a farmer, having refused him some favours which he had solicited, and having also threatened to discharge him from his service.

17th. At the Assizes at Nottingham, James Broadie a blind man aged 23, was convicted of the murder of Robert Selby Hancock, a boy, (his guide,) and is to be hanged on Monday and dissected.

It appeared in evidence, that John Robinson a warrener, went into his warren on Sunday the 24th of March last, about two o'clock in the afternoon; he saw as he supposed a person fishing in a rivulet, but on ap-

proaching him he found him lying on his belly, upon which he called out "halloo, what are you doing there?"—The prisoner said he was a blind man and had been wandering about all night, and had lost his guide who was dead: that he had staid by him till he had taken his last gasp; on being asked where the boy was, he said about half a mile from thence. Witness, with two other men, then went to seek the boy, and they found him more than three miles from the place where the blind man was. When they found the boy he was covered all over with ling, as much as would fill a cart; he was carried by them to Manchester, the nearest town, and on the body being examined by a surgeon, the skull was found fractured in two places, the head very bloody and torn at the ear, and the shoulders and arms beaten to a jelly. The blind man had a stick with him when found, with which it is supposed he committed the murder.

The prisoner in his defence said, that they had lost their way; and that the boy got up into a tree with his assistance to see if there was any road near; that the boy fell from the tree and hurt himself very much; just before which he had had a fall over a log of wood; that finding the boy was altogether very much hurt, and that he could not stand, he covered him over with ling to keep him warm, and staid by him till he was dead.

Several witnesses proved that this account varied very much from the one he had first given, and the jury after a short deliberation, delivered their verdict, guilty.

The wager between Sir Robert Walpole and Pulteney afterwards Earl of Bath is well known, about the quotation from Horace, "Nil conscire sibi nulla pallescere culpa." Sir Robert lost the guinea which he laid on his knowledge of Latin, and on its being decided against him, tossed it across the table of the House of Commons to Pulteney. The latter caught it saying, it was the first money he had ever received from the Treasury and should be the last. This celebrated guinea is now in the possession of Sir William Pulteney, and it will be generally allowed that it could not be in safer custody.

20th. The particulars of the murder of the unfortunate Colonel Shadwell, which our readers will recollect in our Chronicle of last month, were stated to be as follows, on the trial of his murderers Philip Keating and John Keggan, at Maidstone, on the 18th instant.

John Self stated that he was servant to Colonel Peter Shadwell, and came with him in his curricle on the first of June last from Lewisham to Wrotham, where they stopped to refresh their horses. The prisoners came up in regimentals, when the following conversation took place between them and his master, "Well my lads where do you come from?"—"Maidstone." "And where are you going to?"—"London."—"What commanding officer did you see at Maidstone?"—"Captain Neville."—"You mistake, there is no such officer there. Do you mean Captain Skeen?"—"O yes that is the name we meant."—He then asked them to shew him their pass. The pri-

soner Keating said, "Come here, and we'll shew you our pass." On that word the Colonel sprang forward as the prisoners were then endeavouring to go away, and had proceeded six or seven yards, when the Colonel put out his hand and tried to catch hold of Keggan, but Keating wheeled round, took his pistol out and shot the Colonel instantly, who had not succeeded in seizing Keggan. The Colonel turned round saying, "John I am shot," he fell at the same instant, and did not survive one moment; he had five wounds, one of which was immediately through the heart. The prisoners made off each with a pistol in their hands; they were overtaken by persons who pursued them about a quarter of a mile, when Keggan said if any one came near them he would be shot. Gregory, one of the pursuers, who had a gun, told Keggan, that unless he threw his pistol down which he had presented at them several times he would shoot him; he threw his pistol down and surrendered himself. Keating would not surrender till Gregory fired at and wounded him, when they rushed upon him and secured him.

John Hills, servant at the Bull Inn at Wrotham, where Colonel Shadwell had stopped and who was present during the whole fatal transaction, corroborated the evidence of the first witness in every particular.

Lieut. Vere Ward of the 17th Light Dragoons, proved that the prisoners both deserted from that regiment on the 31st of May last.

Keating actually denied his guilt with the most astonishing effrontery. Keggan offered no defence; he seemed ill and was accommodated with a chair.

The Jury found Keating guilty, but acquitted Keggan. Judgment was immediately pronounced on the former, who was executed yesterday.

It is with much concern we state the loss of the Company's armed schooner, the Ganges, commanded by Captain Wade, the particulars of which are as follow: The Ganges came to an anchor on the evening of the 11th of January last, to the eastward of Lacam's Channel. The Laurel was then about four leagues farther in the offing, in a south easterly direction. About eight o'clock at night while Capt. Wade and his officers were on deck, a smell of burning oil and smoke came from the cabin. Upon going below, the smoke appeared to be coming from aft. The gun room was immediately cleared, and, on opening the skuttle of the after gun-room, the smoke rushed out and plainly indicated that to be the quarter where the mischief lay. Captain Wade directed all the powder that was in the gun-room and cabin to be instantly removed; while himself, officers and others were employed in throwing water into the after gun-room. Their efforts were greatly impeded by the suffocating vapours which compelled them to rush upon deck, when they saw the fire bursting forth from the cabin windows: Captain Wade however would not yet relinquish his exertions to get it under, but at the same time he directed his officers to get the boat out, and keep her clear a little a head of the schooner. This was no sooner done than

thirty or forty persons leaped a board, and the officers were obliged to put off to prevent being overloaded. Notwithstanding the most violent exertions the fire continued to gain upon Captain Wade and his assistants. At length he began to prepare some rafts, when just as he, his two boatswains and some sailors, were going aft in order to cut away the main-mast that it might serve as a spar, the fire reached the magazine which exploded with great violence, tearing up the deck from the tafferel to several feet before the main-mast. Eight men were killed, the second boatswain had his leg broken, and Captain Wade was thrown some distance forward. Upon recovering himself he found that the flames had nearly ceased, most of the parts that were on fire having been blown away by the explosion of the magazine. This gallant officer was therefore encouraged to renew his attempts to save the schooner; but unfortunately a part of the burning materials had been carried up to the main-top; and this communicating to the rigging set the whole on fire, which falling down from time to time rekindled the fire in various parts of the hull, and the flames quickly extending over nearly the whole of the wreck, left no time to deliberate and but little for a last exertion. Whatever things could be met with to answer the purpose, were hastily lashed together and put overboard as a raft, to which all the men on board, amounting to fifty nine were obliged to commit their safety. The poor boatswain who from his broken leg was unable to move was carried to the raft, and all hands having got hold it was pushed from alongside; immediately before leaving the schooner, Captain Wade had ordered the cable to be cut, that as it was ebb-tide the wreck of the schooner and the raft might be drifted together towards the Laurel; that the sight of the burning wreck might guide the boats of that ship in the track to find them; for having fired guns of distress when the fire first broke out, and as they knew the light must be seen by the Laurel, they confided in her coming to their assistance. The raft and the wreck continued drifting with the ebb-tide within pistol shot of each other, for about two hours, when the wreck suddenly went down; a circumstance that rendered their situation still more dismal, as the disappearance of the light lessened the chance of the expected boats falling in with them. Captain Wade proposed that they should raise at intervals a general shout, as the boats might perhaps be within hearing though not able to discern them. This expedient was readily adopted. After the lapse of six hours on the water, passed under the most awful anxiety, the sound of the pulling of oars inspired them with unspeakable joy, and in the course of half an hour they were taken up by the Laurel's boat, and safely carried on board, where they were received with all the kindness due to their misfortunes. The cause of the fire on board the Ganges, is ascribed to the spontaneous combustion of a small quantity of wood-oil, contained in a dubber, or leathern jar, which was stowed in the after gun-room. A fire originating from a like

cause occurred in the Arsenal at Fort William, about five years ago. As the boat's crew is not mentioned in our advices, it must be concluded that they reached the shore in safety.

23rd. At Worcester Assizes, George Soleby was found guilty of stealing a handkerchief at the Hop Market Inn, Worcester, and was sentenced to be transported for seven years; he is a Hop dealer of considerable property and respectable connections, and frequented the above inn, where the customers had for some time past complained of the loss of their pocket handkerchiefs from the pockets of their great coats, which were generally hung up in the common sitting room as they arrived, before they went out to attend the market. Some suspicion at length attaching to the prisoner, a handkerchief was marked and a person concealed to watch the event, who soon saw Soleby enter and commence a general search among the great coats, in the course of which he purloined the marked handkerchief. He was suffered to go out into the street, where he was publicly exposed and taken into custody.

The Rev. Mr. Pott, Archdeacon of St. Albans, was one morning last week riding leisurely along in his chariot, which passed two gentlemen near Hertford on horseback with a servant after them. Just after his carriage had passed these two gentlemen, the servant rode up and requested the coachman to stop, informing Mr. Pott with proper compliments that his master requested to speak a few words with him. Immediately the gentlemen appeared one at each window with a pistol, and with all imaginable politeness relieved the Archdeacon of his purse and pocket book.

25th. In consequence of some obstructions which the commissioners for dividing and enclosing the open fields of Wilbarston, Northampton, had met with from a number of persons claiming a right to the said fields; who not only avowed their determination to resist the fencing out of a piece of land allotted them in lieu of the common right, but had even set the civil power at defiance,—the Northampton and Althorp troops of Yeomanry were ordered to assemble at Harborough yesterday evening, and this morning they set out thence for Wilbarston, under the command of Major Cartwright, attended by the officers of the two troops, and by the Rev. Mr. Griffin one of the magistrates of the county, and having under their escort a waggon loaded with posts and rails for fencing out the above allotment. On approaching the place they found a mob of about 300 persons, who had lighted a bonfire in the middle of the road to impede the progress of the waggon which they would not allow to proceed. On which the magistrate read the riot act; and after waiting an hour the troops were ordered to advance and escort the waggon to the place of its destination, which was immediately done, and one or two of the most active of the mob were taken into custody. Soon after this the greater part of the crowd dispersed, when the Yeomanry returned, and the workmen were left in quiet possession of the field.

Letters from France state, that

Madame Royale arrived at Mittau on the third instant; and her marriage with the Duke D'Angouleme was celebrated on the 10th by the Cardinal de Montmorency, Grand Almoner of France. The interview of the Princess with Louis XVIII. who went four leagues from Mittau to meet her, occasioned a very tender scene between the uncle and niece, recalling all the misfortunes to which themselves and their illustrious family have been destined. The Queen of Louis also arrived at Mittau on the 4th instant.

7th. *Died.*—At Brompton the distinguished British Botanist, William Curtis, Esq. author of the '*Flora Londinensis*,' a work which is one of the first which Europe can boast for botanical accuracy and execution. He also contributed largely to the botanical magazine and published, '*Fundamenta Entomologiæ*,' or an Introduction to the Knowledge of Insects.

At Xanten, near Aix la Chapelle, M. De Pauw, author of three ingenious French works, intitled, 'Researches on the Americans, the Egyptians and Chinese, and the Greeks,' and uncle of Anacharsis Clootz.

At Paris, Lemonnier, the French Astronomer. He was one of those on whom the journey made to the North, in 1735, for the admeasurement of the Globe, principally depended.

At Newington, aged 102, a carpenter named Humphries, he was of very inferior abilities, and possessed so little curiosity that he had never been a mile from the house in which he was born during the whole course of his unusually protracted life.

At Caistor, near Norwich, —— Sayer, a butcher, aged 110 years. He followed his vocation, and retained his faculties, till the day of his death.

Lately, Mrs. Gatford, of Horsham, Sussex. She had not passed the threshold of her mansion for more than 20 years before her death. In consequence of which, her carriage was suffered, for want of use, to drop to pieces in the coach-house, and her horses to range uninterruptedly in fields of the richest pastures. She possessed a good fortune; and though, during her life-time, was not known to apply any part of it to charitable uses, yet her will proved, that at her demise she was not totally unmindful of the poor in her neighbourhood; to whom she bequeathed a considerable sum to be distributed in bread, and included other poor objects in the number of her legatees. The most singular of her bequests is 15*l. per annum*, to her cats and dogs, for their maintenance. The directions of her will, with respect to her interment, were, that her body should not be removed from her chamber until a month after her death; that, to prevent her becoming offensive, it should every night be bathed with spirits; and that her remains should be buried in four coffins, the outer one to be of marble, and fixed in the vault; which directions were duly observed at her burial on the 13th of August.

AUGUST.

1st. All the roads to Maidstone were yesterday so thronged with passengers and carriages of every description in consequence of the entertainment

to be given this day, by Lord Romney, to their Majesties and the Royal Family, that they were rendered almost impassable. This morning the King, Queen, and Princesses Elizabeth and Augusta, accompanied by the Countess of Harrington, set off at half-past five o'clock, from Kew Palace, for Lord Romney's seat in the Moat Park, about one mile from Maidstone. The royal party stopped to breakfast at Earl Camden's seat, at Riverhead, where they were met by the Prince, the Duke of Cumberland, and numbers of the nobility. A review of volunteers being to commence, the royal party reached the ground by twelve o'clock, on which above 5000 volunteers of the county of Kent, were drawn up, under the command of their own officers and his Royal Highness the Duke of York. Among the innumerable spectators might be reckoned the whole of the nobility who could possibly give their attendance, and all the beauty and fashion for many miles around. The regiments went through their manœuvres in a manner highly satisfactory to his Majesty, which he expressed in the handsomest terms. Marquees had been previously erected for the reception of their Majesties and the nobility, elegantly decorated with festoons and wreaths of flowers, and the ground covered with green baize; and tables laid for the volunteers within view of the royal pavilions: to give some idea of the dinner provided for the volunteers, there were 91 tables covered sufficiently to hold 6000 persons, and among the various dishes of their sumptuous entertainment, there were

160 fore and hind quarters of lamb,
200 sirloins of beef,
700 fowls, three in a dish,
220 meat pies,
300 hams,
300 tongues,
220 fruit pies,
220 dishes of boiled beef,
220 dishes of roasted veal,
220 dishes of roasted mutton,

7 pipes of port, 16 butts of ale, and as much porter and table beer were also placed in large vessels to supply the company. The greatest order was observed, though the utmost hilarity and conviviality reigned in every direction. A sumptuous banquet was afterwards served up in the pavilion to the royal family and their party, which consisted of their Majesties, the Princesses, the Dukes of York, Cumberland and Gloucester, (the Prince of Wales having returned to town after the review,) the Stadtholder, and Lady Harrington as lady in waiting on the Queen. They were waited upon during dinner by Lord Romney, his son and his three beautiful daughters. Another magnificent repast was prepared for the Nobility and Ministers of State, in a separate pavilion. The volunteers having finished their dinner, his Majesty's health was given in bumpers by upwards of six thousand all standing uncovered, with three times three, and the music of all the bands accompanying. God save the King was then sung by the whole body of the volunteers, with the music of all the bands, which had a most impressive and electrical effect. Many other loyal toasts and sentiments were afterwards drank till about

half-past five o'clock, when, on a signal gun being fired, the different companies withdrew from the dinner tables, got under arms and then marched off to their respective destinations. The royal family then went to Lord Romney's mansion, where they took coffee, and between six and seven set off for London, no doubt highly delighted by a day of such uninterrupted pleasure and gratification.

9th. Tuesday morning between one and two o'clock, a melancholy accident happened in Leadenhall-street. A servant maid belonging to Mr. Bensusus, who was left in the house to take care of it, during her master and mistress being at their residence at Blackheath, being alarmed by an apprehension of thieves opened the window and called out for the watch, when, taking hold of the window curtain for support as she leaned forward, the rod upon which it was suspended gave way, and the poor girl was precipitated upon the pavement from the height of three stories—wonderful to relate she was taken up alive, and though several bones are broken and she is bruised in the most dreadful manner, her medical attendants do not relinquish all hopes of her recovery.

12th. Advices have been received at the India-house, of the loss of the Earl Fitzwilliam East Indiaman, by a sudden fire breaking out in the gun-room, from some cause which has not yet been ascertained. Every exertion was made to save the ship, but the fire became universal in the short space of five minutes, by the flames coming up the companion and setting fire to the splinter netting. Every one then tried to save himself; the spars, gratings, &c. were thrown overboard, upon which the Lascars immediately jumped. All the officers and the Europeans went forward and about eighteen went upon the sprit-sail yard, endeavouring to cut it away, they had not been there three minutes when the mainmast went with a horrible crash over the starboard gangway. The fire was raging with dreadful violence and the guns which had all that afternoon been double shotted went off at intervals, in tremendous peals. By this time however the boats of the Thetis came to their relief, and to their immortal honour, notwithstanding the ship was expected every moment to blow up, saved every one of the crew. This was principally effected by a gallant young midshipman of the Thetis, who in a sloop's boat with two hands went close to the wreck and picked the men off and carried them to the large boats, which kept at a distance. This he did till all were in safety.

The quantity of company's cargo was considerable; 4500 bags of salt-petre and 600 bales. Most of the captain's and officers private trade was also on board.

A melancholy accident happened the beginning of this month, at the Dargle County Wicklow. The lady of Baron George, her sister, Miss Moore and the children, being on an excursion in that part of the country in a jaunting car, the harness gave way in going down a steep hill, and the horses being frightened ran headlong down the descent, and overturned the carriage, in

consequence of which Miss Moore was killed, the Baron's lady much hurt and a limb of one of the children broken.

17th. The oldest person in Manchester can scarcely remember a torrent of rain and wind so long, incessant, and boisterous as that of this day. Many mills with valuable machinery are swept away, and several families have in a moment, as it were, been forced from the comforts of life, to seek the bitter bread of chance and adversity. The river exhibited a terrific scene; many hundred pieces of manufactured goods might be descried upon the waters. One person alone has lost above eight hundred. Numberless cattle, sheep, horses, &c. have been swept away by the merciless element: the banks of many canals have been forced and the adjacent lands inundated. In the vicinity of the local streams the destruction has been shocking; palings, walls, fences, summer and green houses have been carried away in every direction. At Castleford a farmer has lost 100 acres of hay. At Fairburn, Mr. Jackson has lost hay to the amount of more than 500 pounds. At Ferrybridge both the great inns were overflowed a considerable height; and the banks of the river there being broken the loss to the farmers and mill-wrights cannot yet be estimated. The head of a mill-pond on the Ludlow road from Worcester gave way, owing to the force of the current, and the water rushing out with irresistible fury, drowned five horses in a team loaded with coal at a short distance, before any assistance could be given them.

23rd. Dr. Priestly now leads a life of seclusion from society in America. He resides on a small estate in the county of Northumberland, which was originally purchased for him by his son. The Doctor has had little reason to be satisfied with the conduct of his democratic friends in the United States. As a noble French traveller observes, 'a few dinners given to him at New York, where he landed, and at Philadelphia whither he afterwards proceeded, formed the whole train of honours that graced his reception.'

28th. Our countrymen who have been employed at Revel in conducting the embarkation of the Russian troops, have been honoured with great marks of attention from the Emperor and his family. His Imperial Majesty requested the Nile lugger in which Capt. Popham went to Petersburgh, to be brought up close to his Palace at Peterhoff, where he went on board, accompanied only by one nobleman. The vessel was immediately got under weigh, and there being a fine breeze his Majesty was highly surprised and gratified by the swiftness of her sailing. After a two hours cruize he was landed again at the Palace, when the lugger gave him a royal salute.

It appears that the account which he gave of the English vessel had greatly excited the curiosity of the Imperial Family, as next day Capt. Popham was honoured by a visit from the Emperor, Empress, four Princesses, and three Princes with their retinue. They were of course treated with a sail, with which

they were greatly delighted, and with much condescension partook of some ship-beef and biscuit. The Emperor was both times particularly attentive to every thing on board the lugger, visiting every part of her, and when the sailors were hoisting the sails, he insisted upon 'helping for once to set the sails of a vessel belonging to his gracious Ally,' and actually hauled the rope with the men. The Empress begged that the crew would sing 'God save the King,' which was instantly complied with to her Majesty's entire satisfaction.

Capt. Popham was presented by the Emperor with an elegant snuff box set with diamonds, and with a valuable ring from her Imperial Majesty. The Emperor also knighted Capt. Popham, conferring on him the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Lieut. Pratt, Capt. Popham's assistant in this business, has also been presented with a gold snuff box from the Emperor, and a handsome gold watch and chain from the Empress.

By the beginning of the last month 148 out of 310 French Priests, who have been transported by order of the Directory to Guiana, had perished among the burning sands, the morasses and the woods in which that wild country abounds. Thirteen of the survivors found means of escaping from Synnamari in a canoe. They sailed for the Coromantis. Three were lost in the marshy deserts which they had to pass. Ten arrived at Demerara. The English inhabitants of that island subscribed 250*l.* sterling, to procure them clothes and to furnish them with the means of proceeding to England. One of these unfortunate men died at Berbice, the rest have arrived at Liverpool.

It is to the charity of our countrymen and to that of the French Emigrants and Priests dispersed not only in England, but on the Continent and even in Turkey, that those who are transported owe their means of subsistence, and those who have escaped that of their deliverance. The produce of the generosity of all these classes was confided to a courageous Ecclesiastic, who succeeded in transmitting clothes and provisions to the place of their exile. The accounts from this agent are dated July 1st, 1799. There were then 900 other Priests confined in the Isle of Rhé, near Rochelle, destined to be transported to the same deadly residence.

31st. We regret to state that Lieutenant Shermer, of his Majesty's ship Formidable, now at Torbay, lost his life on the 6th day of July last, off Minorca, in a humane endeavour to save that of another. A fine young midshipman fell overboard from the top-mast head, when Lieutenant Shermer immediately jumped after him and perished with the youth whom he had so gallantly attempted to rescue.

The rains during the latter part of this month have been more general and more severe than were perhaps ever before experienced in this country. Our letters from all quarters are replete with the most distressing account of their effects.

The devastation in Lancashire has been extensive and considerable; almost all the bridges on the Mersey, the Tame, the Wed-

lock, the Irk, the Irwell, &c. have been destroyed, as well as numerous mills on their banks; the aqueducts and banks of some of the canals have given way, and all the adjoining country has been laid under water. Some dye-houses on the Irwell, &c. have been demolished, and immense quantities of cloth carried away; one house is stated to have lost 800 pieces.

In Worcestershire the inundations occasioned by the overflow of the Severn, Team, and in fact all the streams and rivulets in the county, have been greatly destructive to the farmers of hay, corn, sheep, &c. The rain here has prevailed three weeks almost without intermission, and travelling during the last week was nearly suspended.

In Yorkshire the floods were attended by a storm, which greatly contributed to the damage they occasioned. The canal at Huddersfield has been considerably injured, and several mills and houses near Holmfirth, and other places in the West Riding, have been entirely swept away, by the overflowing of the different streams. The rivers Ouse and Tees rose unusually high.

The mail which should have reached Birmingham at 2 o'clock on Wednesday, did not arrive there until seven in the evening. The passengers, &c. were forwarded over the flooded places in boats, the coach being necessarily left behind. In Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, and in fact in almost every county in the kingdom, the inundations have been extensive and greatly injurious. Many hundred acres of grass ready for the scythe have been laid under water and materially injured, by the overflowing of the river Derwent, and a considerable quantity of new hay has been carried away. Markeaton brook which runs through Derby, has likewise done much damage. The rise of the Trent yesterday se'nnight was almost instantaneous: hundreds of persons were employed on its banks during the morning making hay; and in the course of the evening several thousand acres were totally inundated and many tons of grass and hay carried down the stream. Near Sawley a very large number of sheep were lost; and at Catton a fine boy twelve years of age was drowned. The lower part of the town of Ashburn was inundated to such an extent that the inhabitants were driven to the second stories of their houses. The Manchester heavy coach in passing Hanging Bridge was nearly lost; the water roared over the bridge, and for the space of 300 yards rushed in a torrent across the road, and the horses swam till by most fortunate and almost miraculous exertion they regained the road. 200 persons were collected, expecting every instant to see the coach either overwhelmed by the torrent or dashed down a precipice of considerable height, but without being able to afford the least assistance. On other parts of the road the water was so high that the body of the coach was half immersed, and the horses up to their necks: the trees were their only guide, the hedges being in general washed away. The road about Cardiff has been perfectly impassable. Two bridges

near Congleton, one near Stone, and another near Newcastle have been demolished, but we are happy to add that we hear of scarcely any lives having been lost, and that the waters generally subsided with a rapidity almost equal to that which marked their approach.

8th. Died at his house in Newman-street, Oxford-street, after a short illness, John Bacon, Esq. R. A. the celebrated English Sculptor. This artist was chiefly distinguished from his predecessors in having arrived at so high a pitch of excellence without having been educated for the profession; and it is a curious fact that the instrument which he invented, to aid his first unassisted attempts at sculpture on marble, has since been adopted by all the principal sculptors, both in this country and on the Continent. Of the works of this artist exhibited at different periods at the Royal Academy, the following may be enumerated: statues of Mars and Venus; colossal bust of Jupiter; colossal statue of the Thames; several small figures in marble and a monument since placed in the Cathedral at Bristol, to the memory of Mrs. Draper, celebrated by Sterne under the name of Eliza. But the most important work which Mr. Bacon has executed is the monument of Lord Chatham, in Westminster Abbey. When Mr. Bacon was young and unpatronised he was accused of being perfectly ignornant of the antique style of sculpture, in answer to which he produced shortly afterwards his large head of Jupiter Tonans which was inspected by several eminent connoisseurs and mistaken for a fine antique: they even enquired 'from what temple abroad it had been brought.' Mr. Bacon's character in private life was particularly amiable and benevolent, he was also an humble and devout Christian, and in conformity with this character, one of his last requests was that a plain stone might be laid over his grave, bearing only his name and age, with the following inscription:

"What I was as an Artist seemed to me
Of some importance while I lived,
BUT
What I really was as a believer in Christ Jesus
Is the only thing of importance to me now."

20th. At Well Hall, near Eltham, Kent, John Arnold, Esq. of the Bank Buildings, Cornhill, eminent for his improvements in the mechanism of time-keepers, for which he had repeatedly received premiums from the Board of Longitude. He was the inventor of the Expansion Balance, of the present detached escapement, and the first artist who ever applied the gold cylindrical spring to the balance of a time-piece.

28th. At Worcester, aged 21, Isabella Edmonds. She had been married on the same morning and died suddenly between nine and ten o'clock at night, without the least previous warning or indisposition.

At Annonny, in his 52d year, Stephen Montgolfier, celebrated for his invention of air-balloons. He was a paper-maker, and extremely well versed in mechanics and chymistry. The paper which he manufactured equalled the Dutch paper, and contributed con-

siderably to the celebrity of French printing. He was the first who made vellum paper in France.

29th. At Valence, in France, after having reigned 24 years, 6 month, and 14 days, aged 81 years and 8 months, Pope Pius VI. formerly Cardinal John Angelo Braschi. He was born at Cesena, Dec. 27, 1717; was created cardinal by his predecessor, Clement XIV. in April, 1773; elected pope, Feb. 15, crowned the 22d of the same month, and took possession at St. John Lateran's, Nov. 30, in the same year, 1775.

SEPTEMBER.

2nd. Yesterday as Captain Burn, of the Mars East Indiaman, with Mr. Goodeve, a Mercer of Portsmouth, one of his passegers, a seaman, and a boy, were fishing at Spithead, the sail gibbed in a gust of wind, and the boat upset. By this accident Capt. Burn, a highly respectable gentleman of excellent character unfortunately perished. The others were saved.

Thursday last his Majesty's free pardon was received by the Under Sheriff of Exeter, for Lieutenant Stevenson, who had been under sentence of death since the Lent assizes, for being accessary to a duel fought by Mr. Carew, in which the antagonist of the latter was killed. Mr. Carew still continues under sentence.

5th. We are sorry to state that Mr. Fox has met with a very serious accident; a double barrelled gun burst in the firing and considerably shattered his left hand. He has returned to town in consequence and his wound is in a fair way to do well.

Last week as Philip Shelley Sidney, Esq. of Penshurst, in Kent, was paddling in a canoe, which he brought with him from Nova Scotia, in a large pond, it suddenly overset, and notwithstanding there were three persons on the spot, one of them Mr. Sidney's brother, the unfortunate young gentleman though an excellent swimmer sunk from being entangled in the weeds, and was not found until nine hours after the accident. He was only twenty-two years of age.

The items of a fashionable Taylor's bill are very curious at present. 'To paste-board for your back,' 'to buckram for your throat,' 'to wool for your shoulders,' 'to cotton for your chest,' &c. &c. Shakspeare talks of nature's journeymen who make men but indifferently; our taylors journeymen, however, are more expert and can render their customers of any size or dimensions they may think proper.

6th. At the Police Office, Hatton Garden, on Wednesday last, Joannah Pasco, alias Dennis, alias Gould, alias Blaney, was examined on a charge of bigamy. Dennis proved his marriage with the prisoner, when the latter recriminated on Dennis, for having afterwards married a woman of the name of Haggart, who died in the workhouse some time since. Being absent from Dennis six years, the prisoner married Gould who used her with great unkindness; afterwards she became acquainted with Blaney whom she married last March; but he

not attending, the consideration of the charge was put off to a future day. At the same time Dennis was also committed to be brought up again. It appears that the poor woman has been treated with much barbarity by her respective husbands. Her attachment to Dennis was so great that she made a voyage to New York to meet him, but without success. She then returned to England, and encountered him by accident at Falmouth. They did not continue long together before they again separated, and met for the first time in court after the space of six years.

9th. Mr. H. Sheppard, the Water Bailiff, gave information, on Saturday, to the Lord Mayor, that two fine whales had been caught in the river Thames, within the jurisdiction of the city of London. The first was seen on Monday last, between the Chapman and the Isle of Cauxey, and before Tuesday noon it was attacked and killed by a fisherman and his boy. It measures 30 feet long and 18 round. On Thursday the second was discovered, and killed by the armed spikesmen of Leigh, who finding this one to be much larger than the other, were obliged to use every art to master him. This measures 38 feet long and 20 round. It is expected they will be floated up the river in a few days to be cut up in Greenland Dock.

The rain fell yesterday in such torrents that the flood at Melbourn, in the county of Leicester, was by far the highest remembered by two person of the advanced age of ninety years, who have always resided in that parish. In a few hours the rivulet rose twelve perpendicular feet; and several houses were inundated, into which the water had never before been known to enter, even during the highest floods. A bed of large gravel and stones containing about 60 or 70 loads, was brought down by the rapidity of the stream, and lay together in an oblong heap in the town street; and in some places the brook has changed its course, and entirely formed a new bed. These uncommonly heavy rains are the more alarming, as the greatest part of the wheat and barley are now standing in the fields. The beans are nearly all mowed, but none carried; a circumstance which the oldest person cannot recollect to have happened before. A small brook between Rothswell and Desborough, in the county of Northampton, at the same time, rose 14 feet perpendicular.

Turin.—Yesterday our university was shut, and the colleges sealed by order of the king. This morning 70 priests, who were hitherto confined in the archbishop's seminary, were embarked on the Po, to be transported. Among the provisors of our university were several jacobins. Our city has presented field-marshal Suvarroff with a beautiful gold-hilted sword, as a token of gratitude for their delivery. He graciously received this present, and invited the deputes who delivered it to dine with him.

The feast of the re-conquest of Mantua has recently been celebrated with great solemnity in that city. Before the Cathedral the following beautiful inscriptions were exhibited: '*Deo redemptori*

quod Mantua feliciter expugnata, et a clementissimo D.N. Imp. Francisco II. Semp. Aug. iterum in fidem recepta, Italiam a triennali captivitate liberaverit: plausu orbis Christiani gratiarum solemnia.'

On Friday in last week the Princess of Hohenlohe and suite arrived at Dresden, and alighted at the Hotel de Pologne. The following morning the doors of her apartment were found open; the bed of the Princess and the floor of the bed-room stained with blood; and neither she nor her jewels, money, clothes and other effects were to be found. None of her servants or equipage are missing. Horsemen have been despatched in different directions; and every one is anxious to unriddle this mysterious occurrence.

Accounts from Sweden mention the accidental drowning of a woman of the name of Olossou, aged ninety six. Her father was found dead in the streets of Stockholm; her mother stabbed herself. She had been united in marriage to three husbands, the first was hanged for the murder of her own brother; the second was blown up by a mine, at the siege of Schiveindtz, and the third, with whom she lived 20 years, was suffocated by the fumes of a Laboratory. Her youngest son was drowned, and her eldest executed. Her brother as has been told met with his death from the hands of her first husband; and of three sisters, one was murdered by a man to whom she was to have been married, one was choaked by a fish bone, and the third was strangled by her maid servant, who suffered death for the crime. In fine the misfortunes of this family extended to their most distant connections, and it is said that could the crimes and misfortunes of every separate member be collected into one narrative, it would exceed all human conception and be deemed utterly incredible.

The following is a list of Claimants in Ireland, who suffered in the rebellion of the summer of 1798, in the following counties.

	£	s.	d.
Antrim	17,662	7	10½
Carlow	26,273	5	8
Clare	856	9	11½
Corke.....	1,832	10	2½
Downe	12,062	7	10
Dublin	24,712	0	11
Galway	4,093	9	8½
Kildare	93,223	6	3½
King's	2,494	9	10½
Kilkenny	27,842	7	10
Leitrim	2,316	19	5½
Longford	1,011	19	8
Mayo.....	99,739	18	1½
Meath	13,753	6	1½
Queen's.....	1,815	16	11
Roscommon...	329	5	10
Sligo	15,671	18	2
Tipperary	1,366	7	9
Waterford	1,322	18	11
Westmeath....	2,808	3	7
Wexford	311,341	1	7
Wicklow	129,978	14	9
	£792,508	7	0½

All these claims were put in before the Commissioners appointed by Act of Parliament for the aid of suffering loyalty.

15th. A large and brilliant meteor was observed about half-past eight on the evening of this day. The sky was tolerably clear, and it passed in a direction from the N. W. to the S. E. at a considerable elevation in the at-

mosphere. It had the appearance of a beautifully blazing ball, rapidly passing along, with a gently tremulous motion, but without noise, and just before it became extinct, a few red sparks detached themselves from it, as is the case when a rocket is falling. Though, probably, like other meteors it was produced by inflammable air, kindled by an electric spark, the light was much more vivid than inflammable air usually exhibits when burning, resembling rather the white light of fireworks, which is produced by filings of zinc. Its real altitude and exact course could only be ascertained by those accustomed to astronomical observation, if any such were fortunate enough to be in a good situation for a view of it; but, as it certainly was pretty high, it must have been visible over a large portion of the earth. The day had been very rainy; in the afternoon there had been a little thunder; and about ten minutes before the meteor appeared there were some coruscations of lightning towards the east.

16th. This day the choral service of Winchester Cathedral re-commenced, accompanied by the first public performance on the new organ, which being built by Avery created the highest expectations in the amateurs of musical excellence, and these expectations have been rather exceeded than disappointed, for this charming instrument forms a composition of the sublimest and most perfect tones that art can produce, and must be considered as an enviable ornament to the venerable pile that contains it, as well as a lasting monument of fame to the builder. Previous to the Cathedral being re-opened it was visited by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, attended by the Reverend the Dean and a select party from the Deanery, for the purpose of hearing the organ. The Prince was greatly delighted, and expressed in strong terms his admiration of the tones and construction of this noble piece of mechanism.

Letters from Halifax, Nova Scotia, of the 16th ultimo, mention several most daring attempts which have been made to destroy the dock-yard by fire, by some incendiaries, who nearly succeeded in effecting their diabolical purpose. The particulars are as follow:

On Saturday, August the 11th, at a quarter before three o'clock in the afternoon, one of the watchmen on duty in the dock-yard, accidentally looking through one of the windows of the boat-house, was surprised to see a blaze of fire within side, and immediately gave the alarm.—On opening the doors a large fire was found, lighted against one of the store-room doors, near which a considerable quantity of ammunition was lodged, and before the fire could be extinguished it had burned the door nearly half through. Had it remained undiscovered a few minutes longer, the whole building must have been in flames. On searching farther a large quantity of lighted timber was found at the end of the boat-house amidst a quantity of chips and shavings which were bursting into flames at the moment of discovery. Upon the following day, as some people belonging to the yard were employed in landing stores near the

Commisioner's house, they observed a smoke issuing from the roof of the stables, and the alarm being immediately given, the doors were broke open, and the stables found to be on fire in two places — in the rack under the hay, and also in the hay loft above, the remains of a lighted broom, which had been dipped in sulphur, were found burning. As the stables had been for a long time unoccupied and locked up, it was difficult to conceive how the incendiaries had got in, till it was found that the nails had been drawn out of a scuttle which had been nailed up at the back of the stables next the water, and which was large enough to allow a man to creep through. A very serious alarm being naturally excited by two such daring attempts, an application was made by Admiral Vandeput to General Ogilvie, for a guard of troops for the better security of the dock-yard, when a detachment of an officer and 24 men were ordered to do duty daily in the yard, in addition to the usual watch, and every precaution was taken to guard against any attempts that might be made in future. On the 14th however, an alarm of fire was again given at ten o'clock at night, and a room in one of the porter's lodges, which had been for some time used as a carpenter's shop, was found to be on fire, from a shawl with lighted coals in it, having been thrust through a broken pane of glass; and the porter's son who slept in the adjoining room, was nearly smothered by the smoke before the danger was discovered.

Every inquiry has been made that could lead to the detection of the incendiaries, but without effect, though there is no doubt that some diabolical plot is in existence for the destruction of the dock-yard, and perhaps of the town also, as on the evening before our correspondent's letter is dated, a number of pistol ball-cartridges were discovered hid under the fire-engine house, near the church in town; and he proceeds to say that the then situation of Halifax was the most favorable that could well be imagined for such an attempt, as all the wells were in general dry, from the uncommon drought which has prevailed there, and the town had of late become the receptacle of numberless miscreants, who have fled thither to escape the arm of justice, so that it swarms with strangers and villains of every description.

21st. This day a very curious trial came on at the Old Bailey. Jeremiah Beck, a respectable young man of very good character, was indicted for feloniously assaulting Jane Gibbs, in Kensington Gardens, on the 20th of June last, and taking from her person a red leather purse containing ten guineas, one half guinea, and two seven shilling pieces, her property. The evidence of the prosecutrix went to all appearance to confirm the fact of the robbery beyond the possibility of doubt. It was clear, distinct, circumstantial, and seemingly conclusive, and confirmed by a witness who was present during the latter part of the transaction, and at the request of the plaintiff ran after and assisted in securing the prisoner. When the evidence for the prosecution had

closed, the prisoner commenced his defence in a modest but unembarrassed manner. He stated that the plaintiff had addressed him and sat down on a bench by him, where she began with a history of distress, and terminated with improper solicitations, which he rejected, and was about to quit her, when as he put his hand into his pocket with the intent of giving her a shilling, she seized his arms with the strength of a man, and grasping him round put her hand into his pocket and took out the very money of which she now accused him of robbing her. She did not attempt to make off with it, but returned it to him piece by piece, slowly, and deliberately examining each as she gave it to him. Rejoiced at this unexpected restitution, he was getting away from her as fast as possible, when she began shrieking out that she was robbed, he then set off running and was pursued and taken, and carried immediately to Bow-street. He could scarcely hope that this statement should be credited upon his word only, but the unasked kindness of several gentlemen enabled him to corroborate it, he trusted beyond all doubt.

Mr. Brace, a lawyer, Mr. Clayton, clerk to the surveyors of the navy office, Mr. GeraldFitzGerald, an officer in the army, Mr. Gilbert, of Salisbury-square, and several others all deposed that they had been assailed in the streets by Jane Gibbs, whose person and countenance when once seen it was impossible to forget as a common woman of the town. She had in several instances accused them of robbing her, either of money, a gold chain, or some trinket. In addition to these witnesses the Rev. Dr. Ford, ordinary of Newgate, who was only by accident in court, was at his own request sworn as a witness, and deposed that he had been assaulted by the plaintiff, and accused by her of robbing her, that she seized him in order to take forcibly from him the money of which she pretended to have been robbed, and from her uncommon strength he began to think it was a man in disguise. He called the watch, and being well known in the neighbourhood got rid of her. Since that he had seen her forty or fifty different times, once in the dress of a quaker, but her face was so remarkable that he should be able to recognise it under any disguise.

Other witnesses were in waiting, but the Jury professed themselves to be perfectly satisfied, and the prisoner was accordingly acquitted.

Jane Gibbs is very tall and thin, with enormous bones, and of a most masculine appearance, her face is very large though nothing but skin and bone, she is dreadfully seamed with the small pox, which appears to have distorted every feature. Her nose is remarkably small, and very much turned up. She has lost two upper front teeth and squints most horribly.

Towards the end of January last, a large dog of a species not known in this country, made his appearance in the neighbourhood of Alnwick, in Northumberland, and did infinite mischief to the flocks, &c. At first a considerable reward was offered to the person who should destroy him, but every attempt for that purpose was ren-

dered futile by his swiftness, his ferocity and his caution. Several hunting parties were then formed with as little succes, and it was only last week that this tremendous animal was destroyed, after infesting the country near nine months, and killing upwards of two thousand sheep!—Sir Henry Fletcher with two packs of hounds and above fifty gentlemen on horseback, set out from Hesketh, Newmarket, on the 17th inst. Several persons with fire-arms were stationed in different parts. The dog was descried upon an eminence on Carrock Fell, and seeing his pursuers led them a chase of between thirty and forty miles, when he was shot by Mr. Sewell, a farmer of Wedlock, who was lying in ambush, in Mossdale. He appears to be somewhat of the Newfoundland breed, but unusually large, wire haired, and extremely lean. During the chase he frequently turned and wounded the headmost dogs so as to disable them. The event of his death was deemed one of so much importance that a grand entertainment took place, by subscription, on the occasion, at Hesketh, Newmarket.

Died.—At Vienna (an example of the good effects of industry and parsimony), Charles Abraham Wetzler, baron of Blankenberg, a baptized jew, who began his career by performing slight-of-hand tricks, afterwards became an under-commissary in the seven years war, and ended it in the 85th year of his age as a baron. He has left three sons and five daughters, three of whom are married to barons Aughlbergh, Lezency, and Lowenbrunn, and two to counts Testeties and Clary. His fortune is estimated at five millions of florins, about 500,000*l.* sterling.

At Bowood-park, (the seat of the Marquis of Landsdown), 7th. John Ingenhousz, M. D. physician to his Imperial Majesty, fellow of the royal society of London, and of several other learned societies; a man of great simplicity of manners and benevolence of disposition; to whom the public are indebted for several curious and useful discoveries, particularly in the application of pneumatic chemistry and natural philosophy to the purposes of medical and agricultural improvements. His 'Experiments upon Vegetables, discovering their great Power of purifying the common Air in Sunshine, and of injuring it in the Shade and at Night,' first published in 8vo. 1779, have since been extended and improved, and republished lately on the continent, in collections of his works, in French and German editions, which include his papers in the 'Philosophical Transactions.' Prefixed to these editions is a portrait of the author. He was a native of Breda, and for some time practised physic in his native country. He came to England about the year 1767, to acquire information concerning the Suttonian method of inoculating the small-pox; and in 1768, (on the recommendation of the late Sir John Pringle, who very highly esteemed him) he was engaged to go to Vienna to inoculate the archduchess Theresa-Elizabeth, (the only daughter of the emperor Joseph II.) and the archdukes Ferdinand and Maximilian, brothers of the emperor. In the

spring of the following year he went to Italy, and inoculated the grand duke of Tuscany. The rewards of these services were the rank of body physician and counsellor of state to their imperial majesties, with a pension for life of about 600*l.* sterling *per annum*. For several years past he has resided in this country, to which, from his first acquaintance with it, he has always been much attached, and where he passed his time almost unceasingly in scientific pursuits. In 'Philosophical Transactions,' vol. LXV. are his experiments on the torpedo; LXVI. easy methods of measuring the diminution of bulk taking place on the mixture of common and nitrous air, with experiments on platina; LXVIII. a ready way of lighting a candle by a very small electrical spark; *ibid.* 1027, electrical experiments to explain how far the phænomena of the electrophorus may be accounted for by Dr. Franklin's theory of positive and negative electricity; LXIX. account of a new kind of inflammable air or gas; *ibid.* 537, some new methods of suspending magnetical needles; *ibid.* 661. improvements in electricity; LXX. on the degree of salubrity of the common air at sea, compared with that of the sea-shore, and that of places removed from the sea; LXXII. some farther considerations on the influence of the vegetable kingdom on the animal creation.

OCTOBER.

1st. The rains which fell recently in the eastern part of the county of Sussex, have been heavy to an extent almost beyond conception. The damage done by the high and rapid flowings of the water to bridges, roads, mills, hop-gardens, and corn-fields is immense. Many families, whose habitations were situated near to rivers and streams, or on low ground, were obliged to fly to the upper apartments for the preservation of their lives, and remain there until this extraordinary flood had subsided. At Lewes Bridge and a variety of other places the water rose to the height of several feet above what it had ever done before in the memory of the oldest man living; and the swell was so powerful, that it rose at Uckfield five feet in the short space of one minute. Two unfortunate men, who lived at Uckfield were, by the impetuosity of the torrent, swept away from their own doors while they were attempting in vain to dam the water from their houses, and carried off in the sight of some hundreds of persons, who could render them no assistance. They were however discovered about three hours after, lodged against a willow tree, 50 rods down the stream, when a man at the peril of his own life swam to them, and found one, of the name of Curtis yet alive, but could then afford him no relief. He was, however, soon after taken out by the help of ropes and a long ladder, and carried to a public house where he appeared sensible, and uttered several words, but expired in about an hour and a half afterwards. Attempts were at the same time made to get out the body of Wood, the other sufferer, but it again got afloat and was

not found till the next day. Curtis was a very useful man in his neighbourhood and much respected. He kept the parish accounts, which, with a number of other accounts of consequence to individuals, were carried away by the flood; but the desk that contained most of them was found at the bottom of the river, and the parish poor-book picked up yesterday. Lord Gage gave the man who ventured into the water two guineas for his humane exertions.

2nd. A very extraordinary robbery was committed yesterday morning, at the Exchequer Bill office, in Palace-yard. The thieves cut through a door near nine inches thick in order to gain an entrance, and broke open every desk in the office, but they only found notes to the amount of 150*l.* and did not take a single Exchequer Bill. The great depository of notes was attempted, but without success, as it is inclosed in a thick stone arch with a heavy iron door to it. Two men are suspected who were seen lurking about the office on Sunday afternoon, and went into Waghom's coffee-house afterwards. The description given of them tallies with that of two notorious housebreakers; a woman it is also thought has had some share in the robbery.

4th. An accident of an alarming tendency happened at Manchester a few days since; one of the blue-coat boys belonging to the college, while attending service at the old church, picked up two or three pills that had been laid for the destruction of rats. Ignorant of the danger he broke and distributed them among his school-fellows; nine of whom ate thereof. White arsenic being a part of the composition, the poisonous effects were soon manifested, and for some time little hopes were entertained of their recovery. Immediate medical help, however, being called in, happily succeeded, and although in a very weak state, they are all now pronounced out of danger.

8th. Sir William Staines having early declined the Poll for Lord Mayor; and Aldermen Coombe and Skinner being returned to the Court of Aldermen, the latter on a scrutiny was declared duly elected, but declined taking on him the high office, consequently Alderman Coombe is now Lord Mayor elect.

In consequence of a misunderstanding which occurred between Admiral Lord St. Vincent and Vice-Admiral Sir John Orde, while they were on service in the Mediterranean, a challenge was sent by the latter to the noble Earl a few days since, and was accepted by him. Yesterday morning was the day appointed for the hostile meeting; but their intention having been privately made known to Mr. Justice Ford, a warrant was granted against both these gallant officers, under the authority of which, Sir John was arrested early yesterday morning, at Durant's hotel in Jermyn Street, by Townshend and Sayers, who kept him in custody till ten o'clock, when Mr. Ford bound him over in the penalty of 2000*l.* to keep the peace, and two sureties in 1000*l.* each. Mr. Ford then set off express, attended by Townshend, to the seat of Lord St. Vincent, at Brentford, near which the duel

was to have been fought; and where they found his lordship preparing to set out and meet his antagonist. Mr. Ford immediately informed him of the nature of his errand, and bound him over to keep the peace, on the same terms as those to which Sir John had been obliged to subscribe. We understand that Earl Spencer and Mr. Secretary Dundas are the sureties for each. The misunderstanding alluded to, originated in the neglect which Sir John Orde conceived to have been manifested towards him, by the appointment of Rear-Admiral Nelson to the command of the squadron with which he vanquished the French fleet off the coast of Egypt, although Sir John was his superior in rank in the fleet of Lord St. Vincent, from which that squadron was detached. Sir John remonstrated on the subject, and the correspondence, which in consequence passed between him and the noble Earl, was of so unpleasant a nature, that he resigned his command and came to England. On his arrival he applied to the Admiralty to be allowed an opportunity of justifying his conduct; but Lord Spencer endeavoured, in the most handsome manner, to dissuade him from his purpose; at the same time assuring him, that their lordships entertained the highest opinion of his conduct both as an officer and a gentleman. In this situation the affair rested, till the recent return of Lord St. Vincent afforded Sir John an opportunity of making a personal application to his lordship for the satisfaction to which he considered himself entitled, and we are most happy that we are thus enabled to record the peaceable termination of a business, which might have cost the country the life of one or both of these brave and meritorious officers.

18th. Authentic accounts from Barbary, state the plague to be increasing in that country to a most calamitous extent. Muley Soliman, by marching an infected army from the south, has spread this terrible disease over the whole empire. Morocco is a perfect desert, the mortality being between two and three thousand a day, and as the greater number of dead are left unburied, the stench of the putrid carcases increases and promotes the ravages of the malady. Muley Tick and all his followers, are dead to a man, and many of the inhabitants having deserted to Sier, and towards the coast of Guinea, the infection had been carried to the very borders of the great desert. In Mogadore the disease is in its infancy, and the deaths are not more than seventy or eighty daily, and all the towns thence northward on the coast, including Larache, are about in the same stage of the disorder. Aygilla, Tangiers, and Tetuan, are yet free, and it has ceased in Mequinez and Fez; but the latter city is depopulated; the deaths there are estimated (with the dependant villages) at 274,000, in which are included upwards of 30,000 of the principal Taibs and merchants of the country. The Emperor and court have quitted Morocco after witnessing the deaths of several of his imperial Majesty's nearest relatives and most distinguished favorites.

They remained a while at Mogadore, but driven from thence by the same tremendous leveller of the prince and the peasant, they encamped between Fez and Rebat, where hearing the plague had ceased at Mequinez, they had taken up their residence in that capital.

19th. Intelligence was this day received at the Admiralty, from Admiral Mitchell, communicating the total loss of La Lutine frigate, of 32 guns, Captain Skynner, on the outward banks of the Fly Island passage. On the night of the 9th inst., in a heavy gale of wind at N.N.W.; La Lutine had on the same morning sailed from Yarmouth Roads with several passengers, and an immense quantity of treasure for the Texel; but a strong lee-tide rendered every effort of Capt Skynner, to avoid the threatened danger, unavailing; and it was alike impossible, during the night, to receive any assistance, either from the Arrow, Capt. Portlock, with which she was in company, or from the shore, whence several schoots were in readiness to go to her. When the dawn broke, La Lutine was in vain looked for; she had gone to pieces, and all on board unfortunately perished, except two men who were picked up, one of whom has since died from fatigue. The survivor is Mr. Schabracq, a notary public. In the annals of our naval history, there has scarcely ever happened a loss attended with so much public and private calamity. The return from the bullion office makes the whole amount to 600,000 dollars: about 140,000*l.* sterling in specie on board La Lutine, which had been shipped by individual merchants in this country for the relief of different commercial houses in Hamburgh. There were also several merchants on board. Capt. Skynner was a gallant young officer, beloved by all who had the happiness to be acquainted with him. He was engaged to be married immediately on his return to England, and it is an extraordinary fact, which can be well attested by both families, that the young lady to whom Capt. Skynner was attached, and a sister of his, who had always been particularly partial to him, both, on the night of the 9th inst. when La Lutine was lost, had a conviction of her fate fixed upon their minds which neither reason nor ridicule could subdue. This singular impression, confirmed in so melancholy a manner by the event, adds one to the number of those strange coincidences, termed supernatural by the vulgar, but for which the wisest of us know not where to find a name.

20th. It is our painful duty to record a most calamitous event which took place very recently at Norwich. Sir George Dunbar, bart., Major in the 14th Light Dragoons, quartered in that city, became involved in a violent dispute at mess with his brother officers. He was a man of hasty temper and quick feelings, which it is to be feared betrayed him into error on the occasion, but whichever party was to blame, the quarrel was carried to a disgraceful extent, and Sir George returned home much bruised by blows which he had received in a scuffle, in which it had terminated. The next day, repairing

to the mess-room, he declared to the other officers, "that if he had offended any of them, he was ready to make an apology, or if that was not considered sufficient, to give them honourable satisfaction." These proposals were refused; and the officers insisted "that he should sell out; for that as he had abused the whole regiment, nothing else would or could satisfy them." To this the unhappy Major replied, "that he would live and die in the regiment, of which he had been an officer for twenty years, and that a pistol should settle the business." Here ended all communication, but a deep and fatal impression remained on the mind of Sir George. For two days he neither took food nor sleep, and his melancholy appearance filled his family with the most dreadful apprehensions. Lady Dunbar locked up his razors, pistols, &c. and watched him with unceasing vigilance. Her distress at seeing him so wretched was very great, and in the night she moaned very much, and was quite restless. Sir George said, "Maria, you disturb me, I will get up," which he immediately did, put on his watch-coat, and lay down on the floor. Lady Dunbar then endeavoured to conceal the anguish of her mind, in hopes of pacifying him, and, being overcome with fatigue, fell asleep. Sir George, as soon as he perceived it, left the room, and at about five or six in the morning walked out. Her ladyship, when she awoke, being much alarmed by his absence, eagerly inquired for him, and was told he had taken a morning walk, having a violent head-ache, and thinking the air would do him good. This, however, proved to be only a pretence; for he had gone to purchase a case of pistols, and stood by while the bullets were casting, which with the pistols, he brought home concealed under his watch-coat. On his return he went to lady Dunbar, who took hold of his hand, observing at the same time, "How cold you are?" To which he answered, "Yes, I shall be better presently." She then proposed to make breakfast, but he declined it, saying, that he had a letter to write first, and that he would ring to let her know when he had finished it. He then parted from her, after pressing her hand very hard; went to his study, wrote his will, and instantly after blew out his brains. Lady Dunbar, who heard the report of the pistol, ran down into the room and fell insensible on his body, which lay extended on the floor, and from which she was taken up all covered with his blood, and conveyed to the house of a friend. They were a very happy attached couple, and she had accompanied him in all his campaigns. His remains were interred, with military honours, at St. Peter's Church, the dean having refused an application for leave to have him buried in the Cathedral. He is succeeded by his cousin-germane, George Dunbar, Esq. a gentleman of the highest respectability as a merchant and magistrate in Liverpool, of which he served the office of Mayor in 1797.

23rd. The court of Palermo is the chosen seat of royal gaiety, and nothing can be more brilliant than the fetes which have been given to the Hero of the

Nile, particularly a fete champêtre in the royal gardens by their Majesties. A Temple of Glory was erected in the gardens, on which were placed three figures as large and as natural as life, modelled in wax. The centre figure represented Lord Nelson dressed in a full naval uniform. A female figure, in an elegant attitude, representing Fame with her trumpet, a perfect resemblance of Lady Hamilton, hung over him; while on the opposite was a mimic Sir William, in the Windsor uniform and regalia of the Bath. On the brows of the figure of the noble admiral was a wreath of laurel, which his Majesty with his own royal hands took from the waxen head and placed it upon that of the real hero, who wore it throughout the whole of the superb entertainment. Egyptian pyramids were placed round the Temple, on which were inscribed the names of the most distinguished heroes of the war, English, Neapolitan, Russian, and Turkish; while on the Tunic and Robe of Fame were embroidered those of the principal officers in the battle of the Nile. The music was grand beyond description, especially when the whole vocal band, with Senesino at their head, accompanied by all the instruments, sang the British national anthem of "God save the King," and "Rule Brittania," chorussed by the whole company present, who had studied the words for the especial purpose of joining in this elegant compliment to our great naval hero.

A grand requiem, and funeral dirge, were this day performed at the chapel of the Sardinian ambassador, on the occasion of the death of Pope Pius VI. The titular bishop officiated at the altar; and Mr. Dignum, of Drury Lane Theatre, sung the dirge in a masterly and impressive style. A splendid mausoleum had been erected in the middle of the chapel, and the whole ceremony was truly graceful and magnificent.

30th. This day a dreadful accident happened at Coalport, near the iron bridge, Shropshire. As a considerable number of the work-people, men and women, belonging to Messrs. Rose and Co's. China works at that place, were returning in the evening from the manufactory to their homes on the other side of the Severn, in a large boat kept for that purpose, some of the party, imprudently rocking the boat in a very violent manner, in order to intimidate the women, the melancholy consequence was, that too great a number crowded to the head, which took the water, and the greater part of the persons on board were precipitated into the stream; where twenty men and eight women lost their lives. This dreadful event has deprived the manufactory of a number of valuable hands; and, what is far more to be lamented, several widows and many orphans have to deplore, in one moment, the loss of the husband and father.

The notorious Jane Gibbs has been pursuing her trade of strange and inconsistent imposture in various parts of the country, but her person has invariably been recognised, and herself driven away with disgrace. She has also been taken up for similar offences

in London, several times during the past month, where her behaviour has been so eccentric, that it is suspected she must be insane. If this very probable surmise proves to be a just one it is to be hoped some humane persons will interest themselves to procure her a proper asylum, as her peculiar features and strange practices have made her so notorious, that the wretched creature is hunted like a wild beast by the rabble wherever she is known, and has several times been driven to take shelter in shops for the preservation of her life.

The extensive corn, wheat, and barley mills at Seedhills, Paisley; the property of the Marquis of Abercorn, have been burned to the ground, notwithstanding the exertions of a multitude of people to save them. Of all the machinery the great wheel is alone saved, and that must have inevitably perished, but for the ingenious expedient of admitting the water which kept it in motion and hindered the flames from affecting it. The fire is supposed to have been occasioned by some of the rollers being overheated. A very large quantity of grain and meal has been destroyed.

5th. *Died.*—In Charles-street, Mary-le-Bonne, Cramer, the celebrated violin player, for many years leader of the band at the Opera House. He was born at Manheim in Germany; his father was in the suite of the late Prince Maximilian, who observing in the son a turn for music, had him educated in this science at his own expence. The prince, to promote his improvement, sent him to travel in Germany, Italy, and France, with an allowance of two hundred a year. He soon after came to England, where he married, and upon his determining to settle in this country the prince discontinued his allowance. He has left a son of distinguished musical talents.

6th. At the Larches, near Birmingham, William Withering, Esq. M. D. F. R. S. Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Lisbon, Fellow of the Linnean Society, &c. &c., and author of a "Botanical Arrangement," which, as a national Flora, must be allowed to be the most elaborate and complete performance that any country can boast of. He also published, "Outlines of Mineralogy," and two or three small works on different branches of Natural History.

15th. At Stratford-upon-Avon, in his 76th year, Mr. Thomas Sharp, watch and clock maker, and well known to the admirers of Shakspeare, as the proprietor of the famous Mulberry-tree, and artificer of the toys which were made of it. The day before his death, being perfectly aware of his situation, he took an oath upon the Holy Evangelists, that he never in his life bought or sold, or substituted, any other Mulberry-wood than what was part of the celebrated tree which was said, from well authenticated tradition, to have been planted by the hand of our immortal bard.

NOVEMBER.

8th. On Saturday night last, at half-past ten o'clock, a meteor or ball of fire passed

through the air immediately over the town of Pocklington, accompanied by a most beautiful train of fire resembling the tail of a rocket, and in appearance about fifteen yards in length. The direction was from the north-east to the south or south-west, and continued visible about half a minute.

On the 26th ult. as Mr. Thomas Goode, a freeholder of Gloucestershire, was returning in the evening to his Homestead in Red Marley, he was waylaid and shot, very near his own house. The sound of fire arms alarmed the neighbourhood, and the people ran to the spot where they found Mr. Goode weltering in his blood, he was carried home and languished till the next evening. His friends had not been idle, for in the mean time they applied to the Reverend Dr. Yate, who immediately granted a warrant, and sent some trusty men to apprehend three brothers of the name of Lane, who were strongly suspected of the murder. On the Sunday, they were all taken in Gloucester. A coroner's inquest was summoned by George Best, Esq., and after sitting *eighteen* hours, they brought in a verdict of wilful murder against Richard and John Lane; James, the younger brother, having proved an alibi. The deceased, it seems, had mentioned that he had left a farm to Richard Lane, and it is conjectured that eagerness to enjoy this little domain was the occasion of this foul murder.

The funeral ceremonies of Pope Pius VI, ended on the 31st ult. They dispensed with the usual form of opening a conclave for the election of a new Pope, on the last day of the funeral of the deceased one, in order to know from Vienna, whither they had despatched a courier, the sentiments of that court as to which of the cardinals the emperor would wish to see elevated to the papal dignity.

The brilliant sword, given by his Neapolitan Majesty to Lord Nelson, was made a present to the King of Naples by Charles III. on his departure for Spain, in the following words:—"With this sword I conquered the kingdom which I now resign to thee;—it ought in future to be given to him who shall best defend that kingdom, or who restores it to thee shouldst thou lose it."

The Princess Hohenlohe, who it was reported had been robbed and murdered at an inn near Dresden, has, according to recent letters, been discovered alive, and in the best health and spirits, under the protection of a young and handsome German, named Muller.

The dowry of the Princess of Russia, bride to the Archduke Joseph, Palatinate of Hungary, arrived at Lomberg on the 2d instant: it required sixty-eight waggons to transport it, and the freight to Pest alone cost twelve thousand rubles. The whole is valued at ten millions of rubles.

Mr. Horneman, the present African traveller, who is a young Hanoverian, full of health and enterprize, has written a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, from Tripoli. He had travelled from Cairo, in Egypt, through the Lybian desert, to Fezzan, the largest Oasis in the Great Sahara, a route hitherto unexplored by any European whose travels have been

communicated to the public. In the journey from Cairo to Fezzan, he halted at Sewah, which, from the notices of Mr. Browne, some months back, had been clearly ascertained to be the Oasis of Amenon. Mr. Horneman's new observations made at his leisure on the spot, now place the matter beyond any manner of doubt. Mr. Horneman was too late this season for the caravan that goes from Fezzan to Sondau, comprehending under that name, Hourses Cashnon Bournon, the great kingdom near the Niger. Meanwhile he has sent from Tripoli, by another conveyance not yet arrived, the journal of his present travels; and there is every reason to hope that he will accomplish his great undertaking of exploring the unknown central regions of Africa, especially from the following occurrence mentioned in his letter: he was followed from Sewah by a large party sent to seize him on suspicion of his being a French spy. But his manners and behaviour were so completely Moslem, and he proved so thoroughly master of the Koran, that he was released with blessings and alms as a good Mussulman, and sent forward on the journey.

A blackish worm, not unlike a caterpillar, has this year destroyed whole forests of trees in America. The oaks are the first objects of their depredations. In some places many scores of acres are as bare as in the middle of winter.

13th. The Russian General D'Hermann, who was taken prisoner by the French in the action of the 19th of September, in Holland, having been disgraced by the Emperor Paul, is about to publish a justification of his conduct in the Frankfort Gazette. The fate of the general's lady is much to be deplored; she was a woman of superior abilities and much personal loveliness. She had fought by the side of her husband in every action in Holland, and perished in a desperate attempt to rescue him in the battle of the nineteenth.

16th. A solemn dirge was this day chaunted at St. Patrick's Chapel, Soho Square, for the repose of the soul of the Roman Pontiff, Pope Pius VI., to whose remains the accustomed sepulchral rites were refused by the Abbe Sieyes and his accomplices. The service was performed in a very splendid style by Dr. Douglas, the Roman Catholic Bishop of London, assisted by Dr. Hussy, Bishop of Waterford, several French Bishops, and most of the Clergy of that persuasion in the metropolis and its vicinity. A very eloquent and affecting funeral oration was delivered by Dr. O'Leary, who concluded by felicitating his flock on the happiness they enjoyed in this country, on which, and its constitution, he pronounced a glowing panegyric. Though the ceremony began at ten in the morning, yet the audience which consisted (besides more than can be numbered or named) of several foreign ambassadors, and many of the nobility of both sexes, waited patiently till half past four in the evening, when they retired highly gratified.

21st. On Monday, a very melancholy circumstance occurred at Southampton; Mr. Hawes, a very respectable Mercer

in that town, had on the preceding day been married to a lady to whom he had long been engaged. On the Monday morning, while serving a customer in the shop, a pair of scissars being wanted, one of the shopmen was going to fetch them, but Mr. Hawes said he had a penknife which would do; he drew out the knife, opened it, and in the same instant pulling down his neckcloth with his other hand, cut his throat; and in spite of every effort made to prevent him by the terrified spectators, violently tore out the windpipe, and expired in a moment. From several anecdotes of eccentric conduct which have transpired since this dreadful event, it is evident that this unfortunate gentleman had been insane much longer than was suspected by his family and friends.

27th. A very serious accident happened last night in Fitzroy Square. The Earl of Scarborough, with his sister, lady Louisa Hartley, passing in his lordship's carriage through that square, which is badly lighted, the coachman mistook his way, and unfortunately drove over into the area which is dug on the north, for the row of houses on that side. Mr. Shield, the well known musical composer, happening to pass that way soon after, was alarmed by violent groanings issuing from the dark side of the square. He hastened to the spot, and, procuring a light, discovered the melancholy accident which had taken place. He immediately got proper assistance, and Lord Scarborough and his sister, who had both fainted, but most providentially had received no very dangerous hurt, were removed to the house of a French surgeon in the neighbourhood, together with the coachman who had his ribs broken, and the footman whose leg was shattered in so dreadful a manner, that immediate amputation was considered necessary. Lord Scarborough very humanely ordered the best assistance to be procured; and Mr. Heaviside the surgeon was sent for, who concurring in opinion with the French gentleman, the operation was immediately performed. A hackney-coach having been procured, Lord Scarborough and his sister went to Mr. Hartley's house in Gower Street; and we are happy to learn that, with the exception of a contusion on his lordship's head, they have suffered no material injury from an accident which might have been productive of the most fatal consequences. Their escape is indeed most providential, as the height of the fall could not be less than twelve or fourteen feet.

28th. The son of Mr. Webb, of Stafford, after his return from shooting, placed his powder-flask in the oven where he had been accustomed to keep it, without observing a fire that had been made in it during his absence. An explosion was the immediate consequence, by which the unfortunate young man was forced to the farther end of the kitchen and killed upon the spot.

Another tragical circumstance has occurred at Norwich. Thursday evening, the daughter of a respectable farmer residing near that city, came to a bookseller's where she was intimate, and asked to stay all night; but as the lady of the house was ill, they could

not give her a bed; on which she requested to sleep on a sofa, but the family would not suffer that, and procured her a bed at a boarding school. Complaining of great thirst in the night, she got up and drank some water; soon afterwards being sick and ill, she got up again and drank some more; but by seven o'clock was so bad that the young lady she slept with arose and alarmed the family, who soon discovered that she had not only taken arsenic, (some remaining at the bottom of the glass) but had also cut her arm across with a pair of scissars; having however missed the artery, she had not done herself by that means any material mischief; but although the best medical advice was called in, she expired soon after eight o'clock that morning. She had it seems purchased two ounces of arsenic, and had taken it all except the small quantity which remained in the glass. She was an only daughter, and no cause can be assigned for this rash action; no depression of spirits had been observed in her, nor any thing unusual either in words or manner, up to the period of her quitting her home as has been above related.

The late Emperor of China, Kien Long, began his reign in the year 1735. He was of a graceful person and appearance; about five feet ten inches in height and of a slender and elegant form: his nose was rather aquiline, and his whole countenance presented a perfect regularity which by no means announced a man verging on his ninetieth year. To these attractions of person was added, an affability of deportment, which, without lessening the dignity of the prince, evinced the amiable character of the man. His dress generally consisted of a loose robe of yellow silk, a cap of black velvet with a red ball on the top, and adorned with a peacock's feather, which is the peculiar ornament of Mandarins of the first class: he usually wore boots embroidered with gold, and a sash of blue silk girded his waist. He was perhaps the best known to Europe of all the monarchs of China who preceded him; and more particularly to England by the embassy sent thence to him in 1792. The author of the "Pursuits of Literature" has addressed a poetical epistle to him; and Voltaire had before done the same, on his majesty's talent for versifying, in which he styles him "*Monarque au nez eamus.*" Peter Pindar also wrote a poetical epistle to him. The whole empire is in great distress on account of the death of the emperor, whose virtues had endeared him to all his subjects.

Died.—Lieutenant Hoggart, Welch Fusileers; he was on board the Vaalk, a Dutch frigate, wrecked on the island of Ameland; and after having got safe to land on a piece of the wreck, died instantly in a state of delirium, caused by excess of joy. 9th.

At Bedale County, York, the eccentric Dr. Katterfelto, whose advertisements of himself and his black cat, used generally to be thus ushered into the notice of the public:—"Wonders! Wonders!! Wonders!!!" 20th.

At Windsor, in her 102d year, Mrs. Dunn, who enjoyed her faculties to the last. 30th.

At Cawdor Castle, in Nairnshire, aged 112, Elizabeth Rose. For many years she had lived a faithful servant in that castle, and lord and lady Cawdor ordered every care to be taken of her which her situation required. Her eyesight having failed for some years, her daughter was brought into the castle to take care of her; and as she enjoyed good health to the last, there is reason to suppose that her life might have been extended to a yet longer period, had not an accident of a dreadful nature put an end to it, for having been left alone in her room, her cloaths, by some means which can never be ascertained, caught fire, and she was burned in so terrible a manner that she only survived a few hours.

DECEMBER.

2nd. This afternoon two uninhabited houses, on Snow-hill, fell down. They were used as warehouses by a wholesale grocer; but, being old, and the floors extremely overloaded, they came down, and very fortunately without any person receiving any injury.

4th. Six waggons, loaded with part of the treasure taken in two rich Spanish frigates, reached the Bank from Plymouth. At nine o'clock the waggons arrived at Kensington, where they were met by a captain's guard of the grenadier battalion of the guards, and the procession moved along Piccadilly, St. James's-street, Pall-Mall, the Strand, Fleet-street, and Cheapside.—When the cavalcade reached the Mansion-house, the lord mayor, the lady mayoress, capt. Young, &c. came in front of the house, and drank out of a golden cup, "Success to the British navy," the band playing Rule Britannia, while the honest tars, who were regaled at the same time, gave his lordship three cheers.

Waterford, Dec. 12.—On Saturday night a most tremendous fire broke out in the sugar-house of Messrs Perriers, which notwithstanding the most extraordinary exertions of the Mayor and Sheriffs, of General Myers, the officers and privates of the garrison, and of the gentlemen and other inhabitants who attended, reduced to ashes the entire fabric, with an immense quantity of sugars, and all the utensils for carrying on the business. Part is still burning with great fury, but providentially it is so circumstanced that the flames cannot extend themselves.

12th. *Norwich.* — Yesterday evening a sermon was preached at St. George's collegiate church, in this city, by our excellent bishop Dr. Sutton, in aid of the fund for the humane purpose of restoring to life persons apparently drowned. The discourse was short, but extremely well adapted to the occasion, and delivered with the peculiar energy which marks all his lordship's public orations. The text was most happily appropriate. Luke viii. 52. "Weep not, she is not dead but sleepeth." During the service, three sublime and beautiful hymns, written for the occasion by Mr. John Taylor, of this city, were sung, accompanied by a numerous and respectable band

of gentlemen and professional performers, who attended gratuitously on the occasion, to the number of seventy-five. The service was preceded by the overture to Handel's occasional oratorio, and concluded with the grand chorus from the Messiah. The mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and a congregation of above two thousand persons attended, and thirty persons were placed round the altar, whose lives were actually saved by the means recommended by this benevolent institution. The collection amounted to 273*l.* 12*s.* 9*d.*

A very capital hotel, with assembly room, play-house, news-room, &c. &c. has recently been built at Leicester, by public subscription, upon the site of the Saracen's head inn, on a place which, with the addition of a public library, deserves to be imitated by all the first and second-rate towns in the kingdom, not already provided with those desirable luxuries. The architect was Mr. Johnson, of the house of Dorset, Johnson, and Co., New Bond street.

A numerous meeting took place at the London Tavern, for the purpose of alleviating the wants of the industrious poor. Mr. Devaynes, being called to the chair, recommended an extension of the plan commenced with so good effect in 1795. Mr. W. Forster entered largely into the benefits that had resulted from that subscription, and stated, that in the months ending the 27th of last April, 40,000 persons had been relieved by 750,918 meals from the soup-shops, at an aggregate expense of 3,476*l.* 8*s.* 10*d.* and concluded by moving resolutions to extend the meritorious establishment. A subscription then took place, and a committee of 35 persons was appointed to conduct the same.

14th. The sword which has been voted to earl St. Vincent, by the corporation of London, was this day delivered to his lordship, by Richard Clark, esq. the present chamberlain.

22d. The footman who was with Earl Scarborough, when his carriage was overset near Fitzroy-square, died of his wounds, and was this day buried.

23d. Jean Baptist Prevot, a Frenchman, was taken from Newgate to Execution Dock, attended by the water-bailiff carrying the silver-oar, the sheriffs, and city marshals, to suffer the sentence of the law, for the murder of capt. Wilcox, on board the Lady Shore transport. He was accompanied in the cart by a Romish priest, to whom he paid great attention, being penitently resigned to his fate. The body, after hanging the usual time, was brought back for dissection.

24th. Early this morning, a terrible fire broke out at the premises of Messrs. Lucas and Martin, sugar-bakers, in Osborne-street, Whitechapel, which consumed the same. The cause is not known, but it is generally supposed to have been from accident. On the preceding evening, about eight, Mr. Martin went over the premises to see if all was safe, as was his usual custom, previous to returning home. About the hour first mentioned, the people in a warehouse opposite were made sensible of an approaching conflagration by the

excessive heat arising from the flames, and on going into the street (which was totally enveloped in fire and smoke,) fortunately recollected the imminent danger in which the two porters were placed, who slept over the sugar ware-rooms; upon which they, with difficulty, found their way to the principal gate, where they endeavoured to force an entrance: in this, however, they could not succeed; but, happily, the noise which they made with sledge hammers so far answered their purpose, as to awaken and preserve the lives of the men, one of whom escaped over the roof; the other, in his shirt, ventured down stairs, and jumped from the lower windows into the street, without sustaining any other injury than being scorched by the fire. The premises were built in the summer of 1798, at upwards of 5000*l.* expense; and the whole property was insured much under its real value.

30th. The consuls of the French republic considering that for six months past, the body of Pius VI. has been lying in the city of Valence without having had the honours of burial granted to it, have published a decree, reciting—that, though this old man, respectable by his misfortunes, was for a moment the enemy of France, it was only when seduced by the councils of men who surrounded his old age; —that it becomes the dignity of the French nation, and is conformable to the sensibility of the national character, to bestow marks of consideration upon a man who occupied one of the highest ranks upon earth: and therefore, "1st. The minister of the interior shall give orders that the body of Pius VI. be buried with the honours due to those of his rank. 2d. That a simple monument be raised to him, on the place of his burial, expressing the dignity which he bore."

The light-house erected on the island of Anholt, being 112 feet above the surface of the water, so that the fire on it, on account of its extraordinary height, often misleads mariners in point of distance; measures have been taken for placing a lanthorn, at about half the height above mentioned, on the east side of the light-house, facing the flat and point of Knoben, which may also be seen from a southern and northern direction; but to ships coming from a western direction it will not be visible, being covered by the light-house. This lanthorn-fire will be lighted, for the first time, on the 1st of January, 1800, from which time it will be continued every night, in addition to the usual fire.

The largest bell in the known world, is in the cathedral of Moscow, presented by the empress Anne, and weighs the most extraordinary weight of 432,000lbs, or 193 tons.

The following vessels, of different nations, passed through the Sound, in the course of the year 1799:—

English . . .	2,599
Danish . . .	1,571
Swedish . . .	1,674
Prussians . .	1,420
Americans . .	152
Rostockers . .	137
Pappenburgers .	97
Hamburgers . .	5
Oldenburgers .	33
Bremeners . .	61

Lubeckers	54
Russians	13
Portuguese	2

Making together 7,818 ships of all nations.

The following is a statement of the quantity of table beer brewed by the first twelve houses in London, for the last two years, ending on the 5th of July in each year.

1798.

	Barrels.
Kirkman and Co.	30,029
Sandford and Co.	20,217
Charrington and Co.	14,482
Edmonds and Co.	13,543
Nieman and Co.	13,294
Cape and Son	12,793
Bond, Edward	10,372
Satchell, Richard	9,686
Park and Co.	9,633
Levesque, John	8,335
Cowell and Co.	7,575
Holbrook, James	6,957

1799.

	Barrels.
Kirkman and Co.	28,266
Sandford and Co.	18,726
Combrune, Gideon	18,667
Charrington and Co.	14,363
Edmonds and Co.	13,964
Cape and Son	12,327
Satchell, Richard	10,253
Park and Co.	10,129
Levesque, John	9,317
Bond, Edward	9,245
Cowell and Co.	7,547
Holbrook, James	6,486

Nothing can exceed the joy which the return of the Marquis of Huntley to Scotland has excited in the inhabitants of Fochabers. Every act was shown that could mark a father's pride, a son's affection, or a people's love. The Duke of Gordon went in his carriage to meet the Marquis at Cullen-house: at about two miles from Fochabers they were met by the duke's tenants, farm servants, and the people of the country, with the Friendly Society, their colours flying. The horses were immediately taken from the carriage by the populace, who drew it with shouts and acclamations into the town. There the volunteers of the county of Moray were drawn up, receiving his lordship with military honours as he passed, and firing immediately after a *feu de joye* of three rounds. When they came to the castle, a company of the Banffshire volunteers received the Marquis in the same manner. A public dinner followed at the castle, where the father gave the lead to those expressions of joy called forth by his son's return, and communicated to the general festivity a heightened glee of unaffected pleasure. In the town of Fochabers an ox was roasted for the people, and ale poured unsparingly to add to their mirth and happiness. In the evening there was a general illumination. In the centre window of the Town-hall appeared a large transparency, decorated by every ornament that could be devised by the ingenuity of the placing of coloured lamps, to blazon "Long life to the gallant Huntley:"—"Success to the brave Gordon Highlanders," &c. &c. with various military and Highland insignia. A vast concourse of people were assembled among whom money was thrown with a liberal hand. What, however, was most gratifying to ob-

serve was the private affection so strongly marked and so publicly testified, between the noble duke and his good and gallant son.

4th. *Died.*—At Caldon, Staffordshire, in his 100th year, Mr. John Milner. He enjoyed a good state of health until a short time before his dissolution; was a great sportsman, and able to take the diversion of shooting when above ninety.

At Beauvais, aged 93, Preville the celebrated comic actor, and the intimate friend of Garrick. He had long meditated the publication of a treatise on the French Comedy, and on the science of acting. But latterly he became blind, and his head being at times deranged from the horrors he was witness of in 1793, the pursuit of a work, which must have proved so interesting from such a hand, was of necessity abandoned.

Of an apoplexy, at Abbeville, in the department of the Lower Seine, where he had for several years lived in great retirement, in a state bordering upon want, in his 79th year, Marmontel, author of "Belisarius," &c. When, three years ago, he was nominated to the legislature, he went to the electoral assembly; and, thanking his fellow-citizens for this mark of respect, said to them, "You behold, my friends, a body enfeebled by age; but the heart of an honest man never grows old." He was ill only a few hours before he died. He has left a wife and two children in very indifferent circumstances.

BIRTHS

In the Year 1799.

JANUARY.

3. The lady of sir J. Kennaway; a daughter.

9. The lady of Henry Bankes, esq. M. P. a son.

22. The lady of sir Francis Linley Wood, bart. a son.

The lady of sir John Harrington, bart. a daughter.

25. The lady of Colonel Beaumont, M.P. a son.

29. The lady Margaret Mc Lean; a daughter.

FEBRUARY.

16. The countess Conyngham, a daughter.

Her Grace the Dutchess of Athol; a daughter.

The lady Charlotte Duncombe; a daughter.

MARCH.

1. The lady Charlotte Wingfield; a son.

The lady of C. Smith, esq. M.P. a daughter.

The hon. Mrs. Hay; a daughter.

4. The lady of Lord Robert Fitzgerald, minister at Copenhagen, two daughters.

5. The Countess of Derby; a daughter.

17. The lady of sir John Trollope, bart. a daughter.

APRIL.

9. At Vienna, the empress of Germany, an Arch Duke, baptized by the names Joseph-Francis-Leopold.

The lady Bruce; a daughter.

The lady Brownlow; a daughter.

10. The lady of Alexander Allerdyce, esq. M.P. a daughter.

23. The lady Elizabeth Lowther; a daughter.

25. The lady Riversdale; a son.

The lady of Inigo Freeman Thomas, esq. M.P. a daughter.

The lady of Sir Thomas Parkins, bart. a daughter.

MAY.

2. The countess Camden, a son.

4. The countess Cassilis, a daughter.

The lady of the hon. Colonel Vaughan, M.P. a son.

8. The hon. Mrs. Gunning, a son.

12. The lady of William Baker, esq. M. P. a son.

14. The lady of Saml. Smythe, esq. M. P. a son.

25. The lady Rodney, a son.

28. The lady Mulgrave, a daughter.

29. At St. Petersburg, the young Grand Duchess, Consort of the Grand Duke Alexander, a daughter.

JUNE.

11. The marchioness of Donegal, a son.

14. The lady of Sir John Chardin Musgrave, a son.

21. The countess of Harborough, a daughter.

The lady of the hon. and Rev. T. J. Twistleton, a son.

JULY.

6. The marchioness of Titchfield, a son.

10. The lady Auckland, a son.

15. The viscountess Deerhurst, a daughter.

16. The duchess of Montrose, a son and heir.

18. The lady Charlotte Nares, a son.

21. The lady Rous, a daughter.

22. The lady Mary Fludyer, a daughter.

The Countess of Aylesford, a son and a daughter.

AUGUST.

15. The Countess of Amboyne, a daughter.

16. The lady of the hon. Lawrence Dundas, M. P. a son.

At Madras, the lady of the hon. Col. St. John, a son.

SEPTEMBER.

2. The lady of sir James Saumarez, a son.

14. The lady Lucy Bridgman, a daughter.

19. The lady Harriet Sullivan, a son.

Her majesty the Queen of Prussia, a Princess.

22. The countess of Cork, a son.

31. The viscountess Fielding, a son.

OCTOBER.

9. The lady of Robert Brudenell, esq. M. P. a daughter.

30. The lady of Colonel Gascoigne, M. P. a son.

NOVEMBER.

4. The lady of his Excellency Spencer Smith, English Ambassador at Constantinople, a daughter.

The lady of Sir Edward Pellew, bart. a daughter.

7. The lady Dynevor, a daughter.

The hon. Mrs. Stanley, a daughter.

The lady of T. T. Jones, esq. M. P. a daughter.

11. The lady Templeton, a son and heir.

17. The lady Charles Aynesley, a son.

22. The lady Arden, a son.

DECEMBER.

21. The countess Spencer, a son.

27. The lady of Sir Nigel Bowyer Gresley, bart. a son.

MARRIAGES.

JANUARY.

8. Count Francis Byland of the Hague, to the hon. Mrs. Naylor.

14. The hon. Hugh Lindsay, son of the earl of Balcarras, to Miss Jane Gordon, daughter of the late lord Rockville.

25. George Abercrombie, esq. son of sir Ralph Abercrombie, to Miss Montagu Dundas, youngest daughter of the right hon. Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

FEBRUARY.

13. Major-general Jones, to Miss E. A. Williams.

23. Charles Arbuthnot, esq. to Miss Lisle, daughter to the hon. Mrs. Lisle, and niece to the earl of Cholmondeley.

25. Sir Thos. Boulden Thompson, knight, to Miss Raikes.

MARCH.

10. Lord Charles Fitzroy, second son of the duke of Grafton, to lady Francis Stewart, eldest daughter of the earl of Londonderry.

14. Sir Thomas Webb, bart. to the hon. Miss Dillon, daughter of lord viscount Dillon.

28. Captain Durham, of the royal navy, to lady Charlotte Bruce.

The right hon. lord William Beauclerk, second son to the duke of St. Albans to Miss Nelthorpe.

30. Lieutenant-colonel Stuart Wortley, to lady Caroline Creighton, youngest daughter of the earl of Erne.

The right hon. earl of Clanricarde, to Miss Burke, daughter of sir Thomas Burke, bart.

APRIL.

3. John Hale, esq. to Miss Amherst, sister to lord Amherst.

8. Henry Lushington, esq. eldest son of sir Stephen Lushington, bart. to Miss Lewis.

14. The hon. Captain Courtenay Boyle, to Miss Poyntz.

16. Major-general sir Charles Ross, bart. to lady Mary Fitzgerald, eldest daughter of the duke of Leinster.

22. The duke of Rutland, to lady Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the earl of Carlisle.

26. Sir Harry Vane Tempest, bart. to the right hon. Anne, countess of Antrim.

MAY.

1. The earl of Chesterfield, to lady H. Thynne.

14. Viscount Southwell, to Miss Jane Berkeley,

19. Lord Wentworth, eldest son of the earl of Stafford, to Miss Louisa Packington, eldest daughter of sir John Packington, bart.

21. Captain Copley, of the guards, to lady Cecil Hamilton, late marchioness of Abercorn.

23. The hon. Joseph Bourke, dean of Ossory, to Miss Gardiner.

Colonel viscount de Bruges, a French nobleman, to Miss Sarah Harvey, eldest daughter of the late colonel Stanhope Harvey.

30. Lieutenant-colonel Driffield, of his majesty's marine forces, to Miss Anne Caroline Bligh, second daugter of vice-admiral Bligh.

Lord Bagot, to the hon. Miss Fitzroy, sister to lord Southampton.

The right hon. Francis, earl of Llandaff, to Miss Coghlan, sister to the countess of Barrymore.

JUNE.

1. Lord Hobart to the hon. Miss Eleanor Agnes Eden, eldest daughter of lord Auckland.

11. Sir Robert Williams, bart. M. P. to Miss Ann Hughes.

26. Thomas Heathcote, esq. eldest son of sir William Heathcote, bart. M. P. to Miss Freeman, only daughter of T. E. Freeman, esq. M. P.

27. Dugdale Stratford Dugdale, esq. to the youngest daughter of Lord Curzon.

Major James Colquhoun, eldest son of sir James Colquhoun, bart. to Jessy, daughter of sir John Sinclair, bart.

29. Alexander Johnson, esq. to the daughter of the late lord William Campbell.

JULY.

25. Colonel de Charmilly, to Miss D. Blackwood, daughter of sir J. Blackwood, bart.

30. Rev. Richard Lockwood, of Fifield, Essex, to Mary Manners, youngest daughter of the late lord George Sutton.

AUGUST.

1. The hon. Richard Ryder, M. P. for Tiverton, second son of lord Harrowby, to Miss Frederica Skinner, daughter of sir John Skinner, with a fortune of 100,000*l.*

4. Vere Isham, esq. second son of sir Justinian Isham, bart. to Miss Chambers.

6. Francis Barlow, esq. to the right hon. lady Catharine Brabazon, fifth sister of William, the late and ninth earl of Meath, and cousin to Edward, the present earl of Meath.

7. Captain Carrington Smith, to the hon. Charlotte Juliana Butler, only daughter of Edmond, the late, and eleventh lord viscount Mountgarret, and sister of Edmund, present and first earl of Kilkenny, and twelfth viscount of Mountgarret.

9. Culling Smith, esq. to the right hon. lady Anne Fitzroy, daughter of Garret, late earl of Mornington, sister to Richard, the present earl of Mornington, and relict of the hon. Henry Fitzroy, fourth son of the late, and brother of the present lord Southampton.

Lieutenant-colonel Houghton, of the royal artillery, to Miss Thurlow, eldest daughter of the late bishop of Durham.

Lieutenant-colonel Chester, of

the Coldstream regiment of guards, to Miss Clinton, daughter of sir Henry Clinton, K.B. deceased.

James Duff, esq. nephew and heir to the earl of Fife, to Miss Maria Manners, one of the daughters of lady Louisa Manners, and sister to lady Heathcote.

Charles Nathaniel Bayly, esq. to lady Sarah Villiers, fourth daughter of the earl of Jersey.

Sir Henry Wilson, to lady Frances Elizabeth Brudenel Bruce, daughter of the earl of Aylesbury.

James Frampton, of Moreton, Dorsetshire, esq. to lady Harriet Strangeways, third daughter of the earl of Ilchester.

Sir Thomas Maryon Wilson, bart. to Miss Elizabeth Smith.

SEPTEMBER.

28. The right hon. earl Ferrers, to Miss Elizabeth Mundy.

John Angersteim, esq. M.P. to Miss Amelia Lock.

Sir Thomas Durrant, bart. of Scottow, in Norfolk, to Miss Steenbergen.

Rear-admiral Chichagoff, of the Russian navy, to Miss Proby, youngest daughter of the late commissioner Proby.

Sir William Loraine, bart. to Miss Campart, of Kensington-Gore.

OCTOBER.

16. Hon. Edward John Tournour, youngest son of the late earl Winterton, to Miss Richardson.

Major John Macdonald, of the regiment of the Isles, to Miss Chambers, daughter of sir Robert Chambers.

Sir Charles Wale Mallet, to Miss Wale, late of Bombay.

The right hon. lord Riversdale, to Miss Charlotte St. Ledger, daughter of lord viscount Doneraile.

26. Major O'Loghlin, of the 14th light dragoons, to Miss Dupré, daughter of Mrs. Dupré, of Portland-place.

At the Imperial residence of Gatchina, near St. Petersburgh, his royal highness the archduke Joseph palatine of Hungary, to her Imperial highness the great duchess Alexandrina.

NOVEMBER.

3. At Petersburgh, her Imperial highness Helena Pawlowna, to his serene highness the hereditary prince Frederick, of Mecklenburg.

Vice-admiral Dickson, to Miss Willins.

14. James Carstairs Bruce, esq. of Tillicoultry, to the hon. Elizabeth Cecilia Rollo, fourth daughter of the late lord Rollo.

Sir William Cunningham, of Coprington, to Miss Græme.

Lord Bantry to Miss Hare.

23. Lieutenant-colonel Henry Clinton, of the 1st foot guards, second son of the late gen. sir Henry Clinton, to the hon. Susan Charteris, second daughter of lord Elcho.

The earl of Portsmouth, to Miss Norton, sister to lord Grantley.

PROMOTIONS,

In the Year, 1799.

JANUARY.

8. Lieutenant-general the hon. Charles Stuart, created knight of the bath.

9. Dr. Thomas Somerville, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, in Scotland.

Dr. Gerald, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, in Scotland.

Dr. Wm. Gloag, to be his majesty's almoner, in Scotland.

12. Brevet. To be Colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as the respective regiments of militia shall remain embodied for actual service; col. the right hon. William, lord Milsingtown, of the North Lincolnshire militia; col. George, earl of Buckinghamshire, of the 3d regiment of Lincolnshire militia.—Staff. Col. Henry Calvert, of the Coldstream foot-guards, to be adjutant-general to his majesty's forces. Lieutenant-colonel William Wynyard, of the Coldstream foot-guards, to be deputy adjutant-general to the said forces, *vice* Calvert. Captain James Mackenzie, of the 85th foot, to be major of brigade in the forces in South Britain; capt. Allen Cameron, of the 66th foot, to be major of brigade to the said forces. Garrison. Col. Charles Crauford, of the 2d dragoon guards, to be lieutenant-governor of Tynemouth and Clifford's fort.

19. Hospital - Staff. Surgeon William Holmes, from the 5th foot, to be garrison-surgeon of Quebec.

22. Sir John Macartney, of Lesh, county of Armagh, created a baronet.

23. General sir William Fawcett, K. B. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Right rev. Dr. Hugh Hamilton, bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, translated to Ossory; rev. Matthew Young, D. D. promoted to the united bishopricks of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh.

Right hon. Isaac Corry, to be chancellor of the exchequer, in Ireland.

Sir George Daly, to be his majesty's prime serjeant-at-law.

26. Thomas Barclay, esq. appointed his majesty's consul-general for the Eastern States of America.

Brevet. Col. sir John Morshead, bart. of the Devon and Cornwall miners, to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as the said miners shall remain embodied for actual service. Major Thomas Vincent Reynolds, of the 30th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.—Staff. Colonel Donald Macdonald, of the 55th foot, to be brigadier-general in the island of Guernsey only; captain Drigue Morgan, of the 36th foot, to be major of brigade to the forces.

Right rev. Thos. Lewis O'Beirne, bishop of Meath, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

31. Charles Fauquier, esq. to be page of honour to her majesty.

FEBRUARY.

5. George Wardell, M. D. to be physician to the forces.

9. Charles Arbuthnot, esq. to be his majesty's consul-general in Portugal. Alexander Cockburn, esq. to be his majesty's agent and consul to the circle of Lower Saxony, and to the free cities of Hamburgh, Bremen, and Lubeck.

Staff. John Gordon, gent. to be assistant-commissary of stores and provisions in the island of Dominica.

†

13. Thomas Boulden Thompson, esq. captain in the royal navy, knighted.

14. Admirals of the blue, sir Chaloner Ogle, knt. right hon. Samuel viscount Hood, sir Richard Huges, bart. John Elliot, esq. right hon. William lord Hotham, Joseph Peyton, esq. John Carter Allen, esq. sir Charles Middleton, bart. sir Richard King, bart. Philip Affleck, esq. right hon. John, earl of St. Vincent, K. B. right hon. Adam, viscount Duncan, to be admirals of the white.—Vice-admirals of the red, Richard Braithwaite, esq. Philip Cosby, esq. Samuel Cornish, esq. John Brisbane, esq. Charles Wolsely, esq. Samuel Cranston Goodall, esq. his royal highness William Henry, duke of Clarence, sir Richard Onslow, bart. Robert Kingsmill, esq. sir George Bowyer, bart. sir Hyde Parker, knt. Benjamin Caldwell, esq. hon. William Cornwallis, to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the white, William Allen, esq. John Macbride, esq. George Vandeput, esq. Charles Buckner, esq. John Gell, esq. William Dickson, esq. sir Alan Gardner, bart. to be admirals of the blue.—Vice-admirals of the blue, Robert Linzee, esq. sir James Wallace, knt. William Peere Williams, esq. sir Thomas Paisley, bart. John Symons, esq. sir Thomas Rich, bart. sir Charles Thompson, bart. James Cumming, esq. sir John Colpoys, K. B. Skeffington Lutwidge, esq. Archibald Dickson, esq. George Montagu, esq. Thomas Dumaresq, esq. right hon. George lord Keith, K. B. James Pigott, esq. hon. William Waldegrave, to be vice-admirals of the red.—Rear-admirals of the red, Thomas Mackenzie, esq. Thomas Pringle, esq. sir Roger Curtis, bart, Henry Harvey, esq. Robert Man, esq. sir William Parker, bart. Charles Holmes Everitt Calmady, esq. John Bourmaster, esq. sir George Young, knt. John Henry, esq. Richard Rodney Bligh, esq. Alexander Gram, esq. George Keppel, esq. Samuel Reeve, esq. to be vice-admirals of the white.—Rear-admirals of the white, Robert Biggs, esq. Francis Parry, esq. Isaac Prescott, esq. John Bazeley, esq. Christopher Mason, esq. Thomas Spry, esq, sir John Orde, bart. William Young, esq. James Gambier, esq. Andrew Mitchell, esq. Charles Chamberlayne, esq. Peter Rainier, esq. right hon. lord Hugh Seymour, to be vice-admirals of the blue.—Rear-admirals of the blue, John Stanhope, esq. Christopher Parker, esq. Philip Patton, esq. Charles Morice Pole, esq. John Brown, esq. John Leigh Douglas, esq. William Swiney, esq. Charles Edmund Nugent, esq. Charles Powell Hamilton, esq. Edmund Dod, esq. right hon. Horatio, lord Nelson, K. B. Thomas Lenox Frederick, esq. sir George Home, bart. sir Charles Cotton, bart, to be rear-admirals of the red.—The undermentioned captains were also appointed flag-officers of his majesty's fleet, viz. captains Matthew Squire, Roddam Home, John Thomas, to be rear-admirals of the red.—Captains James Blake, John Pakenham, sir Erasmus Gower, knt. John Holloway, John Blanket, George Wilson, sir Charles Henry Knowles, bart. hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deane, Cuthburt Collingwood, Jas. Hawkins Whitshed, Arthur Kempe, Smith Child, right hon. lord Charles

Fitzgerald, Thomas Taylor, John Thomas Duckworth, to be rear-admirals of the white.—Captains John Knowles, John Willet Payne, sir Robert Calder, bart. James Richard Dacres, hon George Berkeley, Thomas West, James Douglas, Peter Alpin, Henry Savage, Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, sir Richard Bickerton, bart. George Bowen, Robert Montagu, John Fergusson, Edward Edwards, sir John Borlase Warren, bart. and K. B. to be rear-admirals of the blue. — Edward Thornborough, esq. sir William George Fairfax, knt. and sir James Saumarez, knt. to be colonels of his majesty's marine forces, *vice* hon. Thomas Pakenham, hon. George Berkeley, and John Thomas Duckworth, esq. appointed flag-officers of the fleet.

19. Ralph, lord Lavingdon, of the kingdom of Ireland, K. B. to be captain-general and governor in chief in and over the islands of Nevis, St. Christopher, Montserrat, Antigua, Barbuda, Anquilla, and all other countries and plantations in America, commonly called or known by the name of the Charibee-islands, *vice* major-general C. Leigh.

Staff. Capt. James Muter, of the 42d foot, to be major of brigade to the forces in the island of Minorca; capt. Richard Pigott, of the 14th light dragoons, to be major of brigade to the said forces.

Hon. George Napier, appointed examiner and comptroller of army accounts in Ireland.

25. George Granville Leveson Gower (commonly called earl Gower) called to the house of peers, by the title of baron Gower, of Sittenham, in the county of York.

26. Frederick, earl of Carlisle, appointed lord-lieutenant and *custos rotulorum* of the East-riding of the county of York, and of the town and county of Kingston-upon-Hull, *vice* the duke of Leeds, deceased.

Staff. Brevet major William Lumsden, of the 55th foot, to be major of brigade to the forces, in the island of Guernsey, *vice* Donnellan, who resigns. James Laughnan, esq. to be commisary of musters to the forces in the East Indies, *vice* Strachey resigned. Richard Yeldham, esq. to be commissary of musters to the forces on the coast of Coromandel. Garrison. Major-general Thomas Murray, to be lieutenant-governor of the garrison of Portsmouth.

MARCH.

1. George-John, earl Spencer, created a knight of the garter.

6. John Bodenham, esq. of Discord, to be sheriff of the county of Radnor.

13. Lord Hawkesbury, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

James Durno, esq. of Atrochie, late consul at Memel, knighted.

19. Staff. Major Alexander Stewart, of the 42d foot, to be quarter-master-general to the forces serving in Minorca, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Hospital staff. —— Moore, M. D. acting inspector of hospitals, to be inspector of hospitals in Portugal. Garrison. —— Moodie, D. D. to be chaplain of the garrison of Stirling-castle.

26. Rev. George William Lukin, L. L. D. and prebendary of Westminster, to be dean of Wells

and the reverend Thomas Causton, to be a prebendary of Westminster.

30. George Canning, esq. appointed one of the commissioners for managing the affairs of India.

APRIL.

3. Sir George Yonge, bart. K. B. took the oaths on being appointed governor and commander-in-chief of the Cape of Good Hope.

9. Brevet. To be colonels in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as their resgective regiments shall remain embodied for actual service; col. John Kemys Tynte, of the West Somersetshire militia; col. JohnStrode, of the East Somersetshire militia; col. John Colby, of the royal Pembrokeshire militia.

13. The earl of Elgin, to be his majesty's ambassador extraordinary at the Sublime Porte.

Thomas Jackson, esq. to be minister-plenipotentiary to the king of Sardinia.

James Talbot, esq. to be secretary of legation at the court of Stockholm.

Justinian Casamajor, esq. to be secretary of legation at the court of Petersburgh.

Anthony Merry, esq. to be consul-general in the dominions of the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia.

16. Staff. Col. John Scerret, of the late 7th West India regiment, to be brigadier-general to the forces in the island of Newfoundland. Capt. John Lawrenson, of the 18th light-dragoons, to be major of brigade in North Britain.

23. His royal highness prince Edward, created duke of Kent, and of Strathern, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Dublin, in the kingdom of Ireland.

His royal highness prince Ernest Augustus, created duke of Cumberland, and of Teviotdale, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Armagh, in the kingdom of Ireland.

23. Staff. Col. the hon. Cochrane Johnstone, of the 8th West India regiment, to be brigadier-general in the Leewards Islands only.

MAY.

3. John Harrison, esq. to be one of the commissioners for victualling the royal navy.

10. Thomas Hayward, esquire, knighted.

The earl of Leven and Melvill, appointed his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

William Macleod Bannatyne, esq. appointed one of the lords of session in Scotland.

10. Lieut.-general his royal highness the duke of Kent, appointed a general in the army.

14. Philip Lybbe Powys, jun. esq. appointed clerk of the checque to the band of gentlemen-pensioners.

17. His royal highness general, Edward duke of Kent, K. G. to be general and commander-in-chief of his majesty's forces in North America.

29. David Rae, esq. of Eskgrove, one of the lords of session, and a senator of the college of justice, appointed his majesty's justice clerk in Scotland.

JUNE.

4. Staff. Colonel Geore Mon-

crieffe, of the 90th foot, to be brigadier-general to the forces serving in the Mediterranean only. Major Kenneth Mackenzie, of the 90th foot, to be deputy adjutant-general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major John Duncan, of the royal artillery, to be deputy quarter-master-general to the said forces, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army. Serjeant J. Mitchell, from the 2d battalion royals, to be provost-martial to the said forces.

5. Their royal highnesses the dukes of Kent and Cumberland, sworn of his majesty's privy-council.

11. Francis Drake, esq. to be his majesty's envoy-extraordinary to the Elector-Palatine, and minister to the diet at Ratisbon.

14. Staff. Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Brownrigg, of the 3d foot to be deputy quarter-master-general in Ireland. Lieut. col. Quin John Freeman, to be deputy barrack master-general in Ireland.

22. Claud Irvine Boswell, esq. appointed one of the lords of session in Scotland, and Neil Ferguson, esq. advocate, to be sheriff-depute of Fife and Kinross.

26. Christopher Pegge, M. D. reader of anatomy in the university of Oxford, and major of the Oxford university association, knighted.

Lord Grenville, elected governor of the Levant company, *vice* the duke of Leeds, deceased.

John Vaughan, esq. of Lincoln's Inn, barrister-at-law, and recorder of Leicester, called to the degree of serjeant-at-law.

25. Brevet. Col. John lord Cawdor, of the Caermarthenshire militia, to be colonel in the army, and to take rank as such so long only as the said regiment of militia shall remain embodied for actual service.—Staff. Brevet. Lieut. colonel John Le Couteur, from the 16th foot, to be inspector of the militia serving in the island of Jersey.—Brevet. Lieut. col. sir Thomas Saumarez, from the royal fuzileers, to be inspector of the militia in the island of Guernsey. Wm. Boothby, esq. to be paymaster of a recruiting district.

28. Sir Frederick Morton Eden, bart. K. B. created a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the name, style, and title of baron Henley, of Chardstock.

29. Major-generals Edmund Fanning, William Gardiner, Henry Johnson, honourable Henry Edward Fox, John W. T. Watson, James Lumsdaine, Lowther Pennington, Philip Goldsworthy, Duncan Drummond, William Spry, Charles Eustace, Francis Edward Gwyn, Robert Morse, Francis lord Heathfield, T. S. Stanwix, and sir James Pulteney, bart. to be lieutenant-generals in the army.—Garrisons. Major-general John Whitelock, to be lieutenant-governor of the garrison of Portsmouth *vice* Murray, resigned. Captain Flaylett Framingham, of the royal artillery, to be governor of the fort of Fornelles, in the island of Minorca.

JULY.

2. Right hon. Gilbert, lord Minto, appointed his majesty's envoy-extraordinary and minister-plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna.

3d. Thomas, earl of Elgin, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— James Allen Park, of Lincoln's Inn, constituted and appointed one of his majesty's counsel learned in the law.

6. Staff. Lieut. col. Albert Gledstanes, of the 57th foot, to be adjutant-general to the forces serving in the Leeward Islands. Lieut. colonel Frederick Maitland, of the 27th foot, to be quarter-master-general to the said forces.

10. John Henry, duke of Rutland took the oaths on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Leicester.

Robert Cullen, of Cullen, esq. one of the lords of session, appointed a lord of justiciary in Scotland. William Honeyman, of Armadale, esq. to be a lord of justiciary in Scotland. George Fergusson, esq. to be one of the lords of session in Scotland. Mr. John Anstruther, to be one of the four commissaries of Edinburgh. Dr. George Hill, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland.

13. His royal highness Ernest Augustus, duke of Cumberland, K. G. to be lieutenant-general in the army.

17. Right hon. sir John Scott, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

18. Right hon. sir John Scott, knt. late his majesty's attorney-general, created a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of Baron Eldon, of Eldon, in the county of Durham.

18. Rev. John Kearney, D. D. to be provost of Trinity college, Dublin. Sir Geo. Shee, bart. to be secretary to the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury in this kingdom.

23. Garrison. Hon. lieut. gen. sir Charles Stuart, K. B. to be governor, and the hon. lieut. gen. Henry Edward Fox, to be lieutenant governor of the island of Minorca.

27. Garrison. Col. John Callow, of the 3d dragoons, to be lieutenant-governor of Quebec. E. B. Brenton, esq. deputy judge-advocate of Nova-Scotia and New Brunswick, to be deputy judge-advocate to the forces in all the British provinces of North America.

AUGUST.

6. Staff. George Brinley, esq. to be commissary-general in British North America. John Butler Butler, esq. to be deputy-commissary-general in Nova-Scotia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Saint John's Island, and Cape Breton. John Craigie, esq. to be deputy-commissary-general in the Canadas.

10. Brevet. Major Lewis Hay, of the royal engineers, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Staff. Major-gen. George Hewitt, to be inspector-general of the recruiting service. Capt. Henry Erskine, of the Scotch brigade, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces at the Cape of Good Hope, with the rank of major in the army.

12. Right hon. John Beresford, right hon. sir Hercules Langrishe, bart. right hon. Richard Hely viscount Denoughmore, right hon. Richard Annesley, Charles Henry Coote, Maurice Fitzgerald, John Ormsby Vandeleur, John Townshead, and Montifort Longfield, esqrs. to be chief-commis-

sioners of his majesty's revenues of excise and customs in the kingdom of Ireland.

13. Staff. Hon. col. J. Hope, of the 25th foot, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the forces under the command of lieut. general sir Ralph Abercromby. Lieut. col. Robert Anstruther, of the 68th foot, to be deputy-quarter-master-general to the said forces. Henry Motz, esq. to be commissary-general to the said forces.—Hospital staff. Thomas Young, esq. from half-pay, to be inspector-general of hospitals for the said forces.

John Falcon, esq. to be his majesty's agent and consul-general for the city and kingdom of Algiers.

Rev. John Randolph, D. D. recommended, by *congé d'elire*, to be elected bishop of Oxford.

14. Right hon. John Jefferys earl Camden, installed a knight of the garter.

17. Shadrack Moyse, esq. appointed a commissioner of the customs of Scotland.

20. Staff. Lieut. col. J. Drinkwater, on the half-pay of the late 109th foot, to be commissary of accounts to the forces under the command of sir Ralph Abercromby.

Hon. Samuel Barrington, admiral of the white, to be general of his majesty's marine forces, and the right hon. Alexander, lord Bridport, K. B. admiral of the white, to be lieutenant-general of the said forces.

SEPTEMBER.

3. Right hon. John earl of Clare of the kingdom of Ireland, and lord chancellor of the said kingdom, created an English baron, by the title of baron Fitz-Gibbon, of Sidbury, in the county of Devon.

Brevet. Capt. Rowland Edward, of the 9th foot, to be major in the army.—Hospital staff. To be physician to the forces, Dr. Stewart Crawford.

4. Brevet-major William Raymond, of the 89th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

7. His royal highness field-marshall Frederick, duke of York, K. G. to be captain-general of all and singular his majesty's land forces raised, or to be raised and employed, in his majesty's service within the kingdom of Great Britain; and also of all and singular his majesty's land forces which are or shall be employed on the continent of Europe, in conjunction with the troops of his majesty's allies.

William Meikleham, LL.D. to be professor of practical astronomy, and observer in the university of Glasgow. Rev. Alexander Fleming, to be one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary in Scotland. Rev. John Thomson, presented to the church and parish of Dailly, in the presbytery and county of Ayr.

10. Brevet. Major Oliver Grace, of the Minorca regiment, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army. Major James Kempt, on the half-pay of the late 113th foot, to be lieutenant-colonel in the army.

23. Andrew Stewart, esq. and Robert Dundas, esq. (lord advocate for Scotland,) constituted and appointed conjunctly to the sole and only clerks and keepers of the general register for seisins and other writs in Scotland.

25. Right hon. Isaac Corry, chancellor of the exchequer in Ireland, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

Right hon. George Granville Levison Gower, earl Gower, took the oaths on being appointed lord-lieutenant of the county of Stafford.

OCTOBER.

8. Hospital staff. Andrew Mitchell, M. D. to be physician to the forces.

16. Richard Master, esq. took the oaths on being appointed captain-general and commander-in-chief of the island of Tobago, and its dependencies.

19. Brevet count Bentinck de Rhone, to be colonel in the army on the continent of Europe only. Capt. James Fitzgerald, of the 3d foot guards, to be major in the army. Capt. Thomas Browne, of the 59th foot, to be major in the army. Frederick Vander Hooven, gent. aid-du-camp to count Bentinck de Rhone, to be captain in the army on the continent of Europe only.—Staff. Hon. col. John Hope, deputy-adjutant-general, to be adjutant-general to the army serving under the command of his royal highness the duke of York. Hon. lieut.-col. Alexander Hope, assistant-adjutant-general, to be deputy-adjutant-general to the said army, *vice* John Hope. Lieut.-col. John Sontag, to be military commissary to the troops forming under his serene highness the hereditary prince of Orange. Capt. Stephen Watts, to be assistant-barrack-master-general in the island of Jersey, with the rank of major in the army, so long only as he shall continue in the barrack-department. Henry Castleman, esq. to be assistant-barrack-master-general.

26. Staff. Lachlan Maclean, gent. to be barrack-master at Fort St. George. John Johnston, gent. to be barrack-master in the island of Minorca.

30. Right hon. Ralph, lord Lavingdon, K. B. sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy-council.

NOVEMBER.

2. Brevet. Col. Samuel Twentyman, of the 87th foot, to be brigadier-general in the West Indies only.—Capt. R. Sacheverell Newton, of the 9th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Lieut. col. George Townshend Walker, of the 50th foot, to be military commissary to the Russian troops.—Hospital staff. Samuel Cave. M. D. from half-pay, to be physician to the forces. Rob. Jackson, M. D. from half-pay, to be inspector of hospitals for the Russian troops.

12. Brevet. Capt. William Cullen, of the Scotch brigade, to be major in the army.

13. Major-general his highness prince William, to be lieutenant-general in the army.

16. Dr. James Playfair, to be principal of the united colleges of St. Salvator, and St. Leonard, in the university of St. Andrew.

19. Garrison. Rev. Frederick Neve, to be chaplain to the garrison of Minorca.

23. Thomas Trowbridge, esq. captain in the royal navy, and of Plymouth, created a baronet.

Geo. Napier, esq. to be commissary of the commissariat of

Caithness. Mr. William Taylor, to be commissary-clerk of Caithness and Sutherland.

26. Rev. Charles Henry Hall, B. D. to be a canon of Christ Church, Oxford.

Garrison. Major-general John Graves Simcoe, to be commandant of the garrison of Plymouth in the absence of the governor and of lieut. gen. Grenville.

DECEMBER.

2. Richard, earl of Mornington, K. P. created a marquis of Ireland, by the title of marquis Wellesley, of Norrah, in that kingdom.

3. Major-general Eccles Nixon, knighted.

Brevet. Capt. Henry Bird, of the 54th foot, to be major in the army.—Staff. Jonathan Page, gent. to be assistant barrack-master to the barracks occupied by the Dutch troops in the Isle of Wight.

10. Hospital staff. Surgeons James Borland and Alex. Baillie, to be assistant-inspectors of Russian hospitals.

14. Brevet. Major-gen. sir Hugh Dalrymple, knt. to be lieut. gen. in the island of Guernsey only. Major-gen. Andrew Gordon, to be lieutenant general in the island of Jersey only.

21. Staff. Serjeant-major James Lee, from the 1st foot guards, to be provost-marshal, with the rank of captain in the army, on the continent of Europe only.

23. Major Colyer, to be equerry to the duke of Cumberland.

28. Staff. Lieut. col. Rob. Anstruther, of the 3d foot guards, to be a deputy-quarter-master-general to the forces.

‡

DEATHS.

JANUARY.

1. Aged 80, Lady Dowager Clementina Elphinstone, mother of lord Keith, and only daughter of John earl of Wigton.

The right hon. Arthur Chichester, marquis of Donegal, born June 13, 1739, and succeeded his uncle in the title and estates in 1756. In 1761, he married a daughter of the duke of Hamilton, by whom he had issue four daughters and three sons, all of whom died young, except lord Belfast, born in 1769, and his brother Spencer. Lady Donegal dying in 1780, his lordship married in 1788, Mrs. Moore, who died a year afterwards without issue. The marquis next married a Miss Godfrey, a daughter to the late Dr. Godfrey, a clergyman of the county of Kerry in Ireland.

At Port Royal, Jamaica, of the yellow fever, the hon. lieut. Roger Montgomerie, of the royal navy, second son of the earl of Eglintoune.

6. Prince William George Frederic, second son of the Stadtholder of Holland.

11. The right hon. lady Charlotte Bertie, eldest daughter of the earl of Abingdon.

Lady Rebecca Honora Lewis, wife of sir Watkin Lewis.

22. Francis lady Ongley, relict of the first lord, who died 1785.

Lady Christian, wife of admiral sir Hugh Cloberry Christian, K.B. commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope.

Lady Wilson, wife of sir Henry W. Her remains were removed

for interment in the family-vault at Crofton in the county of York.

31. After a short illness, of an erysipelas in his side, which turned to a mortification, the most noble Francis Godolphin Osborne, fifth duke of Leeds, marquis of Carmarthen, earl of Danby, viscount Latimer, and viscount Dunblaine, in Scotland, baron Osborne of Kiveton, a baronet, K.G. lord lieutenant and *custus rotulorum* of the east-riding of the county of York, governor of the Scilly Islands, one of the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy-council, governor of the Levant company, high steward of Hull, &c. and filled the office of principal secretary of state for the foreign department, from December 1783 to April 1791. His grace was born Jan. 29, 1751, and married, 1773, lady Amelia D'Arcy, only surviving child of the late earl of Holdernesse, by whom he had issue George William Frederick, (who succeeds him), born July 15, 1775, and, on the death of his mother, in 1784, succeeded to the barony of Conyers; Mary Henrietta, born Sept. 7, 1776; and Francis Godolphin, born Oct. 11, 1777; and who, in the early years of conjugal intercourse, displayed the utmost degree of domestic virtue, and held forth the fairest prospect of connubial happiness: but these flattering prospects of nuptial felicity were all blighted, for this accomplished and amiable woman listened to the voice of seduction, and was the mark of public obloquy. This marriage was dissolved in 7779, when her grace married Mr. Byron, and died in 1784. The second wife of the late duke, was Miss Catharine Anguish, daughter of the late Thomas A. esq. a master in chancery, and one of the commissioners of public accompts, to whom he was married Oct. 14, 1788, and by whom he had one son, Sidney Godolphin, born Dec. 16, 1789, and a daughter, Catharine Anne Sarah. The now dowager duchess chiefly attracted the attention of his grace by her peculiar taste and skill in music. The present duke married, August 7, 1797, Charlotte, daughter of the marquis Townshend.

Sir Hugh Christian, K.B. commander-in-chief of the ships at the Cape of Good Hope.

Hon. Henry Grey, son of the earl of Stamford and Warrington, wrecked on board his ship, the Weazle.

The dowager lady Tichbourne.

FEBRUARY.

9. Hon. and rev. lord Francis Seymour, son of the duke of Somerset.

12. George Augustus Clavering Cowper, earl Cowper.

20. Lionel, twelfth earl of Dysart.

In her 85th year, the hon. Mrs. Elizabeth Kerr, last surviving daughter of the late lord Charles Kerr.

At Munich, of an apoplexy, with which he had been struck four days before, Charles Theodore, elector of Bavaria, the only remaining heir of the branch of Saltzbach, one of those of the house of Bavaria Palatine. Few sovereign princes have had so long a reign. He was born in 1724, and became elector palatine in 1742; so that, including the time

at Manheim and Munich, he reigned 57 years: for, as the elder branch of the house of Bavaria became extinct in 1778, by the death of Maximilian-Joseph, Charles-Theodore united the palatine electorate to that of Bavaria, and transferred his residence from Manheim to Munich. At that period Austria asserted its pretensions to Bavaria, which it had long coveted, and, after a short war, in which the great Frederick interfered, the emperor obtained by the peace of Teschen, the eastern portion of that duchy, which included a space of 38,000 square German miles, and a population of 60,000 souls. The late elector, though twice married, left no children. His first wife was his cousin, Maria Elizabeth; by her he had a male child, which died in the birth. This electress died in August, 1794. In six months afterwards Charles Theodore, notwithstanding his advanced age, married Maria Leopoldine of Austria, the daughter of the archduke Ferdinand, then governor of Austrian Lombardy, but, as might be expected, had no children by her. His territories, on his death, devolved to his nearest relation, Maximilian Joseph, the duke of Deux Ponts, who was born in 1756. The elector was distinguished for the patronage which he bestowed on the arts, with the professors of which he was constantly surrounded, whether he was at Munich or at Manheim. The two electorates are indebted to him for some most useful institutions, which were suggested to him and carried into effect by our countryman, count Rumford. Including the palatinate and the duchies of Juliers and Berg, he reigned over more than two millions of subjects. His character was distinguished by many amiable qualities, and he is universally regretted on the continent.

In a very advanced age, Thomas Birmingham, earl of Louth, and 22d baron Athenry de Birmingham, premier baron of Ireland, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy-council. By his death the earldom of Louth becomes extinct, and the barony of Athenry lies in abeyance. His lordship was born 1717; chosen 1745, to represent the county of Galway in parliament; and was created, 1759, earl of Louth. He married, first, Jane, eldest daughter of sir John Bingham, of Castlebar, in the county of Mayo, bart. by whom he had a daughter, who died an infant; and secondly, 1750, Margaret, youngest daughter of Peter Daly, of Quansbury, in the county of Galway, counsellor-at-law, by whom he had two sons, who died young, and four daughters: 1. Elizabeth, married to William lord St. Laurence, eldest son of Thomas earl of Howth; 2d. Mary, born 1756, married, 1779, to Francis Duffield, esq. late captain in the 60th regiment of foot; 3. Louisa Catharine Mary, born 1764, married 1784, to Joseph Henry Blake, of Ardfry, in the county of Galway, esq. 4. Matilda Dorothea Margaretta, died 1788. He is succeeded in his estates by lady Elizabeth Duffield and lady Louisa Blake.

The right hon. Robert Ross, one of the commissioners of his

majesty's revenue, and M. P. for Newry.

4. The right hon. William Ann Hollis Capel, earl of Essex, viscount Malden, baron Hadham. He was born 7th October, 1732, and married, first, Frances, daughter and heiress of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, by his wife lady Francis, daughter of Thomas, earl of Coningsby, by whom he had issue William, the present earl, and lady Elizabeth, who married John lord Monson. His lordship secondly married on March 3, 1767, Harriet, daughter of col. Thomas Bladon, by whom he has four sons now living. His lordship was lord of the bed-chamber to the late and present king.

In an advanced age, at Bognor, Sussex, sir Richard Hotham, knight, formerly M. P. for the borough of Southwark. To the spirit and liberality of this gentleman this country is indebted for the establishment of the new and fashionable watering-place called Hothampton, but better known by the name of Bognor-Rocks, which was erected entirely at his expense, and was solely his property. He is succeeded in his estates by his great nephew William Knott, esq.

17. Chas. Thompson, bart. M. P. for the borough of Monmouth, vice-admiral of the red, and third in command under admiral lord Bridport, of the channel fleet.

21. The countess of Portmore, youngest daughter of John, earl of Rothes, born Aug. 29, 1753.

At his house in Charles-street, Berkley-square, in his 69th year, the right hon. Charles Bingham, earl of Lucan, baron Bingham of Castle-bar, in the kingdom of Ireland, and a baronet of Scotland.

30. Elizabeth lady Gordon, relict of sir Samuel Gordon, bart. and mother of sir Jenison Gordon of Haverholm-Priory, and three daughters.

The right hon. Robert King, earl of Kingston, viscount Kingsborough, and baron Kingston, of Rockingham, and a baronet. His lordship was the sixth baronet, and second earl of this noble family (which has been three times elevated to the peerage.) His lordship was born in 1754; and, before the decease of his noble father, represented the county of Cork in parliament. He succeeded his father Edward in 1797; and married, Dec. 5, 1769, Caroline, only daughter of Richard Fitzgerald, of Mount Ophaly. His lordship has left issue, George viscount Kingsborough, born in April, 1771, who succeeds to the earldom; Robert Edward; Edward; Henry; lady Margaret; lady Jane; lady Caroline, married to the right hon. Stephen earl of Montcashel, and has issue lord Kilworth and others; lady Isabella Letitia. George the present and third earl of Kingston, before his father's decease, was member in parliament for the county of Roscommon, and succeeds to a clear estate of 26,000*l. per annum.* Caroline, countess of Kingston, has for some years been separated from her husband Robert, the late earl, through some unfortunate misunderstanding, and retired to Old Windsor, in England.

At Demarara, sir C. Lindsay, bart. commander of the Daphne frigate. He had dined on shore; and, though the night was dark and windy, could not be dissuaded from going off to his vessel in a very small boat he had ashore, and the Daphne at least ten miles out. The consequence was, the boat filled, and the service lost a valuable officer. Two men were washed on shore alive, one of whom died soon after. The body of sir Charles was also washed ashore.

APRIL.

10. In his 61st year, the hon. H. Hobart, brother to the earl of Buckinghamshire and member for Norwich.

In his 60th year, sir Robert Clayton, bart. member for Ilchester.

11. Sir William Bowyer, bart. of Denham, Bucks, a captain in the army, who succeeded his father, sir William, 1768.

12. The hon. Mrs Cary, relict of the hon. gen. Cary, and mother of lady Amherst and the late lady Russel.

19. Lady Margery Murray, niece to William the first earl of Mansfield, and sister to the late earl.

The right hon. H. Yelverton, earl of Sussex, in the 70th year of his age.

21. In his 80th year, the rev. Robert Sherrard, earl of Harborough. He was born Oct. 1, 1719, succeeded his brother Feb. 20, 1770, and in 1773 resigned his ecclesiastical preferments.

24. In her 81st year, Elizabeth duchess-dowager of Beaufort, relict of Charles Noel, duke of Beaufort, baroness Botetourt, and sister to Norborne lord Botetourt.

MAY.

9. Countess of Kerry. She was the second daughter of the late Peter Daly, esq. of Quansbury, in the county of Galway, in Ireland; and, upon the deaths of her sisters, the countess of Louth, and viscountess Kingsland, she inherited the whole of his very great estates in that and the adjoining counties.

At Cork, sir John Haly, M. D. He received the honour of knighthood from the late duke of Rutland when lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

Hon. John Tufton, M. P. brother of the earl of Thanet.

Hon. Robert M'Queen, lord Braxfield, lord-chief-justice clerk of Scotland.

20. Sir John Lambert, bart. of Vatchel, Surry, who had lately returned from Paris, where he resided many years, as a banker.

JUNE.

Other Windsor Hickman, earl of Plymouth, lord Hickman, a vice-president of the Welsh charity, and F. R. S.; born May 30, 1751; succeeded his father 1771. His remains were interred in the family-vault at Howel-grange, in the county of Worcester.

Mrs. Herbert, sister of the earl of Carnarvon, and bedchamber-woman to her majesty.

7. Of a dropsy, at the house of the Spanish consul, Mons. de Lellis, at Trieste, the French princess Marie Victoire, aunt to Louis XVI. and Louis XVIII.; and born May 3, 1733. She ar-

rived there from Corfu, on the 20th of May. The funeral was celebrated with due ceremony; and the sepulchral monument of her highness, in the cathedral church, has an appropriate Latin inscription.

Lady-dowager Dungannon, relict of the late lord viscount Dungannon, of the kingdom of Ireland.

26. The right rev. Edward Smallwell, D. D. bishop of St. David's in 1783; and translated thence to Oxford in 1788; canon also of Christ's Church; and rector of Batsford in the county of Gloucester.

JULY.

4. Sir John Anstruther, of Anstruther, bart.

Sir William Lee, bart. of an ancient and distinguished family, in the county of Bucks. He was born in 1726.

In his 65th year, the right hon. sir James Eyre, knt. lord-chief-justice of the court of common pleas.

19. Aged 77, lady Betty-Mackenzie, fourth daughter, by his second wife, of John, duke of Argyle and Greenwich, and married to James Stuart Mackenzie, second son of James, second earl of Bute.

At his seat at Knowle, Kent, in his 55th year, the right hon. John Frederick Sackville, duke of Dorset, earl of Middlesex, baron Buckhurst, in Sussex, and baron Cranfield, of Cranfield, co. Bedford, hereditary high steward of Stratford-upon-Avon, vice-admiral of the coasts, colonel of the west regiment of Kent militia, lord-lieutenant of that county, lord steward of his majesty's household, and K.G. He succeeded his uncle, Jan. 6, 1769, and in 1790, married Miss Arabella-Diana Cope, daughter of the present countess of Liverpool, by her first marriage with Sir Charles Cope. The surviving issue are, lady Mary Sackville, born July 30, 1792; George John Frederick, earl of Middlesex, who succeeds to the title and estates, born Nov. 15, 1793; and lady Elizabeth Sackville, born August 9, 1795. His grace, previous to his succeeding to the peerage, represented the county of Kent. He filled the office of ambassador to France at the commencement of the revolution. On his return, he was invested with the order of the garter, made lord-steward of his majesty's household, and lord-lieutenant of the county of Kent, which last situation he retained till within a short period of his death, being succeeded by lord Romney. He was not distinguished for mental vigour or literary attainment. At one time his grace was quite the fashion in the annals of gallantry. His remains were interred in the family-vault, at Withyam, Sussex.

The hon. Miss Upton, only daughter of lord Templetown.

AUGUST.

1. At Hamilton-palace, Scotland, his grace Douglas Hamilton, duke of Hamilton in Scotland, duke of Brandon in England, duke of Chatelherault in France, marquis of Hamilton, of Clydesdale, and of Douglas, earl of Angus, of Arran, and of Lanerk, lord Macanshire, Polmont, Abernethey, and Aberbrothick, in Scotland,

and baron Dutton and Hamilton in England, lord-lieutenant of Lanerkshire, and hereditary keeper of the palaces of Holyroodhouse and Linlithgow. His grace was born July 25, 1756; married April 5, 1778, to Elizabeth daughter of the late Peter Burrell, esq. of Beckenham, Kent, sister to the duchess of Northumberland, to the countess of Beverlay, and to lord Gwydir, deputy lord chamberlain of England; from this lady he was divorced in February, 1797, at her grace's suit. His grace's father, James, sixth duke of Hamilton, married on Feb. 24, 1752, Elizabeth, second daughter of John Gunning, esq. of Ireland, (by his wife Bridget, daughter of Theobald lord viscount Mayo,) by whom he had issue James George, late duke; Douglas Hamilton, afterwards duke; Elizabeth, married Edward, earl of Derby, and died in 1797. The duke died in 1758; and her grace married secondly, John, duke of Argyle, then marquis of Lorn, and had issue. Her grace was created a peeress of England May 20, 1770, by the title of baroness Hamilton, of Hamilton, in the county of Leicester. James George, the seventh duke, succeeded his father in the title Jan. 17, 1758, and also succeeded to the titles of marquis of Douglas and earl of Angus, on the death of Archibald late duke of Douglas, who died without issue, July 21, 1701. His grace being lineally descended of William, earl of Selkirk, eldest son, by the second marriage, of William first marquis of Douglas, and his grace dying unmarried July 7, 1769, was succeeded by his brother, Douglas Hamilton, late duke, whose death we now commemorate. By the second marriage of his mother Elizabeth Gunning duchess of Hamilton, with the duke of Argyle, his grace was brother to the marquis of Lorn, and nephew to lord Coventry. Her grace died Dec. 30, 1790, when her barony of Hamilton descended to her son, the late duke. His grace is succeeded in the English dukedom of Brandon, by lord Archibald Hamilton, his uncle (being son of the second duke of Brandon, by his third duchess); and the son of the earl of Derby by his grace's sister succeeds to the dukedom of Hamilton, it being an honour in fee.

4. At his house in Dublin, in his 71st year, the right hon. James Caulfield, earl of Charlemont, viscount Caulfield, baron Caulfield of Charlemont, knight of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, a member of his majesty's most honourable privy council, governor of the county of Armagh, president of the royal Irish academy, fellow of the royal and antiquarian sccieties in London, and LL.D. He was born August 18, 1728, and from June, 1746, to July, 1754, pursued his travels in foreign countries. In July, 1754, he was created LL.D. appointed governor of the county of Armagh, and member of the privy council in Ireland. October 7, same year, he took his seat in the house of lords, as fourth viscount Charlemont; and by patent, 23d Dec. 1763, was advanced to the title of earl. His lordship married, July 2d, 1768, Mary daughter of Thomas Hickman, of Clare, esq. (a descendant of the noble family of Windsor Hickman, viscount Wind-

sor, which family have now the title of earl of Plymouth); and hath left issue by her ladyship, one daughter, lady Elizabeth Caulfeild, born Dec. 13, 1773, and three sons, Francis William, lord Caulfeild, now earl of Charlemont, born Jan. 3, 1775; James Thomas, born Aug. 1, 1776; and Henry, born July 29, 1779. His lordship was the eighth nobleman of this illustrious house of Charlemont.

Sir Peter Nugent, bart, of West Meath, Ireland.

5. In his 3d year, the right hon. Richard Howe, earl and viscount Howe, of Langar, in Northamptonshire, viscount Howe and baron Clenawley, in Ireland. He succeeded his brother George Augustus, the late viscount, July 5, 1758.

Lady Anne Heathcote, daughter of the rev. Mr. Tollet, of Westminster, and relict of the late sir Thomas Heathcote, of Hursley, Hants, baronet, which last died an infant.

Frederick Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, viscount Wentworth, baron Stainborough, and baron of Raby, New March, and Oversley, and a baronet. He was born 1730; succeeded his cousin William, the late earl, in 1791. His lordship came to the White Lion inn, Nottingham, where he supped, and went to bed in perfect health. On the next morning he was found dead.

Maj. general Wm. Rob. Fielding, lord viscount Fielding. He was born June 15, 1763, and married, April 26, 1791, to Miss Powis.

Charles Townshend, esq. of Chislehurst, in Kent, second son of the hon. Thomas T. one of his majesty's tellers of the exchequer, and M. P. for the university of Cambridge, by Albinia, the daughter of the hon. col. John Selwyn, and brother to lord viscount Sydney.

Lady Williams, relict of sir Booth Williams.

At the palace of St. Asaph, Mrs. Bagot, wife of the bishop of St. Asaph, and daughter of the late Henry Edward Hay, governor of Barbadoes.

The right hon. Nicholas lord Cloncurry, baron of Cloncurry, in the county of Kildare, and a baronet. His lordship was eldest son and heir of the late Patrick Lawles, esq. of Cloncurry, who left issue, beside the lord Cloncurry, one daughter, Margaret, countess of Clonmell, (who married, June 23, 1779, the right hon. John Scott, earl of Clonmell, late lord-chief-justice of his majesty's court of King's Bench in Ireland, and has issue by his lordship, who died June 23, 1798, Thomas lord Earlsfort, now earl Clonmell, born August 15, 1783, and lady Charlotte Scott, born May 11, 1787.) Lord Cloncurry, in the early part of his life, was of the Romish persuasion.

SEPTEMBER.

1. Elizabeth countess Ferrers, wife of the present earl F. She has left one son, the present lord viscount Tamworth.

11. At Cagnart, in his 37th year, Maurice Joseph Maria, duke of Montserrat, brother to the king of Sardinia, born Sept. 13, 1762.

20. Lady Hales, wife of sir John Hales, bart.

24. The lady of sir John Cox

Hippesley, bart. daughter of the late sir John Stuart, bart. of Allan Bank, in the county of Berwick.

26. The right hon. Willoughby Bertie, earl of Abingdon, and baron Norreys of Rycote; and high steward of Abingdon and Wallingford. He was born January 16, 1740; succeeded his father William, the third earl, June 20, 1760; married July 7, 1768, Charlotte, daughter of the late admiral sir Peter Warren, K. B. and had issue, (by her ladyship, who deceased Jan. 28, 1794,) lady Charlotte Bertie, born October 12, 1769; died Jan. 11, 1799. 2. Lady Amelia, born Jan. 6, 1774; died in May, 1784. 3. Willoughby, lord Norreys, born Feb. 8, 1779; died an infant. 4. Lord Norreys, now earl of Abingdon, born in April 1781. 5. Lady Louisa Anna Maria Bridget, born March 8, 1786: and another daughter, born Oct. 18, 1788. He was educated at Geneva, and imbibed some of the democratic principles of that republic. He generally opposed the measures of administration; and his frequent speeches in the house of peers were peculiarly eccentric. In 1777, he published "Thoughts on Mr. Burke's Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol, on the Affairs of America," which was read with considerable applause, and answered in a style of the most exquisite irony, by an anonymous writer, in another anonymous pamphlet. This pamphlet went through five editions, and was, in 1780, addressed a sixth time in "Dedication to the collective Body of the People of England, in which the Sources of our present political Distractions are pointed out, and a Plan proposed for their Remedy and Redress." "A Letter to Lady Loughborough, in consequence of her Presentation of the Colours to the Bloomsbury and Inns of Court Association, with a public Letter to the University of Oxford, 1798." It was customary with his lordship to send copies of his speeches to the different newspapers, which brought him into a disagreeable situation: for, having, in one of them, made a violent attack on the character of Mr. Sermon, an attorney, the court of King's Bench sentenced him to a few months imprisonment, as the publisher of a libel.

OCTOBER.

1. In his 68th year, at Vienna, count Leopold Palffy, imperial chamberlain.

8. Sir Thomas Hayward, knt. late an officer of the honourable band of gentleman pensioners; upon quitting which he received the honour of knighthood in May last. He has left a widow, who is daughter of the late sir James Harrington, bart. of Penifound, in the county of Monmouth; and an only daughter, who inherits the greatest part of the property by the will of her late uncle, Henry Southby, esq.

Thomas Bromley lord Montfort. He was born Feb. 11, 1733, and succeeded his father Jan. 1, 1755. He married Feb. 29, 1772, Mary Ann Blake, by whom he has left several children.

Aged 40, The reverend sir John Bankes I'Anson, bart. and, Nov. 4, his remains were interred in

the family-vault at Corfe-castle, of which parish he was rector, having, in February last, succeeded his father, sir Thomas, who had enjoyed the living 51 years.

Lady Anne Howard, sister to the earl of Carlisle.

Major sir George Dunbar, bart. of the 14th regiment of light dragoons, at Norwich. He deliberately put an end to his existence, by shooting himself through the head.

In Germany, lady Elizabeth Luttrell, sister to the duchess of Cumberland.

At Prague, the cardinal Bathiany, prince primate of Hungary, who, by his will, has appropriated 38,000 florins for the expenses of his funeral; and who has, among many other useful legacies, bequeathed his stores of wines and provisions, estimated at 300,000 florins to the emperor's magazines. He has appointed his brother, by the father's side, the count Theodore Barthiany, heir of his immense possessions. It is thought that the primateship will remain vacant for two years, and that the crown will enjoy, during that period, its immense revenues.

NOVEMBER.

13. Right hon. lady Martha Dashwood, wife of the rev. James D. of that place, and sister of the hon. and rev. Francis Knollis, of Burthorne, in the county of Gloucester.

18. In her 72d year, Mrs. Parker, wife of Dr. William Parker, rector of St. James's, Westminster, and sister of the late lord Howard, on whose death she became a baroness in her own right, but never assumed the title.

23. Lady Knatchbull, wife of sir Edward K. bart. M. P. for Kent.

Charles Erskine, earl Kellie, viscount Fenton, and a captain in the Fifeshire fencible cavalry. The late earl succeeded his brother Archibald, 8th earl, 1797, and is succeeded by Thomas Erskine, esq. of Cambo, his cousin. The earl of Kellie is the premier viscount of Scotland.

At Buckeburg, after a short and painful illness, in her 39th year, her serene highness Juliana Wilhelmina Louisa, princess dowager of Schaumburg Lippe, regent and guardian. This princess was sister to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and one of the brightest ornaments of her sex and age. In many of her public and private actions she imitated the illustrious Frederick the Great: like him, she rose early in the morning to work in her cabinet, in the affairs of state; and there was hardly a petty law suit the judgment of which she did not revise. Like Joseph II. she travelled all over the Continent, for observation and instruction; the fruits of her travels she applied to the good of her small dominions, which travellers will find more cultivated and improved than the countries which surround it.

Sir John William de la Pole, bart. of Shute, Devon, and Colleton and Colcombe-castle, the residence of sir William.

DECEMBER.

7. Hon. lady Forbes, of Cragievar.

Lady Affleck, relict of sir E. Affleck, bart. late an admiral in the royal navy.

Sir David Ogilvy, bart of Barras.

19. Lady Mackworth, relict of sir Herbert Mackworth, bart. of Knoll-castle, sister of the late Robert Trefusis, esq. and mother of Mrs. Drake.

In his 89th year, sir James Napier, knight, F. R. and A.SS. and formerly inspector-general of his majesty's hospitals in North America.

SHERIFFS, *appointed by his Majesty in Council, for the Year* 1799.

Berkshire. James Sibbald, of Sunninghill.

Bedfordshire. Robert Trevor, of Flitwick.

Bucks. George Morgan, of Biddlesdon-park.

Cumberland. John Hamilton, of Whitehaven.

Cheshire. Joseph Green, of Poulton-Lancelyn.

Cambridge and Huntingdonshires. John Westwood, of Chatteris.

Devonshire. John Burton, of Jacobstowe.

Dorsetshire. Henry Seymer, of Handford.

Derbyshire. Joseph Walker, of Ashton-upon-Trent.

Essex. Capel Cure, of Blakehall.

Gloucestershire. John Elwes, of Colesbourne.

Hertfordshire. Archibald Paxton, of Watford.

Herefordshire. Sir Henry Tempest, of Caldwell.

Kent. Samuel Chambers, of Woodstock-house.

Leicestershire. Henry Green, of Rolleston.

Lincolnshire. Henry Hopkinson, of Castle-Bytham.

Monmouthshire. Capel Leigh, of Pontypool.

Northumberland. Sir John Edward Swinbourne, of Capheaton.

Northamptonshire. Martin Lucas, of Northampton.

Norfolk. John Motteux, of Beauchamp Wells.

Nottinghamshire. Samuel Bristowe, of Beesthorpe.

Oxfordshire. George Stratton, of Great Dew.

Rutlandshire. Samuel Reeve, of Ketton.

Shropshire. Thomas Dicken, of Wem.

Somersetshire. James Bennet, of North Cadbury.

Staffordshire. Joseph Scott, of Great-Barr.

Suffolk. George Rush, of Benhall.

County of Southampton. John Norris, of Hawley-house.

Surry. Robert Hankey, of Putney.

Sussex. Charles Pigou, of Frant.

Warwickshire. Francis Fauquier, of Stoney-Thorpe.

Worcestershire. Edward Dixon, of Dudley.

Wiltshire. Edward Hinxman, of Great Durnford.

Yorkshire. Sir Rowland Winn, of Nostell.

SOUTH WALES.

Carmarthen. Richard Mansel Phillips, of Coedgain.

Pembroke. Gwynne Vaughan, of Jordanston.

Cardigan. Pryce Lovedon, of Govertham.

Glamorgan. John Goodrich, of Energlyn.

Brecon. Edward Loveden, Loveden, of Langorse.

Radnor. John Boddenham, of Discord.

NORTH WALES.

Carnarvon. Evan Lloyd, of Porth yr Aur.

Anglesea. Hugh Wynne, of Beaumaris.

Merioneth. Sir Thomas Mostyn, of Corfygedol.

Montgomery. John P. Chichester, of Gengrogsawr,

Denbigh. John Wilkinson, of Brymbo-hall.

Flint. Thomas Mostyn Edwards, of Kilken-hall.

SHERIFF *appointed by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, in Council, for the Year* 1799.

Cornwall. Edward John Glynn, of Glynn.

APPENDIX

TO THE

CHRONICLE.

London Gazette, June 22.
Admiralty Office.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, to Mr. Nepean, dated Tigre, off Tripoly, in Syria, the 2d of April.

I BEG leave to transmit, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a copy of my report to the right hon. earl St. Vincent, of the late events in this quarter.

Tigre off St. John d' Acre, 23d March.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform you that, in consequence of information from Ghezar Pacha, governor of Syria, of the incursion of general Bonaparte's army into that province, and approach to its capital, Acre, I hastened with a portion of the naval force under my orders, to its relief, and had the satisfaction to arrive there two days before the enemy made his appearance.

Much was done in this interval under the direction of captain Miller, of the Theseus, and colonel Pelypeaux, towards putting the place in a better state of defence, to resist the attack of an European army; and the presence of a British naval force appeared to encourage and decide the Pacha and his troops to make a vigorous resistance.

The enemy's advanced guard was discovered at the foot of mount Carmel, in the night of the 17th, by the Tigre's guard boats: these troops, not expecting to find a naval force of any description in Syria, took up their ground close to the water-side, and were consequently exposed to the fire of grape shot from the boats, which put them to the rout the instant it opened upon them, and obliged them to retire precipitately up the

side of the mount. The main body of the army finding the road between the sea and mount Carmel thus exposed, came in by that of Nazareth, and invested the town of Acre to the east, but not without being much harassed by the Samaritan Arabs, who are even more inimical to the French than the Egyptians, and better armed.

As the enemy returned our fire by musketry only, it was evident they had not brought cannon with them, which was therefore to be expected by sea, and measures were taken accordingly for intercepting them; the Theseus was already detached off Jaffa (Joppa.) The enemy's flotilla, which came in from sea, fell in with and captured the Torride, and was coming round mount Carmel, when it was discovered from the Tigre, consisting of a corvette and nine sail of gun-vessels, on seeing us they hauled off. The alacrity of the ship's company in making sail after them was highly praiseworthy: our guns soon reached them, and seven, as per enclosed list, struck; the corvette, containing Bonaparte's private property, and two small vessels, escaped, since it became an object to secure the prizes without chasing farther; their cargoes, consisting of the battering train of artillery, ammunition, platforms, &c. destined for the siege of Acre, being much wanted for its defence. The prizes were accordingly anchored off the town, manned from the ships, and immediately employed in harassing the enemy's posts, impeding his approaches, and covering the ship's boats sent farther in shore to cut off his supplies and provisions conveyed coastwise. They have been constantly occupied in these services for these five days and nights past; and such has been the zeal of their crews, that they requested not to be relieved, after many hours excessive labour at their guns and oars.

I am sorry to say we have met with some loss, as per enclosed list, which, however, is balanced by greater on the part of the enemy, by the encouragement given to the Turkish troops from our example, and by the time that is gained for the arrival of a sufficient force to render Bonaparte's whole project abortive. I have had reason to be perfectly satisfied with the gallantry and perseverance of lieutenants Bushby, Inglefield, Knight, Stokes, and lieutenant Burton of the marines, and of the petty officers and men under their orders.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) W. Sidney Smith.

Right hon. earl St. Vincent,
commander-in-chief.

List of the Gun-vessels composing the French Flotilla, bound from Alexandria and Damietta to St. John d' Acre, taken off Cape Carmel by his Majesty's ship Tigre, Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, K. S. the 18th March, after a Chase of three hours.

La Negresse, of 6 guns and 53 men; La Fondre, of 8 guns and 52 men; La Dangereuse, of 6 guns and 23 men; La Maria Rose, of 4 guns and 22 men; La Dame de Grace, of 4 guns and 35 men; Les Deux Freres, of 4 guns and 23 men; La Torride, taken in the morning of that day, and retaken, of 2 guns and 30 men.

Total—7 gun-boats, 34 guns, and 238 men.

These gun-boats were loaded, besides their own complements, with battering cannon, ammunition, and every kind of siege-equipage, for Buonaparte's army before Acre.

(Signed) W. S. Smith.

On board the Tigre, off Acre, March 23.

N. B. The Marianne gun-boat was taken previously, and the transport, No. 1. subsequently, by the Tigre.

Return of the killed and wounded in the Boats of his Majesty's Ships Tigre and Theseus, and in the Gun-vessels employed against the French Army before Acre, from the 17th to the 25th of March.

Total—4 midshipmen and 8 seamen killed; 1 midshipman and 26 seamen wounded.

W. S. Smith.

On board the Tigre, March 23.

London Gazette, August 3, 1799.
Admiralty-Office.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Sidney Smith, Knight, Captain of his Majesty's Ship Tigre, to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated at Acre, the 3d of May.

Sir,

I have the honour to inclose you copies of my letters to earl St. Vincent, of the 7th of April and 2d instant, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty; as also a sketch of the position of the forces. The enemy have made two attempts since yesterday morning to force the two English ravelines, but were repulsed with loss. The works have now cannon mounted on them, and are nearly completed. We have thus the satisfaction of finding ourselves, on the 46th day of the siege, in a better state of defence than we were the first day the enemy opened their trenches, notwithstanding the increase of the breach, which they continue to batter with effect; and the garrison, having occasionally closed with the enemy, in several sorties, feel greater confidence that they shall be able to resist an assault, for which they are prepared.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Tigre, St. Jean d'Acre Bay, April 7.

My Lord,

I have the honour to inform your lordship, that as soon as the return of fine weather, after the equinoctial gales allowed me to approach this unsheltered anchorage, I resumed my station in the bay with the squadron under my orders. I found the enemy had profited, by our forced absence, to push their approaches to the counterscarp, and even in the ditch of the N. E. angle of the town-wall, where they were employed in mining the tower, to increase a breach they had already made in it, and which had been found impracticable when they attempted to storm on the 1st inst. The Alliance and prize gun-boats, which had been caught in the gale, had fortunately rode it out except one; and captain Wilmot had been so indefatigable in mounting the prize-guns, under the direction of an able officer of engineers, colonel Phelipeaux, that the fire therefrom had already slackened that of the enemy; still, however, much was

to be apprehended from the effect of the mine, and a sortie was determined on, in which the British marines and seamen were to force their way into it, while the Turkish troops attacked the enemy's trenches on the right and left. The sally took place this morning, just before day-light; the impetuosity and noise of the Turks rendered the attempt to surprise the enemy abortive, though in other respects they did their part well. Lieut. Wright, who commanded the seamen pioneers, notwithstanding he received two shots in his right arm, as he advanced, entered the mine with the pikemen, and proceeded to the bottom of it, where he verified its direction, and destroyed all that could be destroyed in its then state, by pulling down its supporters.

Colonel Douglas, to whom I had given the necessary step of rank to enable him to command the Turkish colonels, supported the seamen in this desperate service with his usual gallantry, under the increased fire of the enemy, bringing off lieutenant Wright, who had scarcely strength left to get out of the enemy's trench, from which they were not dislodged, as also Mr. Janverin, midshipman of the Tigre, and the rest of the wounded. The action, altogether, speaks for itself, and says more than could be said by me in praise of all concerned. I feel doubly indebted to colonel Douglas for having preserved my gallant friend, lieut. Wright, whose life, I am happy to say, is not despaired of by the surgeon. We have, however, to lament the loss of a brave and tried officer, major Oldfield, who commanded the Theseus's marines, and fell gloriously on this occasion, with two of the men under his command.

Our loss in wounded is 23, among which is lieutenant Beatty, of the marines, slightly. The Turks brought in above 60 heads, a greater number of muskets, and some intrenching tools, much wanted in the garrison. A farther attack on the enemy's second parallel was not to be attempted without a greater number of regular troops. The return of the detachment was well covered by the Theseus's fire, captain Miller having taken an excellent position to that effect.

The result of our day's work is, that we have taught the besiegers to respect the enemy they have to deal with, so as to keep at a greater distance. The apprehensions of the garrison are quieted as to the effect of the mine, which we have besides learnt how to countermine with advantage, and more time is gained for the arrival of the reinforcements daily expected.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Right hon. earl St. Vincent,
commander-in-chief, &c.

Tigre, moored under the Walls of Acre, May 2.

My lord,

The enemy continue to make the most vigorous efforts to overcome our resistance in the defence of this place. The garrison has made occasional sorties, protected by our small boats, on their flank, with field-pieces, in which the most essential service has been performed by lieutenant Brodie

and Mr. Atkinson, of the Theseus, and Mr. Joes, master of the Tigre, who commanded them.

Yesterday the enemy, after many hours heavy cannonade from thirty pieces of artillery brought from Jaffa, made a fourth attempt to mount the breach, now much widened, but were repulsed, with loss. The Tigre moored on one side, and the Theseus on the other, flank the town walls; the gun-boats, launches, and other rowing-boats, continue to flank the enemy's trenches, to their great annoyance. Nothing but desperation can induce them to make the sort of attempts they do to mount a breach practicable only by the means of scaling-ladders, under such a fire as we pour in upon them; and it is impossible to see the lives even of our enemies thus sacrificed, and so much bravery misapplied, without regret.

Our loss is as per list enclosed; and we have therein to lament some of the bravest and best among us. Captain Wilmot was shot on the 8th ult. by a rifleman, as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach: his loss is severely felt.

We have run out a ravelin on each side of the enemy's nearest approach, in which the marines of the Tigre and Theseus have worked under a heavy and incessant fire from the enemy, in a way that commands the admiration and gratitude of the Turks, as it is evident the flanking fire produced from them contributed much to save the place yesterday. Colonel Phelipeaux, of the engineers, who projected and superintended the execution, has fallen a sacrifice to his zeal for this service; want of rest and exposure to the sun having given him a fever, of which he died this morning: our grief for his loss is excessive on every account. Colonel Douglas supplies his place, having hitherto carried on the work under his direction, and is indefatigable in completing it for the reception of cannon. I must not omit to mention, to the credit of the Turks, that they fetch the gabions, fascines, and those materials which the garrison does not afford, from the face of the enemy's works, setting fire to what they cannot bring away. The enemy repair in one night all the mischief we do them in the day, and continue within half pistol-shot of the walls, in spite of the constant fire kept up from the ramparts, under the direction of lieutenant Knight.

I hope I need not assure your lordship that we shall continue to do our duty to the utmost of our power, in spite of all obstacles; among which, climate, as it affects health, and the exposed nature of our rocky anchorage, are the most formidable, since they are not to be overcome, which I trust the enemy are by our exertions.

I am, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

The right hon. earl St. Vincent, commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

Return of the killed and wounded belonging to his Majesty's Ships Tigre, Theseus, and Alliance, at the Sortie from the Town of Acre, against the French besieging that Town, on the 7th Day of April.

Tigre—Lieutenant Wright, Mr. Janverin, midshipman, and 11 men, wounded.

Theseus—Major Oldfield, of marines, and 2 private marines, killed; lieutenant Beatty, of marines, Mr. James M. B. Forbes, midshipman (slightly,) sergeant Cavanagh, and 4 private marines, wounded.

Alliance—One seaman and 2 marines, wounded.

Total—One major and 2 private marines, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 lieutenant of marines, 2 midshipmen, 1 sergeant, 6 private marines, and 12 seamen, wounded.

W. Sidney Smith.

On-board his majesty's ship Tigre, off Acre, April 6.

Return of the Casualties, killed, and wounded, belonging to his Majesty's Ships Tigre, Theseus, and Alliance, between the 8th of April and the 2d of May following, employed in the Defence of Acre.

Tigre—Mr. Edward Morris, midshipman, and James Maugham, Andrew Wall, and Robert Bennet, seamen, killed; lieutenant Knight, a contusion on his breast; John Bolton, boatswain's mate, William Hutchinson, William Pickard, James Bailey, Joseph Hudson, Joseph Vincques, and William Price, seamen, wounded.

Theseus—John Rich, seaman, killed; John Chidlow, marine, wounded.

Alliance — Captain Wilmot, killed by a rifle-shot, as he was mounting a howitzer on the breach.

Total—One captain, 1 midshipman, and 4 seamen, killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 boatswain's mate, six seamen, and 1 marine, wounded.

W. Sidney Smith.

On-board his majesty's ship Tigre, St. Jean d'Acre bay, the 2d day of May.

London Gazette, August 17, 1799.

Admiralty-Office, August 13.

Extract of a Letter from Rear-admiral Lord Nelson, K.B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Bay of Naples, 27th of June.

I am happy in being able to congratulate their lordships on the possession of the city of Naples. St. Elmo is yet in the hands of the French; but the castles of Ovo and Nuovo I took possession of last evening, and his Sicilian majesty's colours are now flying on them.

Extract of another Letter from Rear-admiral Lord Nelson, K.B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Bay of Naples, 14th of July.

Herewith I have the honour of sending you copies of my letters to the commander-in-chief, and the capitulation granted to the French in St. Elmo. All the chief rebels are now on-board his majesty's fleet. Capua and Gaieta will very soon be in our possession, when the kingdom will be liberated from anarchy and misery.

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples, 13th July.

My Lord,

I have the pleasure to inform you of the surrender of fort St. Elmo (on the terms of the enclosed capitulation,) after open batteries of eight days, during which time our heavy batteries were advanced within 180 yards

of the ditch. The very great strength of St. Elmo, and its more formidable position, will mark with what fortitude, perseverance, and activity, the combined forces must have acted. Captain Trowbridge was the officer selected for the command of all the forces landed from the squadron. Captain Ball assisted him for seven days, till his services were wanted at Malta, when his place was ably supplied by captain Hallowell, an officer of the most distinguished merit, and to whom captain Trowbridge expresses the highest obligation. Captain Hood, with a garrison for the castle of Nuovo, and to keep good order in the capital, an arduous task at that time, was also landed from the squadron: and I have the pleasure to tell you, that no capital is more quiet than Naples. I transmit you captain Trowbridge's letter to me, with returns of killed and wounded. I have also to state to your lordship, that although the abilities and resources of my brave friend Trowbridge are well known to all the world, yet even he had difficulties to struggle with in every way, which the state of the capital will easily bring to your idea, that has raised his great character even higher than it was before.

I am, &c.

Nelson.

Right hon. lord Keith, commander-in-chief, &c. &c.

Antignano, near St. Elmo, July 13.

My lord,

Agreeable to your lordship's orders I landed with the English and Portuguese marines of the fleet on the 27th of June; and after embarking the garrisons of the castles Ovo and Nuovo, composed of French and rebels, I put a garrison in each, and on the 29th took post against fort St. Elmo, which I summoned to surrender; but the commandant being determined to stand a siege, we opened a battery of three 36-pounders, and four mortars, on the 3d instant, within 700 yards of the fort, and on the 5th, another of two 36-pounders. The Russians, under captain Baillie, opened another battery of four 36-pounders and four mortars, against the opposite angle, intending to storm it in different places as soon as we could make two practicable breaches in the work. On the 6th, I added four more mortars; and on the 11th, by incessant labour, we opened another battery of six 36-pounders within 180 yards of the wall of the garrison, and had another of one 18-pounder and two howitzers, at the same distance, nearly completed. After a few hours cannonading from the last battery, the enemy displayed a flag of truce, when our firing ceased; and their guns being mostly dismounted, and their works nearly destroyed, the enclosed terms of capitulation were agreed to and signed.

In performing this service I feel much satisfaction in informing your lordship, that I received every possible assistance from captain Ball for the first seven days, when your lordship ordered him on other service, and did me the honour to place captain Hallowell under my orders in his room,

whose exertions and abilities your lordship is well acquainted with, and merit every attention.

Lieutenant-colonel Strickland, major Creswell, and all the officers of marines, and men, merit every praise I can bestow; as does Antonio Saldineo de Gama, and the officers and men belonging to her most faithful majesty the queen of Portugal; their readiness on all occasions does them great honour. The very commanding situation of St. Elmo rendered our approaches difficult, or I trust it would have been reduced much sooner; the ready acquiescence to all our demands, and the assistance received from the duke de Sallandra, I beg may be made known by your lordship to his Sicilian majesty.

I feel myself also much indebted to colonel Tschudy for his great zeal and exertions on all occasions.

I have the honour to be, &c.
J. Trowbridge.

The right hon. lord Nelson, K.B.

Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between the Garrison of Fort St. Elmo and the Troops of his Sicilian Majesty and his Allies.

Art. I. The French garrison of fort St. Elmo shall surrender themselves prisoners of war to his Neapolitan majesty and his allies, and shall not serve against any of the powers actually at war with the French republic, until regularly exchanged.

II. The English grenadiers shall take possession of the gate of the fort in the course of the day.

III. The French garrison shall march out of the fort to-morrow, with their arms and drums beating. The troops shall lay down their arms on the outside of the gate of the fort; and a detachment of English, Russian, Portuguese, and Neapolitan, troops, shall take possession of the castle.

IV. The officers shall keep their arms.

V. The garrison shall be embarked on board the English squadron, until the necessary shipping are provided to convey them to France.

VI. When the English grenadiers take possession of the gate, all the subjects of his Sicilian majesty shall be delivered up to the allies.

VII. A guard of French soldiers shall be placed round the French colours, to prevent their being destroyed: that guard shall remain until all the garrison has marched out, and it is relieved by an English officer and guard, to whom orders shall be given to strike the French flag, and hoist that of his Sicilian Majesty.

VIII. All private property shall be reserved for those to whom the same appertains; and all public property shall be given up with the fort, as well as the effects pillaged.

IX. The sick, not in a state to be removed, shall remain at Naples, with French surgeons, and shall be taken care of at the expense of the republic. They shall be sent back to France as soon as possible after their recovery.

Done at Fort St. Elmo, the 22d Messidor, in the seventh year of the French republic, or 12th July, 1799.

(Signed) The duke Della Salandra, captain-general of the

forces of his majesty the king of the Two Sicilies.

Thomas Trowbridge, of his majesty's ship Culloden, and commander of the British and Portuguese troops at the attack of St. Elmo.

Chevalier Belle, captain-lieutenant, commanding the troops of his Imperial Russian majesty at the attack of St. Elmo.

Jh. Mejau, commanding fort St. Elmo.

Return of killed and wounded at the Siege of the Castle St. Elmo, which surrendered July 12.

Five officers, 32 rank and file, killed.

Five officers, 79 rank and file, wounded.

Foudroyant, Naples Bay, July 13.

Copy of a Letter from Rear-admiral Lord Nelson, K. B. to Vice-admiral Lord Keith, K. B. dated Foudroyant, Naples Bay, July 13.

My lord,

His Sicilian majesty arrived in this bay on the 10th, and immediately hoisted his standard on-board the Foudroyant, where his majesty still remains with all his ministers.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Nelson.

London Gazette Extraordinary, September 3, 1799.

Downing-street, Sept. 2. A Dispatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Day received by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-general Sir R. Abercrombie, K. B.

Helder, Aug. 28.

Sir,

From the first day of our departure from England, we experienced such a series of bad weather, as is very uncommon at this season of the year.

The ardour of admiral Mitchell for the service in which we were jointly engaged, left it only for me to follow his example of zeal and perseverance, in which I was encouraged by the manner that he kept a numerous convoy collected.

It was our determination not to depart from the resolution of attacking the Helder, unless we should have been prevented by the want of water and provisions.

On the forenoon of the 21st instant, the weather proved so favourable that we stood in upon the Dutch coast, and had made every preparation to land on the 22d, when we were forced to sea by a heavy gale of wind.

It was not until the evening of the 25th that the weather began once more to clear up.

On the 26th we came to anchor near the shore of the Helder, and on the 27th, in the morning, the troops began to disembark at daylight.

Although the enemy did not oppose our landing, yet the first division had scarcely began to move forward before they got into ac-

tion, which continued from five in the morning until three o'clock in the afternoon.

The enemy had assembled a very considerable body of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, near Callanstoog, and made repeated attacks on our right with fresh troops.

Our position was on a ridge of sand-hills, stretching along the coast from north to south. Our right flank was unavoidably exposed to the whole force of the enemy. We had no where sufficient ground on our right to form more than a battalion in line; yet, on the whole, the position, though singular, was not, in our situation, disadvantageous, having neither cavalry nor artillery.

By the courage and perseverance of the troops, the enemy was fairly worn out, and obliged to retire in the evening to a position two leagues in his rear.

The contest was arduous, and the loss has been considerable. We have to regret many valuable officers lost to the service, who have either fallen or been disabled by their wounds. The corps principally engaged were the reserve, under the command of colonel Macdonald, consisting of the 23d and 55th regiments.

The regiments of major-general Coote's brigade, which have been much engaged, were the Queen's, the 27th, 29th, and 85th regiments.

Major-general D'Oyley's brigade was brought into action towards the close of the day, and has sustained some loss.

As the enemy still held the Helder with a garrison of near 2000 men, it was determined to attack it before day-break in the morning of the 28th, and the brigade under major-general Moore, supported by major-general Burrard's, were destined for this service; but about eight o'clock yesterday evening the Dutch fleet in the Mars Diep got under weigh, and the garrison was withdrawn, taking their route through the marshes towards Medemblick; having previously spiked the guns on the batteries, and destroyed some of the carriages.—About nine at night, major-general Moore, with the second battalion of the Royals, and the 92d regiment, under the command of lord Huntley, took possession of this important post, in which he found a numerous artillery of the best kind, both of heavy and field train.

All that part of the Dutch fleet in the Nieueve Diep, together with the naval magazine at Nieueve Werk, fell into our hands this morning, a full detail of which it is not in my power to send. This day we have the satisfaction to see the British flag flying in the Mars Diep, and part of 5000 men, under the command of major-general Don, disembarking under the batteries of the Helder.

During the course of the action I had the misfortune to lose the service of lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, from a wound he received in his arm, but not before he had done himself the greatest honour, and I was fully sensible of the loss of him. Major-general Coote supplied his place with ability.

Colonel Macdonald, who commanded the reserve, and who was

very much engaged during the course of the day, though wounded, did not quit the field.

Lieutenant-colonel Maitland, returning to England, to go on another service, and major Kempt, my aid-du-camp and bearer of this letter, whom I beg leave to recommend to your notice and protection, will be able to give any farther information which may be required.

A list of the killed and wounded, as far as we have been able to ascertain it, accompanies this letter.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Ralph Abercrombie.

To the right honourable
Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Klein Keeten, August 28.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K.B. in the Action of the Helder, on the 27th August, 1799.

Total—1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 subaltern, 3 sergeants, 51 rank and file, killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 9 captains, 6 subalterns, 18 sergeants, 1 drummer, 334 rank and file, wounded; 26 rank and file, missing.

Return of Officers killed and wounded.

Killed.—Lieut-colonel Smollett, of the 1st regiment of the guards, brigade-major of 1st brigade; lieutenant-colonel Hay, of the royal engineers; lieutenant Crow, of the 3d brigade of the 27th regiment of foot.

Wounded.—Lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, bart. second in command; the hon. colonel John Hope, of the 25th foot, deputy adjutant-general; lieutenant-colonel Murray, of the 3d regiment of guards, assistant quarter-master-general; captain Arthur M'Donald, of the 5th West India regiment, assistant quarter-master-general; captain Manners, of the 82d regiment, aid-du-camp to major-general Coote; lieutenant Chapman and lieutenant Squire, of the royal engineers; captain Gunthorpe, of the 1st brigade of the grenadier battalion of the guards; captain Ruddock, of the 1st brigade of the 3d battalion of the 1st regiment of guards; lieutenant Swan of the 3d brigade, of the 2d (or queen's) regiment; lieutenant-colonel Graham, of the 3d brigade of the 27th regiment of foot, captain Wyatt and lieutenant Grove, of the 3d brigade of the 29th regiment of foot; major Otley, captain M'Intosh, lieutenant Traverse, lieutenant Berry, of the 3d brigade of the 85th regiment of foot.

The reserve—Captain Berry, captain Ellis, captain hon. G. M'Donald, of the 23d regiment of foot; colonel M'Donald, captain Brown, capt. Power, volunteer, John M'Gregor, of the 55th regiment of foot; 1 non-commissioned officer and 4 gunners of the royal artillery; 1 serjeant and 14 rank and file of the 92d regiment drowned in landing.

N.B. The casualties in the general staff are noticed in the de-

tail, but not in the body of the return.

Alex. Hope,
Lieutenant-colonel,
R. A. general.

Admiralty-Office, Sept. 2.

Captain Hope, of his majesty's ship Kent, and captain Oughton, of his majesty's ship Isis, arrived this afternoon with a despatch from admiral lord viscount Duncan, of which the following is a copy:

Kent, off Aldborough, 1st. Sept.

Sir,

I transmit, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, a letter to me from vice-admiral Mitchell, giving a distinct detail of the great success with which it has pleased Almighty God to crown his majesty's arms. The boldness of the vice-admiral, in running in on an open shore with so numerous a fleet, and in so very unsettled weather, could only be equalled by the gallantry of sir Ralph Abercrombie and his brave troops, landing in the face of a most formidable opposition. During the whole of the conflict, on Tuesday, I could plainly perceive the vast superiority of the British troops over those of the enemy, though opposed with obstinacy; and, in justice to both the land and sea service, I must say, that I never witnessed more unanimity and zeal than have pervaded all ranks to bring the expedition to its present happy issue.

Finding the Kent, with several of the Russian 74-gun ships, to draw too much water to be able to get into the harbour, I have returned with them to this anchorage; but previous to my getting under weigh at eight o'clock on Friday morning, I had the pleasure to see vice-admiral Mitchell, with the men of war, transports, and armed vessels, in a fair way of entering the Texel, with a fair wind, and have not the least doubt but the whole of the Dutch fleet were in our possession by noon on that day.

The dispatches will be delivered by captains Hope and Oughton, both able and intelligent officers, and who will give their lordships more satisfactory information relative to our successful operations.

I shall now only add my sincere congratulations to their lordships on this great event, which, I think, in its consequences may be ranked among one of the greatest that has happened during the war.

I am sir, &c.
Duncan.

P. S. The winds having proved unfavourable has occasioned my anchoring here; but I shall proceed to Yarmouth as soon as the weather moderates.

Isis, at anchor off the Texel, August 29.

My Lord,

In a former letter I had the honour to write your lordship, I there mentioned the reasons that had determined sir Ralph Abercrombie and myself, not to persevere longer than the 26th in our resolution to attack the Helder and port of the Texel, unless the wind became more moderate. Fortunately, the gale abated that morning, and although a very heavy swell continued to set in from the northward, I thought a moment was not to be lost in

making the final attempt. The fleet, therefore, bore up to take the anchorage, and I was happy to see the transports and all the bombs, sloops, and gun-vessels in their stations, to cover the landing of the troops, by three in the afternoon of that day, when the signal was made to prepare for landing. The general, however, not thinking it prudent to begin disembarking so late on that day, it was determined to delay it until two in the morning of the 27th. The intervening time was occupied in making the former arrangements more complete, and by explaining to all the captains, individually, my ideas fully to them, that the service might profit by their united exertions. The troops were accordingly all in the boats by three o'clock, and the signal being made to row towards the shore, the line of gun-brigs, sloops of war, and bombs, opened a warm and well-directed fire to scour the beach, and a landing was effected with little loss. After the first party had gained the shore, I went with sir Ralph Abercrombie, that I might superintend the landing of the rest, and with the aid of the different captains, who appeared animated but with one mind, the whole were disembarked with as great regularity as possible. The ardour and glorious intrepidity which the troops displayed, soon drove the enemy from the nearest Sand-hills, and the presence of sir Ralph Abercrombie himself, whose appearance gave confidence to all, secured to us, after a long and very warm contest, the possession of the whole neck of land between Kick Down and the road leading to Alkmaar, and near to the village of Callanstoog.

Late that night the Helder Point was evacuated by the enemy, and taken possession of by our troops quietly in the morning, as were the men of war named in the enclosed list, and many large transports and Indiamen by us the next day. I dispatched captain Oughton, my own captain, to the Helder Point last evening, to bring off the pilots, and he has returned with enough to take in all the ships necessary to reduce the remaining force of the Dutch fleet, which I am determined to follow to the walls of Amsterdam, until they surrender, or capitulate for his serene highness the prince of Orange's service.

I must now, my lord, acknowledge, in the warmest manner, the high degree of obligation I am under to your lordship, for the liberal manner in which you continued to entrust to my direction the service I have had the honour to execute under your immediate eye: a behaviour which added to my wish to do all in my power to forward the views of sir Ralph Abercrombie.

It is impossible for me sufficiently to express my admiration of the bravery and conduct of the general and the whole army, or the unanimity with which our whole operations were carried on; the army and navy, on this occasion, having (to use a seaman's phrase) pulled heartily together.

Where the exertions of all you did me the honour to put under my orders, have been so great, it is almost impossible to particularize any; but captain Oughton has

had so much to do, from the first embarking the troops to the present moment, and has shewn himself so strenuous in his exertions for the good of the expedition, as well as given me much assistance from his advice on every occasion, that I cannot but mention him in the highest manner to your lordship; and at the same time express my wish that your lordship will suffer him to accompany whoever may bear your dispatches to England, as I think the local knowledge he has gained may be highly useful to be communicated to their lordships of the admiralty.

The manner in which the captains, officers, and seamen landed from the fleet, behaved, while getting the cannon and ammunition along to the army, requires my particular thanks; and here let me include, in a special manner, the Russian detachment of boats, from whose aid and most orderly behaviour the service was much benefited indeed.

I am also much indebted to captain Hope, for the clear manner in which he communicated to me your lordship's ideas at all times, when sent to me by your lordship for that purpose, as every thing was better understood from such explanation, than they could otherwise have been by letter.

It is impossible for me to furnish your lordship, at present, with any list of the killed, wounded, or missing seamen, or of those that were unfortunately drowned on the beach in landing the troops, having as yet no return made, but I am very sorry to say, that I was myself witness to several boats oversetting in the surf, in which I fear several lives were lost.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Mitchell.

Right hon. admiral lord viscount Duncan, commander-in-chief, &c. &c. &c.

A list of Men of War, &c. taken Possession of in the Nieueve Diep.

Broederschap (guard ship), 54 guns; Veswagting, of 64 guns; Helder, of 32 guns; Venus, of 24 guns; Dalk, of 24 guns; Minerva, of 24 guns; Hector, of 44 guns; and about 13 Indiamen and transports.

A. Mitchell.

Admiralty-Office, September 2.

Despatches, of which the following are copies, were this morning received by Mr. Nepean, from rear-admiral lord Nelson, commanding his majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean:

Foudroyant, Naples-Bay, 1st August.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit you copies of my letter to the commander-in-chief, with its several enclosures, and most sincerely congratulate their lordships on the entire liberation of the kingdom of Naples from the French robbers, for by no other name can they be called, for their conduct in this kingdom. This happy event will not, I am sure, be the less acceptable, from being principally brought about by part of the crews of his majesty's ships under my orders, under the command of captain Trowbridge. His merits speak for themselves; his

own modesty makes it my duty to state, that to him alone is the chief merit due. The commendation bestowed on the brave and excellent captain Hollowell, will not escape their lordships' notice, any more than the exceeding good conduct of captain Oswald, colonel Strickland, captain Creswell, to whom I ordered the temporary rank of major, and all the officers and men of the marine corps; also the party of artillery, and the officers and men landed from the Portuguese squadron.

I must not omit to state that captain Hood, with a garrison of seamen, in Castel Nuovo, has, for these five weeks, very much contributed to the peace of the capital; and Naples, I am told, was never more quiet than under his directions.

I send captain Oswald, of the Perseus bomb, with this letter, and I have put lieutenant Henry Compton (who has served with me since January, 1796, as a lieutenant) into the Perseus; and I beg leave to recommend these two officers as highly meriting promotion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

Nelson.

Foudroyant, Bay of Naples. 1st August.

My Lord,

I have the honour to transmit you a copy of capt. Trowbridge's letter to me, and the capitulation of Capua and Gaeta, &c. Too much praise cannot be given to captain Trowbridge, for his wonderful exertion, in bringing about these happy events, and in so short a space of time. Capt. Hallowell has also the greatest merit. Capt. Oswald, whom I sent to England with a copy of my letter, is an officer most highly deserving promotion. I have put lieutenant Henry Compton, who has served as a lieutenant with me from Jan. 1796, in the Perseus bomb, in his room, and whom I recommend to your lordship.

I sincerely congratulate your lordship on the entire liberation of the kingdom of Naples from a band of robbers; and am, with the greatest respect, &c. &c.

Nelson.

Right hon. lord Keith, K. B. commander-in-chief, &c.

Culloden, Naples-Bay, July 29.

My Lord,

Agreeable to your lordship's orders, I marched, on the 20th inst. with the English and Portuguese troops from Naples, and arrived at Caserta the following morning. After resting the people, we marched, and encamped near Capua. The Swiss under colonel Tchudy, the cavalry under general Acton, and the different corps of infantry under general Boucard and colonel Gams, took up their appointed situations; the former to the left of our camp, and the latter to the right of the river.

On the 22d, a brigade of pontoons was thrown over the river, to establish a communication; batteries of guns and mortars were immediately begun, within five hundred yards of the enemy's works; and on the 25th, the gun-battery of four 24-pounders, another with two howitzers, and two mortar-batteries, were opened, and kept up a constant and heavy fire, which was returned by the enemy, from eleven pieces of cannon: on

the 26th trenches were opened and new batteries began within a few yards of the glacis.

The enemy, on finding our approach so rapid sent out the enclosed terms, which I rejected *in toto*, and offered, in return, the enclosed capitulation, which the French general agreed to, and signed the following morning at six o'clock. The French garrison marched out this morning, at three A. M. and grounded their arms, and proceeded to Naples, under the escort of 400 English marines, and two squadrons of general Acton's cavalry.

In performing this service, I feel much indebted to captains Hallowell and Oswald, to whose abilities and exertions I attribute the reduction of the place in so short a time, as they staid night and day in the field, to forward the erecting of the batteries. I also beg leave to recommend lieutenant-colonel Strickland and major Creswell, the officers and marines, for their constant and unremitted attention, as well as the officers and men of her most faithful majesty, the queen of Portugal. The Russian forces, under Captain Builie, rendered every assistance. Generals Acton and Boucard, and colonel Gams, merit much for their zeal in cheerfully performing all the different services that arose. Colonel Tchudy's zeal merits great attention, for his constant readiness to send working parties to the batteries, as well as pushing his men forward on all occasions.

To M. Monfrera, a volunteer gentleman, from the Sea Horse, whom I had the honour to recommend to your lordship's notice, at Saint Elmo, I feel indebted for his great ability and assistance as an engineer, which forwarded our operations much.

Lieutenants Lowcay and Davis, who served as aides-du-camp to me, have also great merit, as well as Mr. Greig, an officer in the Russian service (serving as a volunteer in his majesty's ship under my command), whom I beg your lordship to recommend to the court of Petersburgh as a promising officer.

Count de Lucci, chief of the etat-major, was unremitting in his attention. I have the honour to enclose to your lordship a return of the ordnance, stores, and provisions, found in Capua, as well as a return of the garrison (not including jacobins), which were serving with the French.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) T. Trowbridge.

Right hon. lord Nelson,
K. B. &c. &c.

Articles of the Capitulation concluded between the Troops of his Sicilian Majesty and his Allies, and the Garrison of Capua.

Article I. The French garrison, Cisalpine, and Polonese, of Capua, shall surrender prisoners of war to his Neapolitan majesty and his allies, and shall not serve against any of the powers actually at war with the republic, until regularly exchanged.

II. The English grenadiers shall take possession of the two gates, and of the town, after the articles shall have been exchanged.

III. The French garrison shall march out of the town to-morrow, bearing their arms, and with drums beating. The troops shall lay down their arms and colours outside the gates; and a detachment

of English, Russian, Portuguese, and Neapolitan troops, shall take possession of the place to-morrow night.

IV. The officers shall retain their arms.

V. The garrison shall be embarked on board the English squadron, until the necessary shipping can be provided for transporting it to France. It shall be escorted, under the guarantee of the English, to Naples.

VI. When the English grenadiers shall have taken possession of the place, all the subjects of his Sicilian majesty shall be delivered up to the allies.

VII. A guard of French soldiers shall be stationed round the French colours, to prevent their being destroyed. This guard shall remain so stationed until the whole of the garrison shall have marched out, and until it shall have been relieved by an English officer and guard, to whom orders shall be given to haul down the French colours, and to hoist those of his Sicilian majesty.

VIII. All private property shall be secured to its proprietors, and all public property given up with the place.

IX. The sick who may not be in a condition to be removed, shall remain at Capua, under the care of French surgeons, and be maintained at the expense of the republic, and shall be sent to France as soon as possible after their cure.

Done at Capua, the 6th Thermidor, 7th year of the French republic, (28th July, 1799.)

(Signed) Girardon, general of brigade, commanding at Capua.

Tho. Trowbridge, captain of his majesty's ship Culloden, and commander-in-chief of the forces employed at the siege of Capua.

De Boucard, marshal commanding his Sicilian majesty's troops.

Builie, captain-lieutenant and commander of his Imperial majesty's troops, at the siege of Capua.

————, commander of the Ottoman troops, at the siege.

Articles for the Surrender of the Town of Gaeta.

Article I. Considering that the garrison of Gaeta has not been regularly besieged, but only blockaded, his majesty, the king of the two Sicilies, will allow the troops of the said garrison to march out of the place with the honours of war, taking with them their firelocks, bayonets, swords, and cartouch-boxes, without deeming them prisoners of war, on their being sent to France.

II. In virtue of the preceding article, the place shall be delivered up, free of all pillage, and without any part of the effects being removed or injured, to the officer who shall be appointed to take possession thereof.

III. The French garrison shall be allowed to remove all their effects, being personal or private property; but all public property shall be given up with the place.

IV. No subject of his Sicilian majesty shall be sent to France with the French garrison, but the

whole, without exception, given up to the officer appointed to take possession of the place.

V. The sick belonging to the garrison shall be taken care of by their own surgeons, at the expense of the French republic, and shall be sent to France as soon after their cure as possible.

VI. A detachment of his Sicilian majesty's troops, and of his allies, shall take possession of the place two hours after this capitulation shall have been delivered; and the embarkation of the garrison shall have effect twenty-four hours after the gates are given up, according as may be agreed upon and settled between the respective commanding officers.

Done at Naples, the 12th Thermidor, seventh year (July 31, 1799).

(Signed) General Acton.
Nelson.
Girardon, general of brigade.

Return of the Cannon and the Garrison at Capua.

Ordnance from 24 to 4 pounders—108 serviceable, 10 unserviceable.

French troops—199 officers, 2618 non-commissioned officers, and privates.

12,000 muskets—414,000 musket cartridges, filled — 67,848 pounds weight of powder.

Return of Cannon and the Garrison at Gaeta.

Ordnance—58 brass guns, from 24 to 18 pounders; 12 iron 6 ditto; 2 brass 4 ditto; 4 mortars, 12-inch; 9 ditto, 10 inch; with an immense quantity of powder and other garrison-stores.

French troops — 83 officers, 1415 privates, besides rebels.

T. Trowbridge.

London Gazette Extraordinary. Admiralty-Office, September 3.

Lieutenant Collier, of his majesty's ship Isis, arrived this day with dispatches from vice-admiral Mitchell to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary of the admiralty, of which the following are copies.

Isis, at Anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vleiter, August 30, two P. M.

Sir,

I have the very great satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that the whole of the Dutch fleet near the Vleiter surrendered to the squadron under my command, without firing a gun, agreeably to a summons I sent this morning. The Dutch squadron was to be held for the orders of his serene highness the prince of Orange, and the orders I may receive from the lords commissioners of the admiralty for my farther proceedings.

I have the honour to be,
Sir, &c. &c.
(Signed) A. Mitchell.

Evan Nepean, esq.

Isis, at Anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vleiter, August 31.

Sir,

It blowing strong from the south-west, and also the flood tide, I could not send away my short letter of last night; I therefore have, in addition, to request you will lay before the lords commis-

sioners of the admiralty, that on the morning of yesterday I got the squadron under weigh at five o'clock, and immediately formed the line of battle, and to prepare for battle.

In running in, two of the line-of-battle ships, the Ratvisan and America, and the Latona frigate, took the ground. We passed the Helder Point and Mars Diep, and continued our course along the Texel, in the channel that leads to the Vleiter, the Dutch squadron lying at anchor in a line at the Red Buoy in the east-south-east course.

The Latona frigate got off and joined me; but as the two line-of-battle ships did not, I closed the line. About half past ten I sent captain Reinnie, of the Victor, with a summons to the Dutch admiral, as it was lord Duncan's wish that I should do so; and in her way she picked up a flag of truce, with two Dutch captains, from the Dutch admiral, to me. Captain Reinnie very properly brought them on-board; and from a conversation of a few minutes I was induced to anchor in a line, a short distance from the Dutch squadron, at their earnest request. They returned with my positive orders not to alter the positions of the ships, nor do any the least thing whatsoever to them, and in one hour to submit, or take the consequences.

In less than the time, they returned with a verbal answer, that they submitted according to the summons, and sould consider themselves (the officers on parole,) until I heard from the lords commissioners of the admiralty and the prince of Orange, for my farther proceedings.

I have now the honour to enclose you herewith the line of battle in which the squadron advanced, a copy of my summons to the Dutch admiral, and also a list of the Dutch fleet.

Admiral Storey's flag is down, and I have sent an officer on-board each of his ships, to have an eye over the charge of them, as they themselves requested that it should be so.

I have also furnished them with the prince of Orange's standard, many of them not having had it before, and they are now all under these colours.

To maintain quiet among their crews, I issued a short manifesto, of which I also enclose a copy herewith.

The animated exertions and conduct of the whole squadron are far above any praise I can bestow on them; but I shall ever feel most sensibly impressed on my heart their spirited conduct during the whole of this business. We have all felt the same zeal for the honour of our sovereign and our country; and although the conclusion has not turned out as we expected, yet the merit, I may say, in some measure, is still not the less due to my squadron; and if I had brought them to action, I trust it would have added another laurel to the navy of England in this present war. The Dutch were astonished and thunderstruck at the approach of our squadron, never believing it possible that we could so soon have laid down the buoys, and led down to them in line of battle in a channel

where they themselves go through but with one or two ships at a time.

I have sent lieutenant Collier with these dispatches, who will give their lordships every information, as he has been employed in the whole of the communication with the Dutch squadron, and was also on shore with me as my aid-du-camp on the day of landing.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Mitchell.

P. S. Since writing the above, I received the Dutch admiral's answer in writing, which I enclose herewith.

Line of Battle, at Noon, August 30.

Glatton—Captain Charles Cobb, 54 guns, 343 men.

Romney—Captain John Lawford, 50 guns, 343 men.

Isis—Vice-admiral Mitchell, captain James Oughton, 50 guns, 343 men.

Veteran—Captain A. C. Dickson, 64 guns, 491 men.

Ardent—Captain T. Bertie, 64 gnns, 491 men.

Belliqueux—Captain R. Bulteel, 64 guns, 491 men.

Monmouth—Captain George Hart, 64 guns, 491 men.

Overyssel—Captain J. Bazeley, 64 guns, 491 men.

Mistisloff—Captain A. Moller, 66 guns, 672 men.

Melpomene, Latona, Shannon, Juno, and Lutine, frigates.

Given on-board the Isis, in the Vleiter Channel, August 30.

A. Mitchell.

To ——, captain of his majesty's ship the ——, by command of the vice admiral.

Isis, under Sail, in Line of Battle, August 30.

Sir,

I desire you will instantly hoist the flag of his serene highness the prince of Orange. If you do, you will be immediately considered friends of the king of Great Britain, my most gracious sovereign, otherwise take the consequences. Painful it will be to me for the loss of blood it may occasion, but the guilt will be on your own head.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Andrew Mitchell,

Vice-admiral and commander-in-chief of his majesty's ships employed on the present expedition.

To rear-admiral Storey, or the commander-in-chief of the Dutch squadron.

A List of the Dutch Squadron taken Possession of in the Texel by Vice-admiral Mitchell, August 30.

Washington—Rear-admiral Storey, captain Capelle, 74 guns.

Gelderland—Captain Waldeck, 68 guns.

Admiral du Ruyter—Captain Huijs, 68 guns.

Utrecht—Captain Kolf, 68 guns.

Cerberus—Captain De Jong, 68 guns.

Leyden—Captain Van Braam, 68 guns.

Beschermer—Capt. Eilbracht, 54 guns.

Batavier—Captain Van Senden, 54 guns. under the Vleiter.

Amphitrite—Captain Schutter, 44 guns, under the Vleiter.

Mars—Captain De Bock, 44 guns.

Ambuscade—Captain Riverij, 32 guns.

Galathea—Captain Droop, 16 guns.

A. Mitchell.

Isis, August 30.

The undersigned vice-admiral in the service of his majesty the king of Great Britain, charged with the execution of the naval part of the expedition to restore the stadtholder and the old and lawful constitution of the Seven United Provinces guaranteed by his majesty, having agreed that in consequence of the summons to rear-admiral Storey, the ships, after hoisting the ancient colours, will be considered as in the service of the allies of the British crown, and under the orders of his serene highness the hereditary stadtholder, captain and admiral-general of the Seven United Provinces, has thought it proper to give an account of this agreement to the brave crews of the different ships, and to summon them by the same to behave in a peaceable and orderly manner, so that no complaints may be represented by the officer; the undersigned will send on board of each of the ships to keep proper order, until the intentions of his majesty and his serene highness the prince of Orange, as admiral-general, shall be known, for the farther destination of these ships, on account of which despatches will be immediately sent off. And to make them aware, that in case their conduct should not be so as may be expected from the known loyalty and attachment of the Dutch navy to the illustrious house of Orange on this occasion, any excess or irregularity will be punished with the severity which the disorders may have been committed merit,

(Signed) Andrew Mitchell.

On-board the Washington, anchored under the Vleiter, 30th August.

Admiral,

Neither your superiority, nor the threat that the spilling of human blood should be laid to my account, could prevent my shewing to you, to the last moment, what I could do for my sovereign, whom I acknowledge to be no other than the Batavian people and its representatives, when your prince's and the Orange flags have obtained their end. The traitors whom I commanded refused to fight; and nothing remains to me and my brave officers but vain rage and the dreadful reflection of our present situation: I therefore deliver over to you the fleet which I commanded. From this moment it is your obligation to provide for the safety of my officers and the few brave men who are on-board the Batavian ships, as I declare myself and my officers prisoners of war, and remain to be considered as such.

I am with respect,

S. Storey.

To admiral Mitchell, commanding his Britannic majesty's squadron in the Texel.

*

Isis, at Anchor at the Red Buoy, near the Vleiter, August 31,

Sir,

Since my letter of the 29th, by captain Oughton, I received a letter from captain Winthrop, of the Circe, containing a more particular account of the men of war, &c. taken possession of in the New Diep, than I had then in my power to send, of which you will receive a copy herewith, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty.

I have the honour to be, &c.

A. Mitchell.

Evan Nepean, esq.

Helder, August, 28.

Sir,

I have the honour to inform you, that I this morning took possession of the New Diep, with the ships and vessels undermentioned, and also of the naval arsenal, containing 95 pieces of ordnance. A copy of the naval stores I will transmit you as soon as it can be made out.

I have the honour, &c.

R. Winthrop.

Ships. Urwachten, 66 guns.—Broederschop, 54.—Hector. 44—Diuffee, 44.—Expedition, 44.—Constitutie, 44.—Bell Artionette, 44.—Unie, 44.—Helder, 32.—Follock, 24,—Minerva, 24.—Venus, 24.—Alarm, 24.

Dreighlerlahn, Howda, Vreeddlust, Indiaman: and a sheer hulk.

Andrew Mitchell, esq.

London Gazette Extraordinary. Sept. 9. Downing-Street.

A despatch, of which the following is an extract, has been received from lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, by the right honourable Henry Dundas, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state.

Head Quarters, Schager Brug, September 4.

From the 27th of August to the 1st of September, the troops continued to occupy the Sand Hills on which they fought. On that day the army marched and took post with its right to Petten, on the German Ocean, and its left to the Oude Sluys, on the Zuyder Zee, with the canal of the Zuype in front.

A better country is now open to us. We have found some horses and waggons, and a plentiful supply of fresh provisions.

The troops continue healthy, and behave extremely well.

The 11th regiment of dragoons are arrived, and have begun to disembark. The transports have been ordered to return to the Downs.

I have the honour to enclose herewith a return of the artillery, ammunition, and engineers' stores, captured at the Helder.

To the right hon. Henry Dundas.

Helder, August, 31.

Return of Ordnance, Ammunition, and Stores, taken on the 28th inst. at the different Batteries and Magazines at and near this Place, viz.

Brass ordnance, mounted—24 24-pounders, 5 9-pounders, 4 6-pounders, 1 3-pounder, 13 8-inch and 4 5 and ½ inch howitzers; 5 10-inch mortars.

Iron ordnance, mounted—18 24-pounders.

Ditto, dismounted—41 24-pounders, 56 9-pounders.

Round shot—713 24-pounders, 2780 12-pounders, 164 9-pounders, 3492 6-pounders.

Case-shot—345 24-pounders, 64 9-pounders, 77 8-inch, and 61 5 and ½ inch howitzers.

Fixed shells—148 10-inch, 224 8-inch, 394 5 and ½ inch.

Empty shells—447 10 inch, 920 8-inch.

Round carcases—15 8-inch.

Cartridges (flannel filled with powder), 685 24-pounders, 37 9-pounders, 168 6-pounders; 530 5 and ½ inch howitzers—(paper filled with powder), 11 24-pounders, 620 9-pounders; musket ball), 77,888; (fuzee ball), 1800—521 whole barrels of corned powder.

J. Whitworth, lieutenant-colonel, commanding royal artillery.

General Sir Ralph Abercombie, &c.

Helder, August 31.

Return of Engineers' Stores taken Possession of in the different Batteries in the Vicinity of the Helder.

Wheelbarrows, 20, handbarrows 6, baskets 22, spades 30, wooden mallets 10, pallisades 2200, pieces of scantling 70, ditto timber 30, boards 84, bricks 3000, barrels of tar 7, a very large proportion of fascines, bundles of sticks, and pickets.

R. H. Bruyers, Captain royal engineers, commanding.

London Gazette, Sept. 10, 1799.
Admiralty-Office.

A letter from captain sir Sidney Smith, of his majesty's ship Tigre, to Evan Nepean, esq. secretary to the admiralty, with its enclosures, of which the following are copies, were yesterday received at this office.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, to Evan Nepean, Esq.

On-board the Tigre, off Mount Lebanon, June 16.

Sir Morton Eden has forwarded a duplicate of your letter of the 4th of May, informing me of the sailing of the French fleet from Brest. I take for granted this fleet is bound for these seas, to support Bonaparte's operations, not knowing that his expedition to Syria has completely failed, as the enclosed despatches will inform their lordships.

Tigre, Acre, May 9.

My lord,

I had the honour to inform your lordship, by my letter of the 2d inst. that we were busily employed completing two ravelins for the reception of cannon to flank the enemy's nearest approaches, distant only ten yards from them. They were attacked that very night, and almost every night since, but the enemy have each time been repulsed with very considerable loss. The enemy continued to batter in breach with progressive success, and have nine several times attempted to storm, but have as often been beaten back

with immense slaughter. Our best mode of defence has been frequent sorties to keep them on the defensive, and impede the progress of their covering works. We have thus been in one continued battle ever since the beginning of the siege, interrupted only at short intervals by the excessive fatigue of every individual on both sides. We have been long anxiously looking for a reinforcement, without which we could not expect to be able to keep the place so long as we have. The delay in its arrival being occasioned by Hassan Bey's having originally had orders to join me in Egypt. I was obliged to be very peremptory in the repetition of my orders for him to join me here: it was not, however, till the evening of the day before yesterday, the fifty-first day of the siege, that his fleet of corvettes and transports made its appearance. The approach of this additional strength was the signal to Bonaparte for a most vigorous and persevering assault, in hopes to get possession of the town before the reinforcement to the garrison could disembark.

The constant fire of the besiegers was suddenly increased tenfold, our flanking fire from a-float was, as usual, plied to the utmost, but with less effect than heretofore, as the enemy has thrown up epaulments and traverses of sufficient thickness to protect him from it. The guns that could be worked to the greatest advantage were a French brass 18-pounder in the light-house castle, manned from the Theseus, under the direction of Mr. Scroder, masters' mate, and the last mounted 24-pounder in the north ravelin, manned from the Tigre, under the direction of Mr. Jones, midshipman. These guns being within grape distance of the head of the attacking column, added to the Turkish musquetry, did great execution; and I take this opportunity of recommending these two petty officers, whose indefatigable vigilance and zeal merit my warmest praise. The Tigre's two 68-pound carronades, mounted in two germes, lying in the Mole, and worked under the direction of Mr. Bray, carpenter of the Tigre, (one of the bravest and most intelligent men I ever served with), threw shells into the centre of this column with evident effect, and checked it considerally. Still, however, the enemy gained ground, and made a lodgment in the second story of the north-east tower; the upper part being entirely battered down, and the ruins in the ditch, forming the ascent by which they mounted. Daylight shewed us the French standard on the outer angle of the tower. The fire of the besieged was much slackened, in comparison to that of the besiegers, and our flanking fire was become of less effect, the enemy having covered themselves in this lodgment, and the approach to it by two traverses across the ditch, which they had constructed under the fire that had been opposed to them during the whole night, and which were now seen, composed of sand bags, and the bodies of their dead built in with them, their bayonets only being visible above them. Hassan Bey's troops were in the boats, though as yet but half way on shore. This was a most critical point of the contest, and an effort was necessary

to preserve the place for a short time till their arrival.

I accordingly landed the boats at the Mole, and took the crews up to the beach, armed with pikes. The enthusiastic gratitude of the Turks, men, women, and children, at the sight of such a reinforcement, at such a time, is not to be described.

Many fugitives returned with us to the breach, which we found defended by a few brave Turks, whose most destructive missile weapons were heavy stones, which, striking the assailants on the head, overthrew the foremost down the slope, and impeded the progress of the rest. A succession, however, ascended to the assault, the heap of ruins between the two parties serving as a breast-work for both, the muzzle of their muskets touching, the spear heads of the standards locked. Ghezzar Pacha hearing that the English were on the breach, quitted his station, where, according to the ancient Turkish custom, he was sitting to reward such as should bring him the heads of the enemy, and distributing musket-cartridges with his own hands. The energetic old man coming behind us, pulled us down with violence, saying, if any harm happened to his English friends all was lost. This amicable contest, as to who should defend the breach, occasioned a rush of Turks to the spot, and thus time was gained for the arrival of the first body of Hassan Bey's troops. I had now to combat, the Pacha's repugnance to admitting any troops but his Albanians into the garden of his seraglio, become a very important post, as occupying the Terre-plein of the rampart. There was not above 200 of the original 1000 Albanians left alive. This was no time for debate, and I over-ruled his objections by introducing the Chifflick regiment of 1000 men, armed with bayonets, disciplined after the European method, under Sultan Selim's own eye, and placed by his Imperial majesty's express commands at my disposal. The garrison, animated by the appearance of such a reinforcement, was now all on foot, and there being consequently enough to defend the breach, I proposed to the Pacha to get rid of the object of his jealousy, by opening his gates to let them make a sally and take the assailants in flank: he readily complied, and I gave directions to the colonel to get possession of the enemy's third parallel, or nearest trench, and there fortify himself by shifting the parapet outwards. This order being clearly understood, the gates were opened, and the Turks rushed out, but they were not equal to such a movement, and were driven back to the town with loss. Mr. Bray, however, as usual, protected the town-gate efficaciously, with grape from the 68-pounders. The sortie had this good effect, that it obliged the enemy to expose themselves above their parapets, so that our flanking fire brought down numbers of them, and drew their force from the breach, so that the small number remaining on the lodgment were killed or dispersed, by our few remaining hand-grenades thrown by Mr. Savage, midshipman of the Theseus. The enemy began a new breach, by an incessant fire directed to the southward of the lodgment, every

shot knocking down whole sheets of a wall, much less solid than that of the tower, on which they had expended so much time and ammunition.

The group of generals and aids-du-camp, which the shells from the 68-pounders had frequently dispersed, were now re-assembled on Richard Cœur de Lion's Mount. Bonaparte was distinguished in the centre of the semicircle; his gesticulation indicated a renewal of attack, and his despatching an aid-du-camp to the camp, shewed that he waited only for a reinforcement. I gave directions for Hassan Bey's ships to take their station in the shoal water to the southward, and made the Tigre's signal to weigh, and join the Theseus to the northward. A little before sunset, a massive column appeared advancing to the breach with a solemn step. The Pacha's idea was not to defend the brink this time, but rather to let a certain number of the enemy in, and then close with them, according to the Turkish mode of war. The column thus mounted the breach unmolested, and descended from the rampart into the Pacha's garden, where, in a very few minutes, the bravest and most advanced among them lay headless corpses, the sabre, with the addition of a dagger in the other hand, proving more than a match for the bayonet; the rest retreated precipitately; and the commanding officer, who was seen manfully encouraging his men to mount the breach, and who, we have since learned, to be general Lasne, was carried off wounded, by a musquet-shot. General Rombaud was killed. Much confusion arose in the town, from the actual entry of the enemy, it having been impossible, nay impolitic, to give previous information to every body, of the mode of defence adopted, lest the enemy should come to a knowledge of it by means of their numerous emissaries.

The English uniform, which had hitherto served as a rallying point for the old garrison wherever it appeared, was, now in the dusk, mistaken for French, the newly-arrived Turks not distinguishing between one hat and another in the crowd, and thus many a severe blow of a sabre was parried by our officers, among which colonel Douglass, Mr. Ives, and Mr. Jones, had nearly lost their lives, as they were forcing their way through a torrent of fugitives. Calm was restored by the Pacha's exertions, aided by Mr. Trotte, just arrived with Hassan Bey, and thus the contest of twenty-five hours ended, both parties being so fatigued as to be unable to move.

Bonaparte will, no doubt, renew the attack, the breach being, as above described, perfectly practicable for fifty men a-breast; indeed the town is not, nor ever has been, defensible, according to the rules of art, but according to every other rule, it must and shall be defended, not that it is, in itself worth defending, but we feel that it is by this breach Bonaparte means to march to farther conquests. It is on the issue of this conflict that depends the opinion of the multitude of spectators on the surrounding hills, who wait only to see how

it ends to join the victor, and with such a reinforcement for the execution of his known projects, Constantinople and even Vienna must feel the shock.

Be assured, my lord, the magnitude of our obligations does but increase the energy of our efforts in the attempt to discharge our duty; and though we may, and probably shall be overpowered; I can venture to say, that the French army will be so much farther weakened before it prevails, as to be little able to profit by its dear-bought victory.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Rear-admiral lord Nelson.

Tigre, at Anchor off Jaffa, May 30.

My lord,

The providence of Almighty God has been wonderfully manifested in the defeat and precipitate retreat of the French army, the means we had of opposing its gigantic efforts against us being totally inadequate, of themselves, to the production of such a result. The measure of their iniquities seems to have been filled by the massacre of the Turkish prisoners at Jaffa, in cool blood, three days after their capture: and the plain of Nazareth has been the boundary of Bonaparte's extraordinary career.

He raised the siege of Acre on the 20th May, leaving all his heavy artillery behind him, either buried or thrown into the sea, where, however, it is visible, and can easily be weighed. The circumstances which led to this event, subsequent to my last despatch of the 9th instant, are as follow:

Conceiving that the ideas of the Syrians, as to the supposed irresistible prowess of these invaders, must be changed, since they had witnessed the checks which the besieging army daily met with in their operations before the town of Acre, I wrote a circular letter to the princes and chiefs of the Christians of mount Lebanon, and also sheiks of the Druses, recalling them to a sense of their duty, and engaging them to cut off the supplies from the French camp. I sent them at the same time a copy of Bonaparte's impious proclamation, in which he boasts of having overthrown all Christian establishments, accompanied by a suitable exhortation, calling upon them to choose between the friendship of a Christian knight and that of an unprincipled renegado. This letter had all the effect that I could desire. They immediately sent me two ambassadors, professing not only friendship but obedience; assuring me that in proof of the latter they had sent out parties to arrest such of the mountaineers as should be found carrying wine and gunpowder to the French camp, and placing eighty prisoners of this description at my disposal. I had thus the satisfaction to find Bonaparte's career farther northward effectually stopped, by a warlike people inhabiting an impenetrable country. General Kleber's division had been sent eastward towards the fords of the Jordan, to oppose the Damascus army; it was recalled from thence to take its turn in the daily efforts

to mount the breach at Acre, in which every other division in succession had failed, with the loss of their bravest men, and above three-fourths of their officers. It seems much was hoped from this division, as it had by its firmness, and the steady front it opposed in the form of a hollow square, kept upwards of 10,000 men in check during a whole day in the plain between Nazareth and mount Tabor, till Bonaparte came with his horse artillery and extricated these troops, dispersing the multitude of irregular cavalry, by which they were completely surrounded.

The Turkish Chifflick regiment having been censured for the ill success of their sally, and their unsteadiness in the attack of the garden, made a fresh sally the next night, Soliman Aga the lieutenant-colonel, being determined to retrieve the honour of the regiment by the punctual execution of the orders I had given him to make himself master of the enemy's third parallel, and this he did most effectually; but the impetuosity of a few carried them on to the second trench, where they lost some of their standards, though they spiked four guns before their retreat. Kleber's division, instead of mounting the breach, according to Bonaparte's intention, was thus obliged to spend its time and its strength in recovering these works, in which it succeeded after a conflict of three hours, leaving every thing in *statu quo* except the loss of men, which was very considerable on both sides. After this failure the French grenadiers absolutely refused to mount the breach any more over the putrid bodies of their unburied companions, sacrificed in former attacks by Bonaparte's impatience and precipitation, which led him to commit such palpable errors as even seamen could take advantage of. He seemed to have no principle of action but that of pressing forward, and appeared to stick at nothing to attain the object of his ambition, although it must be evident to every body else, that even if he succeeded to take the town, the fire of the shipping must drive him out of it again in a short time; however, the knowledge the garrison had of the inhuman massacre at Jaffa, rendered them desperate in their personal defence. Two attempts to assassinate me in the town having failed, recourse was had to a most flagrant breach of every law of honour and of war. A flag of truce was sent into the town, by the hand of an Arab dervise, with a letter to the Pacha, proposing a cessation of arms for the purpose of burying the dead bodies, the stench from which became intolerable, and threatened the existence of every one of us on both sides, many having died delirious within a few hours after being seized with the first symptoms of infection. It was natural that we should gladly listen to this proposition, and that we should consequently be off our guard during the conference. While the answer was under consideration, a volley of shot and shells on a sudden announced an assault, which however, the garrison was ready to receive, and the assailants only contributed to increase the number of dead bodies in question, to the eter-

nal disgrace of the general, who thus disloyally sacrificed them. I saved the life of the Arab from the effect of the indignation of the Turks, and took him off to the Tigre with me, from whence I sent him back to the general, with a message, which made the army ashamed of having been exposed to such a merited reproof. Subordination was now at an end, and all hopes of success having vanished, the enemy had no alternative left but a precipitate retreat, which was put into execution in the night between the 20th and 21st instant. I had above said, that the battering train of artillery (except the carriages, which were burnt) is now in our hands, amounting to 23 pieces. The howitzers and medium 12-pounders, originally conveyed by land with much difficulty, and successfully employed to make the first breach, were embarked in the country vessels at Jaffa, to be conveyed coastwise, together with the worst among the 2000 wounded, which embarrassed the march of the army. This operation was to be expected. I took care, therefore, to be between Jaffa and Damietta before the French army could get as far as the former place. The vessels being hurried to sea, without seamen to navigate them, and the wounded being in want of every necessary, even water and provisions, they steered straight to his majesty's ships, in full confidence of receiving the succours of humanity, in which they were not disappointed. I have sent them on to Damietta, where they will receive such farther aid as their situation requires, and which it was out of my power to give so many. Their expressions of gratitude to us were mingled with execrations on the name of their general, who had, as they said, thus exposed them to peril rather than fairly and honourably renew the intercourse with the English, which he had broken off by a false and malicious assertion, that I had intentionally exposed the former prisoners to the infection of the plague. To the honour of the French army, be it said, this assertion was not believed by them, and it thus recoiled on its author. The intention of it was evidently to do away the effect which the proclamation of the Porte began to make on the soldiers, whose eager hands were held above the parapet of their works to receive them when thrown from the breach. He cannot plead misinformation as his excuse, his aid-du-camp, Mr. Lallemand having had free intercourse with these prisoners on board the Tigre, when he came to treat about them; and having been ordered, though too late, not to repeat their expressions of contentment at the prospect of going home. It was evident to both sides, that when a general had recourse to such a shallow, and at the same time to such a mean artifice, as a malicious falsehood, all better resources were at an end, and the defection in his army was consequently increased to the highest pitch. The utmost disorder has been manifested in the retreat, and the whole track between Acre and Gaza is strewed with the dead bodies of those who have sunk under fatigue, or the slightest wounds;

such as could walk, unfortunately for them, not having been embarked. The rowing gun-boats annoyed the van column of the retreating army in its march along the beach, and the Arabs harassed its rear, when it turned inland, to avoid the fire. We observed the smoke of musketry behind the Sandhills from the attack of a party of them, which came down to our boats and touched our flag with every token of union and respect. Ismael Pacha, governor of Jerusalem, to whom notice was sent of Bonaparte's preparation for retreat, having entered this town by land at the same time that we brought our guns to bear on it by sea, a stop was put to the massacre and pillage already begun by the Neplausians. The English flag rehoisted on the consul's house (under which the Pacha met me,) serves as an asylum for all religions and every description of the surviving inhabitants. The heaps of unburied Frenchmen lying on the bodies of those whom they massacred two months ago, afford another proof of divine justice, which has caused these murderers to perish by the infection arising from their own atrocious act. Seven poor wretches are left alive in the hospital, where they are protected and shall be taken care of. We have had a most dangerous and painful duty in disembarking here to protect the inhabitants, but it has been effectually done; and Ismael Pacha deserves every credit for his humane exertions and cordial co-operation to that effect. Two thousand cavalry are just dispatched to harass the French rear, and I am in hopes to overtake their van in time to profit by their disorder; but this will depend on the assembling of sufficient force, and on exertions, of which I am not absolute master, though I do my utmost to give the necessary impulse, and a right direction. I have every confidence that the officers and men of the three ships under my orders, who, in the face of a most formidable enemy, have fortified a town that had not a single heavy gun mounted on the land side, and who have carried on all intercourse by boats, under a constant fire of musketry and grape, will be able efficaciously to assist the army in its future operations. This letter will be delivered to your lordship by lieutenant Canes, first of the Tigre, whom I have judged worthy to command the Theseus, as captain, ever since the death of my much-lamented friend and co-adjutor, captain Miller. I have taken lieutenant England, first of that ship, to my assistance in the Tigre, by whose exertions, and those of lieutenant Summers and Mr. Atkinson, together with the bravery of the rest of the officers and men, that ship was saved, though on fire in five places at once, from a deposit of French shells bursting on board her *.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Sidney Smith.

Right hon. lord Nelson, &c.

* The accounts of the explosion on-board this ship which have hitherto appeared, being extremely imperfect, a correspondent has favoured us with the following official particulars of that event. They are extracted from the letter of the commanding officer to Sir Sidney Smith, dated in Syria-Bay, the 15th of May.

A Return of the killed, wounded, and drowned, belonging to his Majesty's Ships Tigre and Theseus, between the 9th and 20th May, employed in the Defence of Acre.

Tigre—John Carter, seaman, killed; Thomas Smith, sergeant of marines, Thomas Knight, Joseph Thompson, private marines, wounded.

Theseus—Ralph Willett Miller, captain, Thomas Segbourne, school-master, James Morrison, Bigges Forbes, Charles James Webb, midshipmen, 21 seamen, 1 boy, 3 private marines, killed; lieutenant Summers, Thomas Atkinson, master, Robert Tarnish, surgeon, Frederick Morris, chaplain, lieuteuant Beatly, Charles Dobson, midshipman, 30 seamen, 2 boys, 1 sergeant of marines, 5 private marines, wounded; 6 seamen, 3 private marines, drowned.

Total—1 captain, 1 school-master, 3 midshipmen, 22 seamen, 1 boy, 3 private marines, killed; 2 lieutenants, 1 master, 1 surgeon, 1 chaplain, 1 midshipman, 30 seaman, 2 boys, 2 sergeants of marines, 7 private marines, wounded; 6 seamen, 3 private marines, drowned.

His Majesty's ship Tigre,
30th May.

W. Sidney Smith.

London Gazette Extraordinary, September 14, 1799.

Downing-street, September 13.

A Despatch, of which the following is an Extract, was received this Morning, by the Ship Sarah Christiana.

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Mornington, to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, dated Fort St. George, May 16.

Yesterday I received the en-

"It is with extreme concern I have to acquaint you, that yesterday morning, at half past nine o'clock, twenty 36-pound shells, and fifty 18-pound shells, had been got up and prepared ready for service by captain Miller's order, the ship then alone off Cesaria; when, in an instant, owing to an accident that we had not been able to discover, the whole was on fire, and a most dreadful explosion took place; the ship was immediately in flames in the main-rigging and mizen-top, in the cockpit, the tiers, several places about the main-deck, and various parts of the ship; the danger was very imminent, and required an uncommon exertion of every one to get under so collected a body of fire as made its appearance, and I have the happiness to add, that our exertions were crowned with success, the fire got under, and the ship most miraculously preserved; and I here feel myself called upon to declare how much obliged I am to all the officers and ship's company, but more particularly to lieutenant Summers, Mr. Atkinson, master, and the officers and men, whose assistance on this occasion was truly great, and enabled us to get the better of so great a calamity. Our loss, from the explosion, I lament to say, has been very great; and captain Miller, I am sorry to add, is of the number killed, which amounts to 26, 10 drowned, and 45 wounded. The whole of the poop and after-part of the quarter-deck is entirely blown to pieces, and all the beams destroyed; eight of the main-deck beams also broke, which fell down and jammed the tiller; all the ward-robe, bulk-heads, and windows, entirely blown to pieces, and the ship left a perfect wreck; in short, a greater scene of horror and devastation could not be produced; and we are all truly grateful to God Almighty for his most signal preservation in saving us from a danger so very great and alarming."

closed despatch from lieutenant-general Harris, containing the details of the capture of Seringapatam: they require no comment, and I am persuaded that no solicitation is necessary to induce you to recommend the incomparable army, which has gained this glorious triumph, to the particular notice of his majesty, and to the applause and gratitude of their country. I also enclose a copy of the general orders that I issued on this glorious occasion.

Seringapatam, May 7,

My lord,

On the 4th instant, I had the honour to address to your lordship a hasty note, containing in few words, the sum of our success, which I have now to report more in detail.

The fire of our batteries, which began to batter in breach on the 30th April, had, on the evening of the 3d instant, so much destroyed the walls, against which it was directed, that the arrangement was then made for assaulting the place on the following day, when the breach was reported practicable.

The troops intended to be employed were stationed in the trenches early in the morning of the 4th, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the assault, which I had determined to make in the heat of the day, as the time best calculated to ensure success, as the troops would then be least prepared to oppose us.

Ten flank companies of Europeans, taken from those regiments necessarily left to guard our camps and our outposts, followed by the 12th, 33d, 73d, and 74th regiments, and three corps of grenadier sepoys, taken from the troops of the three presidencies, with 200 of his highness the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault, accompanied by 100 of the artillery, and the corps of pioneers, and supported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the regiment De Meuron, and four battalions of Madras sepoys. Colonel Sherbrooke, and lieutenant-colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardiner, and Mignan, commanded the several flank corps; and major-general Baird was entrusted with the direction of this important service.

At one o'clock, the troops moved from the trenches, crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery under an extremely heavy fire, passed the glacis and ditch, and ascended the breaches in the *fausse braye* and rampart of the fort, surmounting, in the most gallant manner, every obstacle which the difficulty of the passage and the resistance of the enemy presented to oppose their progress. Major-general Baird had divided his force for the purpose of clearing the ramparts to the right and left. One division was commanded by colonel Sherbrooke, the other by lieutenant-colonel Dunlop: the latter was disabled in the breach, but both corps, although strongly opposed, were completely successful. Resistance continued to be made from the palace of Tippoo, for some time after all firing had ceased from the works: two of his sons were there, who, on assurance of safety, surrendered to the troops surrounding them; and guards were placed for the protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace.

It was soon after reported, that

Tippoo Sultaun had fallen. Syed Scheb, Meer Saduf, Syed Gofa, and many other of his chiefs, were also slain. Measures were immediately adopted, to stop the confusion at first unavoidable, in a city strongly garrisoned, crowded with inhabitants and their property, in ruins from the fire of a numerous artillery, and taken by assault. The princes were removed to camp. It appeared to major-general Baird so important to ascertain the fate of the Sultaun, that he caused immediate search to be made for his body, which, after much difficulty, was found, late in the evening, in one of the gates, under a heap of slain, and soon after placed in the palace. The corpse was the next day recognized by the family, and interred with the honours due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father.

The strength of the fort is such, both from its natural position and the stupendous works by which it is surrounded, that all the exertions of the brave troops who attacked it, in whose praise it is impossible to say too much, were required to place it in our hands. Of the merits of the army I have expressed my opinion in orders, a copy of which I have the honour to enclose; and I trust your lordship will point out their services to the favourable notice of their king and country.

I am sorry to add, that on collecting the returns of our loss, it is found to have been much heavier than I at first imagined.

On the 5th instant, Ardul Khalic, the elder of the princes, formerly hostages with lord Cornwallis, surrendered himself at our outposts, demanding protection. Kermin Saheb, the brother of Tippoo, had before sought refuge with Meer Allum Behauder. A Cowl-Namah was yesterday dispatched to Futteh Hyder, the eldest son of Tippoo, inviting him to join his brothers. Purneah and Meer Kummer Odeen Khan have also been summoned to Seringapatam; no answers have yet been received, but I expect them shortly, as their families are in the fort.

This moment Ali Reza, formerly one of the vakeels from Tippoo Sultaun to Lord Cornwallis, has arrived from Meer Kummer Odeen Khan, to ask my orders for 4000 horse, now under his command. Ali Reza was commissioned to declare, that Meer Kummer Odeen would make no conditions, but rely on the generosity of the English.

Monsieur Chapue, and most of the French, are prisoners: they have commissions from the French government.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) George Harris.

Abstract of a Return of killed, wounded, and missing, at the Assault of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May.

Europeans killed—2 captains, 6 lieutenants, 3 sergeants, 1 drummer, and 58 rank and file.

Ditto wounded—1 lieutenant-colonel, 4 captains, 8 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 2 conductors, 12 sergeants, 5 drummers, and 228 rank and file.

Ditto missing—1 sergeant, and 3 rank and file.

Natives killed—13 rank and file.

Ditto wounded—1 jemidar, 2 drummers, and 31 rank and file.

Ditto missing—2 rank and file.

Names of Officers killed and wounded on the Assault.

Killed—Lieutenant Mather, of the 75th, captain Owen, of the 77th flank companies, lieutenant Lalor, of the 73d, lieutenants Farquhar, Prendergrast, Hill, and Shawe, of the 74th, captain Cormick, of the pioneers.

Wounded—Lieutenants Turner, Broughton, and Skelton, of the 75th; lieutenant-colonel Dunlop, and lieutenant Laurence, of the 77th; lieutenant Webb, of the Bombay regiment; captain Lardy, and lieutenant Matthey, of the Meuron regiment, flank companies; lieutenant Shawe, of the 76th, serving with the 12th; captain Macleod, lieutenant Thomas, ensigns Antil and Guthrie, of the 73d; captain Caldwell, of the engineers, and captain Prescott, of the artillery.

London Gazette Extraordinary, September 16, 1799.

Downing-street,

A Despatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Morning received from Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K.B. at the Office of the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, September 11.

Sir,

Having fully considered the position which the British troops had occupied on the 1st instant, and having in view the certainty of speedy and powerful reinforcements, I determined to remain until then on the defensive.

From the information which we had received, we were apprized of the enemy's intention to attack us, and we were daily improving the advantages of our situation.

Yesterday morning, at daybreak, the enemy commenced an attack on our centre and right, from St. Martin's to Petten, in three columns, and apparently with their whole force.

The column on the right, composed of Dutch troops, under the command of general Daendels, directed its attack on the village of St. Martin's.

The centre column of the enemy, under the orders of general de Monceau, likewise composed of Dutch troops, marched on to Crabbendam and Zuyper Sluys.

The left column of the enemy, composed of French, directed itself on the position occupied by major-general Burrard, commanding the second brigade of guards.

The enemy advanced, particularly on their left and centre, with great intrepidity, and penetrated with the heads of their columns to within a hundred yards of the post occupied by the British troops. They were, however, every where repulsed, owing to the strength of our position and the determined courage of the troops. About ten o'clock the enemy retired towards Alkmaar, leaving behind them many dead and some wounded men, with one piece of cannon, a number of waggons, pontoons, and portable bridges. Colonel M'Donald, with the reserve, pursued

them for some time, and quickened their retreat.

It is impossible for me to do full justice to the good conduct of the troops.

Colonel Spencer, who commanded in the village of St. Martin's, defended his post with great spirit and judgment.

Major-general Moore, who commanded on his right, and who was wounded, though I am happy to say slightly, was no less judicious in the management of the troops under his command.

The two battalions of the 20th regiment posted opposite to Krabbendam and Zuyper Sluys, did credit to the high reputation which that regiment has always borne. Lieutenant-colonel Smyth, of that corps, who had the particular charge of that post, received a severe wound in his leg, which will deprive us for a time of his services.

The two brigades of guards repulsed, with great vigour, the column of French, which had advanced to attack them, and where the slaughter of the enemy was great.

I continue to receive every mark of zeal and intelligence from the officers composing the staff of this army.

It is difficult to state, with any precision, the loss of the enemy, but it cannot be computed at less than 800 or 1000 men; and on our side it does not exceed, in killed, wounded, and missing, 200 men. Exact returns shall be transmitted herewith.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) R. Abercrombie.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, September 11.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, K. B. in the Action of the Zyp, on the 10th September.

Total—37 rank and file killed; 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 4 captains, 5 subalterns, 2 sergeants, 131 rank and file wounded; 1 sergeant, 18 rank and file missing.

Return of Officers wounded.

Major-general Moore; captain Halket, of the 76th regiment, aide-de-camp to the commander-in-chief; lieutenant Simpson, of the royal artillery; captain Nevill, of the grenadier battalion of guards; captain Nevill, of the 1st battalion of the 3d regiment of guards; lieutenant Gordon, of the 2d battalion of the royals; captain the honourable John Ramsay, of the 92d regiment of foot; lieutenant-colonel George Smyth, major Robert Ross, lieutenants John Colborne, Charles Devereux, Christopher Hamilton, lieutenant and adjutant Samuel South, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot; captain-lieutenant L. Ferdinand Adams, of the 2d battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.

Alex. Hope,
Assistant adjutant-general.

London Gazette, Sept. 21, 1799.

Downing-street, Sept. 19.

A Despatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Morning re-

ceived from Field-Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, at the Office of the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

The Helder, North Holland, Sept. 14.

Sir,

I have to acquaint you with my arrival at this place yesterday evening, having sailed from Deal, on board the Amethyst frigate, on Monday morning, the 9th instant.

Upon coming on shore I had great satisfaction in witnessing the disembarkation of eight battalions of Russian auxiliary troops, consisting of 7000 men, under the command of lieutenant-general D'Hermann, which had arrived from Revel in the course of the preceding day and yesterday morning. I afterwards saw these troops upon their march towards the position occupied by the British near Schagen; and I have great pleasure in assuring you that, from their appearance in every respect, the most happy consequences may be expected from their co-operation with his majesty's arms in this country: lieutenant-general D'Hermann seems to enter most heartily into our views, and I form very sanguine hopes of receiving essential assistance from his zeal and experience.

I understand that sir Ralph Abercrombie has made you acquainted with his having repulsed the enemy in an attack made upon him on Tuesday last. I proceed to join him at his quarters at Schagen immediately.

I have had the pleasure to meet the hereditary prince of Orange here. His serene highness is occupied in arranging into corps a large body of deserters from the Batavian army, and volunteers from the crews of the Dutch ships of war, which have proceeded to England. Every assistance shall be given to his serene highness to render these corps an efficient addition to our forces.

I am, Sir, yours,

FREDERICK.

The right hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

London Gazette Extraordinary, September 24, 1799.

Downing-street.

A Despatch, of which the following is a Copy, has been this Day received from Field-Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Head Quarters Schagen Brug, September 20.

Sir,

In my despatch of the 16th instant, I acquainted you with my intention of making an attack upon the whole of the enemy's position, the moment that the reinforcements joined.

Upon the 19th, every necessary arrangement being made, the army moved forward in four principal columns, in the following order:—

The left column, under the command of lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, consisting of

Two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons,

Major-general the earl of Chatham's brigade

Major-general Moore's brigade,

Major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade,

First battalion of British grenadiers of the line,

First battalion of light infantry of the line,

The 23d and 55th regiments, under colonel Macdonald, destined to turn the enemy's right on the Zuyder Zee, marched at six o'clock on the evening of the 18th.

The columns upon the right, the first commanded by lieutenant general D'Hermann, consisting of

The 7th light dragoons,

Twelve battalions of Russians, and

Major-general Manner's brigade; the second, commanded by lieutenant-general Dundas, consisting of

Two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons,

Two brigades of foot guards, and

Major-general his highness prince William's brigade; the third column, commanded by lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, consisting of

Two squadrons of the 11th light dragoons,

Major-general Don's brigade,

Major-general Coote's brigade, marched from the positions they occupied at day-break the morning of the 19th. The object of the first column was to drive the enemy from the heights of Camper Duyne, the villages under these heights, and finally to take possession of Bergen; the second was to force the enemy's position at Walmenhuysen and Schoreldam, and to co-operate with the column under lieutenant-general D'Hermann; and the third, to take possession of Ouds Carspel at the head of the Lange Dyke, a great road leading to Alkmaar.

It is necessary to observe, that the country in which we had to act, presented in every direction the most formidable obstacles. The enemy upon their left occupied to great advantage the high sand-hills which extend from the sea in front of Petten to the town of Bergen, and were intrenched in three intermediate villages. The country over which the columns, under lieutenant-generals Dundas and sir James Pulteney, had to move for the attack of the fortified posts of Walmenhuysen, Schoreldam, and the Lange Dyke, is a plain, intersected every three or four hundred yards by broad deep wet ditches and canals. The bridges across the only two or three roads which led to these places were destroyed, and abatis were laid at different distances.

Lieutenant General D'Hermann's column commenced its attack, which was conducted with the greatest spirit and gallantry, at half past three o'clock in the morning, and by eight had succeeded in so great a degree as to be in possession of Bergen. In the wooded country which surrounds this village the principal force of the enemy was placed; and the Russian troops, advancing with an intrepidity which overlooked the formidable resistance with which they were to meet,

had not retained that order which was necessary to preserve the advantages they had gained; and they were, in consequence, after a most vigorous resistance, obliged to retire from Bergen, (where, I am much concerned to state, lieutenant-generals D'Hermann and Tchertchekoff were made prisoners, the latter dangerously wounded,) and fell back upon Schorel, which village they were also forced to abandon, but which was immediately retaken by major-general Manner's brigade, notwithstanding the very heavy fire of the enemy. Here this brigade was immediately reinforced by two battalions of Russians, which had co-operated with lieutenant-general Dundas in the attack of Walmenhuysen, by major-geneal D'Oyley's brigade of guards, and by the 35th regiment, under the command of his highness prince William. The action was renewed by these troops for a considerable time with success; but the entire want of ammunition on the part of the Russians, and the exhausted state of the whole corps engaged in that particular situation, obliged them to retire, which they did in good order, upon Petten and the Zuyper Sluys.

As soon as it was sufficiently light, the attack upon the village of Walmenhuysen, where the enemy was strongly posted with cannon, was made by lieutenant-general Dundas. Three battalions of Russians, who formed a separate corps, destined to co-operate from Krabbendam in this attack, commanded by major-general Sedmoratzky, very gallantly stormed the village on its left flank, while, at the same time, it was entered on the right by the first regiment of guards. The grenadier battalion of the guards had been previously detached to march upon Schoreldam, on the left of lieutenant-general D'Hermann's column, as was the 3d regiment of guards, and the 2d battalion of the 5th regiment, to keep up the communication with that under lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney. The remainder of lieutenant-general Dundas's column, which, after taking possession of Walmenhuysen, had been joined by the 1st battalion of the 5th regiment, marched against Schoreldam, which place they maintained under a very heavy and galling fire, until the troops engaged on their right had retired at the conclusion of the action.

The column under lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney proceeded to its object of attack at the time appointed; and after overcoming the greatest difficulties and the most determined opposition, carried by storm the principal post of Ouds Carspel at the head of the Lange Dyke; upon which occasion the 40th regiment, under the command of colonel Spencer, embraced a favourable opportunity which presented itself of highly distinguishing themselves.

This point was defended by the chief force of the Batavian army, under the command of general Daendels. The circumstances, however, which occurred on the right, rendered it impossible to profit by this brilliant exploit, which will ever reflect the highest credit on the general officers and troops engaged in it; and made

it necessary to withdraw lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney's column from the position which he had taken within a short distance of Alkmaar. The same circumstances led to the necessity of recalling the corps under lieutenant-general sir Ralph Abercrombie, who had proceeded without interruption to Hoorne, of which city he had taken possession, together with its garrison.

The whole of the army has, therefore, re-occupied its former position.

The well-grounded hopes I had entertained of complete success in this operation, and which were fully justified by the result of the three, and by the first successes of the fourth attack upon the right, add to the great disappointment I must naturally feel on this occasion; but the circumstances which have occurred I should have considered of very little general importance, had I not to lament the loss of many brave officers and soldiers, both of his majesty's and the Russian troops, who have fallen.

The gallantry displayed by the troops engaged, the spirit with which they overcame every obstacle which nature and art opposed to them, and the cheerfulness with which they maintained the fatigues of an action which lasted, without intermission, from half past three o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon, are beyond my powers to describe or to extol. Their exertions fully entitle them to the admiration and gratitude of their king and country.

Having thus faithfully detailed the events of this first attack, and paid the tribute of regret due to the distinguished merit of those who fell, I have much consolation in being enabled to state, that the efforts which have been made, although not crowned with immediate success, so far from militating against the general object of the campaign, promise to be highly useful to our future operations. The capture of 60 officers and upwards of 3000 men, and the destruction of 16 pieces of cannon, with large supplies of ammunition, which the intersected nature of the country did not admit of being withdrawn, are convincing proofs that the loss of the enemy in the field has been far superior to our own; and in addition to this it is material to state, that nearly 15,000 of the allied troops had unavoidably no share in this action.

In viewing the several circumstances which occurred during this arduous day, I cannot avoid expressing the obligations I owe to lieutenant-generals Dundas and sir James Pulteney, for their able assistance; and also to mention my great satisfaction at the conduct of major-generals his highness prince William, D'Oyley, Manners, Burrard, and Don, to whose spirited exertions the credit gained by the brigades they commanded is greatly to be imputed.

Captain sir Home Popham and the several officers of my staff exerted themselves to the utmost, and rendered me most essential service. I feel also much indebted to the spirited conduct of a detachment of seamen, under the direction of sir Home Popham and captain Godfrey of the navy, in the conduct of three gun-boats,

each carrying one twelve-pound carronade, which acted with considerable effect on the Alkmaar canal; nor must I omit expressing my acknowledgments to the Russian major-generals Essen, Sedmoratzky, and Schutorff.

I transmit herewith returns of the killed, wounded and missing.

I am, sir, yours,

Frederick.

P. S. Not having yet received returns of the loss sustained by the Russian troops, I can only observe, that I understand their loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounts to near 1500 men.

Head Quarters, Schagen Brug, September 20.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Action of the 19th of September.

Total—1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 captains, 2 subalterns, 1 staff, 2 sergeants, 109 rank and file, killed; 7 lieutenant-colonels, 6 majors, 15 captains, 15 subalterns, 20 sergeants, 2 drummers, 345 rank and file, wounded; 22 sergeants, 5 drummers, 463 rank and file missing.

Return of Officers, killed, wounded, missing, and taken Prisoners.

Grenadier battalion of guards, —lieutenant-colonel Morris and captain Gunthorp, killed; colonel Wynyard and captain Neville, wounded.

3d battalion of the 1st guards. —Lieutenant-colonel Cook, wounded; lieutenant-colonel Dawkins and captain Forbes, wounded and taken prisoners; captain Henry Wheatley, wounded; ensign D'Oyley, wounded, and taken prisoner.

1st battalion of the Coldstream guards.—Lieutenant-colonel Cunningham, wounded.

1st battalion of the 17th foot. —Major Grey, major Cockburne, captains Grace and Knight, wounded; lieutenant Wickham, missing, supposed taken; lieutenant Wilson and ensign Thomson, wounded.

2d battalion of the 17th foot.— Major Wood and lieutenant Saunders, wounded.

1st battalion of the 40th foot.— Ensign Elcomb, killed; major Wingfield, captains Dancer, Thompson, Gear Myers, and lieutenant Williams, wounded; captain O'Donnell, missing.

2d battalion of the 40th foot. —Captain Trollope, wounded, since dead; captains Dancer and Thornton, and lieutenant Macpherson, wounded.

1st battalion of the 5th foot.— Lieutenant-colonel Stephenson, wounded; lieutenant Harris, wounded, since dead.

1st battalion of the 35th foot. —Lieutenant-colonel Oswald and major Hay, wounded; major Petit, wounded, and taken prisoner; captain Manary, ensigns Wilkinson, Deane, and Jones, wounded.

1st battalion of the 9th foot.— Lieutenant Woodford and quarter-master Holles, killed; lieutenant Smith, wounded, and taken prisoner; lieutenants Grant and Rothwell, wounded.

2d battalion of the 9th foot.— Captain Balfour, killed; lieuten-

ant-colonel Crew, wounded; ensign French, wounded, and taken prisoner; ensign Butter, missing.

56th regiment of foot.—Captains King and Gilman, and lieutenant Prater, wounded.

N. B. Lieutenant Rowad, of the royal navy, wounded; 4 seamen killed; 7 seamen, wounded.

350 rank and file of the 1st battalion of the 35th regiment cannot exactly be accounted for, from the nature of the action, and from the regiment being sent immediately to the Helder in charge of prisoners; but it is much feared that nearly 100 are killed, and the remainder wounded and missing.

The Return of the Royal Artillery, received since the general Return was closed.

Five gunners, 4 gunner-drivers, 3 additional gunners, killed.

First lieutenant Eligie, wounded, and taken prisoner.

Volunteer John Douglas, wounded.

Eight gunners, 6 gunner-drivers, 4 additional gunners, wounded.

Seven gunners, 9 gunner-drivers, missing.

(Signed) Alex. Hope,
Assistant adjutant-general.

London Gazette Extraordinary, October 8, 1799.

Downing-street, October 7.

A Despatch of which the following is a Copy, was received late this Evening from Field Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Head-quarters, Zuyper-Sluys, October 4.

Sir,

The inclemency of the weather which prevailed at the time of writing my last despatch, and which, as I therein explained, alone prevented me from putting the army in motion, having, in some measure, subsided, and the necessary previous arrangements having been made, the attack was commenced on the whole of the enemy's line on the morning of the 2d; and I have now the happiness to inform you, that, after a severe and obstinate action, which lasted from six in the morning till the same hour at night, the distinguished valour of his majesty's and the Russian troops prevailed throughout; and the enemy, being entirely defeated, retired in the night from the positions which he occupied on the Lange Dyke, the Koe Dyke at Bergen, and upon the extensive range of sand-hills between the latter place and Egmont-op-Zee. The points where this well-fought battle was principally contested, were from the sea-shore in front of Egmont, extending along the sandy desert or hills to the heights above Bergen, and it was sustained by the British columns, under the command of those highly distinguished officers general sir Ralph Abercrombie and lieutenant-general Dundas, whose exertions, as well as the gallantry of the brave troops they led, cannot have been surpassed by any former instance of British valour.

On the night of this memorable

day, the army lay upon their arms, and yesterday moved forward, and occupied the positions of the Lange Dyke, Alkmaar, Bergen, Egmont-op-Hoof, and Egmont-op-Zee.

The enemy's forces, according to the best information I have been able to obtain, consisted of between 25 and 30,000 men, of whom a very small proportion only were Dutch. General Daendels, who commanded the latter, is wounded. The French troops, who have been continually reinforcing themselves, and whose loss has been very great, were commanded by generals Brune, Vandamme, and Boutet.

From the continuance of the action, and the obstinacy with which it was contested, the victory has not been gained without serious loss. At present I am not in possession of particular returns; but I have the satisfaction to say, that no officer of rank has fallen. The British army has to regret major-general Moore's being wounded in two places, and the Russian army, major-general Emme's being also wounded; but I am happy to say, that their wounds are not of a nature to lead me to apprehend that I shall long be deprived of the assistance of their abilities and gallantry. It is impossible for me at this moment to do justice to the merits of the other generals and officers of the allied army who distinguished themselves, as I must defer until to-morrow paying my tribute of praise to them, and to the troops generally, as well as giving the details of the battle of the 2d instant. My attention is seriously engaged in making the arrangements which are necessary for occupying a forward position in front of Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee, to which line the enemy has retreated. I entertain no doubt that the extent of country which will now be under the protection of the allied army, and rescued from French tyranny, will afford an opportunity to its loyal inhabitants of declaring themselves. The town of Alkmaar, which is the seat of the states of North Holland, has opened its gates to our troops, and a considerable number of the Dutch troops have come over to the prince of Orange's standard.

In order that you may be in possession of such information, as want of time will not at present allow me to detail, I charge my aid-du-camp, captain Fitzgerald, with this dispatch. He is entirely in my confidence, and I request leave to recommend him to his majesty as an officer of superior merit and intelligence.

I am, sir, yours,
Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

London Gazette Extraordinary, October 24, 1799.

Downing-street.

Despatches, of which the following are Copies, were this Afternoon received from Field-Marshal his Royal Highness the Duke of York, by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Head-quarters, Alkmaar, Oct. 6.

Sir,

I despatched my aid-du-camp,

captain Fitzgerald, on the 4th instant, with an account of the success obtained over the enemy on the 2d; and circumstances at that moment not enabling me to give the particulars of that day's action, I shall now enter into a detail of the occurrences which then took place. The disposition I have already transmitted to you of the intended attack, will show that it was determined that a vigorous effort should be made on the left of the enemy, where the French troops were posted and concentred about Bergen, a large village surrounded by extensive woods, through which passes the great road leading to Haerlem, and between which and the sea lies an extensive region of high sand-hills, impassable for artillery or carriages, difficult and very embarrassing from their depth and broken surface for cavalry, and exceedingly forbidding, from all these and other circumstances, to any movements being attempted in them by a large body of infantry. Behind these sand-hills, and to the enemy's right, through the whole extent of North Holland, lies a wet and low country, every where intersected with dykes, canals, and ditches, which it rested with the enemy to occupy and strengthen in whatever manner, and in whatever points he pleased, and thereby to prevent our making any successful attempts against his right. His centre was supported by the town of Alkmaar, and water communication gave him, in every direction, the advantage of drawing from and profiting by the resources of the country. The delays, which the unusual severity of the weather at this season, and the whole of our situation, rendered inevitable, enabled him to improve his position by new works, which bore a formidable appearance, and threatened much resistance. Under all circumstances, it was evident, that it was only by a great advantage gained on the enemy's left that we could drive him back, and force him to evacuate North Holland, thereby materially bettering our situation, by opening the sphere of our resources and future exertions. The combined attacks were therefore made in four principal columns: the first on the right, under general sir Ralph Abercrombie, consisting of major-general D'Oyley's brigade, major-general Moore's ditto, major-general the earl of Cavan's ditto, colonel M'Donald's reserve, nine squadrons of light dragoons, commanded by colonel lord Paget, and one troop of horse artillery, marched by the sea-beach against Egmont-op-Zee, with a view to turn the enemy's left flank. Of the second, consisting of Russian troops, commanded by major-general D'Essen, the greater proportion marched by the Slaper Dyke through the villages of Groete and Schorel upon Bergen, by the road which all the way skirts the foot of the sand-hills of Camperdown, about 300 feet high, presenting a steep face to the country, much wooded, but from their summit more gradually sloping towards the sea. Part of this column, under major-general Sedmoratzky, debouched from the Zuyper Sluys, and were destined to cover the left flank of the remainder of the Russian troops,

moving under the sand-hills, to co-operate with the brigade under major-general Burrard in the attack of Schoreldam, and to combine their attack upon Bergen with the troops upon their right. The third column, under the command of lieutenant-general Dundas, consisted of major-general earl Chatham's brigade, major-general Coote's ditto, major-general Burrard's ditto, and one squadron of the 11th light dragoons. Major-general Coote's brigade was ordered to follow the advanced guard of sir Ralph Abercrombie's column from Petten, to turn to the left at the village of Campe, and proceeding under the hills, to take the Slaper Dyke in reserve, and clear the road to Groete and the heights above it, for that part of the Russian column which marched by the Slaper Dyke, whose right major-general Coote was to cover, during its progress towards Bergen, by detaching the required number of troops into the sand-hills. Major-general lord Chatham's brigade was to follow that part of the Russian column which marched from the Zuyper Sluys, to turn to the right, and falling into the road in the rear of major-general D'Essen's corps, to join such part of major-general Coote's as moved along that road to proceed in support of the Russian column, covering its right upon the sand-hills, and from them ultimately to combine with that column in its attack upon Bergen; for which purpose these two brigades were to extend as much as possible to the right, and endeavour to connect themselves with the right column. Major-general Burrard's brigade was ordered to move from Tutenhoorn and Krabendam, upon the left of the Alkmaar canal, to combine, with the corps under major-general Sedmoratzky, its attack from Schoreldam, which was further supported by seven gun-boats moving along the above canal. Major-general Burrard was to communicate upon his left with the fourth column under lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, consisting of major-general his highness prince William's brigade, major-general Manner's ditto, major-general Don's ditto, two squadrons of the 18th light dragoons, and two battalions of Russians. This column covered the whole of the left of our position to the Zuyder Zee, and was destined to threaten the enemy's right, and to take advantage of every favourable circumstance that should offer. Proportions of artillery of reserve were attached to each column, and to the Russian column about 200 Cossacks and hussars. The force of the enemy was computed at 25,000 men, much the greater proportion of which were French. The state of the tide determined the march of the right column, which proceeded from Petten at half-past six o'clock in the morning. Its advanced guard, composed of the reserve under colonel M'Donald, viz. 1st battalion of grenadiers of the line, 1st battalion of light infantry ditto, 23d regiment of infantry, and 55th ditto, drove the enemy from Campe and from the sand-hills above that village, and continued its march upon the ridge of those hills, inclining a little to the left. Major-general Coote's

brigade, which next followed, turned to its left at Campe, and advancing as far as the extremity of the Slaper Dyke and the village of Groete, cleared the road for the Russian column under major-general D'Essen. Part of this brigade, in connection with colonel M'Donald's corps drove the enemy from the sand-hills to the right and front of the Russian column, and continued moving forward upon the sand-hills, a little in advance of the Russian troops. Major General Sedmoratzky's corps had marched from the Zuyper Sluys as soon as the enemy had abandoned Groete, and advanced across the plain between the Alkmaar canal and the road by which major-general D'Essen moved, whose left he joined, whilst his own left was protected by the fire of the gun-boats and the advance of major-general Burrard's corps. The enemy, who had gradually retired from Schorel, were now formed in considerable force from Schorel to Schoreldam, and kept up a very warm fire from the cannon which they had posted at different points of their line. Major-general lord Chatham's brigade moved in the rear of major-general Sedmoratzky's corps, close behind which it was formed in the plain. The column under major-general D'Essen proceeded along the road upon Schorel, whilst major-general Coote's brigade was rapidly driving the enemy from the ridge of sand-hills above that village and to its right. Colonel M'Donald's corps had moved considerably to the right, with a view to connect itself with the right column, and continued warmly engaged with the enemy, who were in very considerable force in the sand-hills.

After some delay the enemy were driven, about eleven o'clock, by the Russian troops, and by the gun-boats and major-general Burrard's brigade upon their left, from Schorel and Schoreldam, between which major-generals D'Essen's and Sedmoratzky's corps took post, and continued the remainder of the day engaged in a cannonade with the enemy, posted in the village of Bergen, and between it and the Koe Dyke. Schoreldam was occupied by major-general Burrard, whence he continued his attack (in conjunction with the gun-boats) upon the enemy, who was strongly posted on the Koe Dyke. In this situation it became necessary to make a great effort to clear the summit of the sand-hills of the enemy, who occupied them in great numbers, and for a great visible extent quite beyond Bergen. The left of major-general Coote's brigade was then above Schorel, and the regiments which composed it were separated by very considerable intervals, and extended a long way into the sand-hills. The 85th regiment being on the right, and considerably advanced, was warmly engaged with the enemy, who showed a disposition to come upon the right of the brigade. I therefore directed lieutenant-general Dundas to march major-general lord Chatham's brigade from the plain into the sand-hills, to the right of major-general Coote's, leaving one battalion (the 31st,) to move close under the hills parallel with the left of major-ge-

neral Coote's brigade. This movement was admirably executed; and major-general lord Chatham's brigade having arrived at some distance behind the 85th regiment, and outflanking it by about two battalions, the line was formed, and the whole was ordered to advance at a brisk pace to gain the heights about three quarters of a mile distant across a shrubby wood, and then by a gradual ascent to the summit of the sand-hills. The 85th regiment at the same time charged and drove the enemy before them, who, being thus taken in flank and rear, retired precipitately towards his right, and took post on the summit of the heights which hang over Bergen, whilst the remainder of major-general Coote's brigade having also moved forward, joined the left of major-general lord Chatham's.

The 85th regiment took post in a favourable situation below those heights, so as to block up and command the avenue and great road, which leads through Bergen. From the heights the enemy were seen in the village of Bergen, and the woods and plains about it, wavering, and apparently in great uncertainty; but lieutenant-general Dundas's corps not being able alone to undertake the attack of the village and woods, or to bring cannon into the sand-hills, the enemy re-occupied the village in force, and kept up a brisk fire of cannon and musketry on the heights occupied by the British, and by which the latter were sheltered. A considerable body of the enemy advanced along the avenue, and made a spirited attack to regain the heights on the post of the 85th, but were driven back with loss, and that regiment gallantly maintained their situation during the rest of the day against other attempts of the enemy. A large body of the enemy having been seen moving to their left, three battalions of major-general Coote's brigade were marched beyond the right of lord Chatham's, to support him, and extend the line. The 27th regiment, posted at the termination of another avenue from Bergen, were attacked by a considerable body issuing from the woods: the regiment, having, however, by a spirited charge, driven the enemy into the wood, no farther attempt was made by them from that time (about half-past three P. M.) to dislodge lieutenant-general Dunda's corps.

The extension of his line had now brought its right very near to the reserve under colonel M'Donald, who had been advancing rapidly, notwithstanding the considerable resistance he had experienced, and was now warmly engaged with the body of the enemy, lining a sand-hill ridge, which crosses the downs in a perpendicular direction, and which body probably had moved from Bergen and Egmont-op-te-Hooff, with the view of turning lieutenant-general Dundas's right flank. Lieutenant-general Dundas therefore sent down the 29th regiment on the left of colonel M'Donald, close to the road leading from Bergen to Egmont; and although the enemy's position appeared steep and formidable, a general and rapid attack was made. The advance of the 29th regiment was the signal for the whole on the right of

it to move forward briskly, which was done with such spirit, that they were soon at the bottom of the enemy's position; and ascending the hill, without stopping, they pursued their advantage with such vigour as to drive the enemy totally from the sand-hills. This was the last event which took place on the side of Bergen; and, as the close of the day was fast approaching, colonel M'Donald, with two battalions, was sent to the support of general sir Ralph Abercrombie. The heights of the sand-hills, surrounding Bergen for about three miles, remained crowned and possessed by eleven British battalions.

General sir Ralph Abercrombie had marched according to the disposition, along the beach, with major-general D'Oyley's, major-general Moore's, and major-general lord Cavan's brigades, the cavalry and horse-artillery (the reserve, under M'Donald, not having been able, owing to the great extent of the sand-hills, to rejoin him, after turning to the left at Campe). The main body of sir Ralph Abercrombie's column had proceeded without meeting with much resistance in the early part of the day, but was nevertheless much inconvenienced, and his troops harassed, by the necessity of detaching continually into the sand-hills to his left, to cover that flank against the troops whom the enemy had placed in the sand-hills. The admirable disposition, however, which he made of his troops, and their determined spirit and gallantry, enabled him to arrive within a mile of Egmont. Here he was seriously opposed by a very considerable corps of French infantry, which occupied Egmont-op-Zee and the high sand-hills in its front, and who had formed a very strong corps of cavalry and artillery to their left upon the beach. The engagement was maintained, during several hours, with the greatest obstinacy; and in no instance were the abilities of a commander, or the heroic perseverance of troops in so difficult and trying a situation, more highly conspicuous. Animated by the example of general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the general and other officers under him, the troops sustained every effort made upon them by an enemy then superior in number, and much favoured by the strength of his position. Late in the evening, the enemy's cavalry having been defeated in an attempt which they made upon the British horse artillery on the beach, and having been charged by the cavalry, under colonel lord Paget, was driven with considerable loss, nearly to Egmont-op-Zee: his efforts then relaxed considerably upon the right; and general sir Ralph Abercrombie having soon after been joined by the reinforcements under colonel M'Donald, took post upon the sand-hills and the beach, within a very short distance of Egmont-op-Zee, where the troops lay upon their arms during the night. Lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney had assembled the greater part of his corps in front of Drixhoorn, whence he threatened an attack on Oudt Carspel, in and near which was placed the principal force of the enemy's right, and could at the same time have supported any part of the line which

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might be attempted. Lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney, seconded by the active exertions of the general officers and troops under his command, executed with his usual ability, that part of the disposition with which he was entrusted, and effectually prevented the enemy from sending any detachments to his left.

On the 3d, at daybreak, the enemy evacuated their strongly fortified posts at Oudt Carspel and the Lange Dyke, retiring upon Saint Pancras and Alkmaar: the above posts were very soon after occupied by lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney.

The enemy still continued in the woods and town of Bergen, and appeared with cannon, and in some force, on that side of it next to the Koe Dyke. They had, however, withdrawn the greater part of their force, during the night, and, before mid-day, the village was taken possession of by the 85th regiment. About one, general sir Ralph Abercrombie entered Egmont-op-Zee, and in the evening the Russians, under major-general D'Essen, advanced from the ground, where, (as I have already stated) they had halted the preceding day, to Egmont-op-te-Hooff. Major-general Burrard, who, when the enemy retired from Bergen, had advanced to the Koe Dyke, was ordered in the evening to occupy, with a detachment from his brigade, the town of Alkmaar, which had been abandoned by the enemy, and had been entered nearly at the same time by patroles from his and lieutenant-general sir James Pulteney's corps. The exhausted state of the troops, from the almost unparalleled difficulties and fatigues which they had to encounter, prevented me from taking that advantage of the enemy's retreat to Beverwyck, and Wyck-op-Zee, which, in any other country, and under any other circumstances, would have been the consequences of the operations of the army upon the 2d.

Of the loss sustained by the enemy, the reports are so various, that I cannot venture to say any thing decisive; but, from all circumstances, I have reason to think it must have exceeded 4000 men. Seven pieces of cannon, and a great proportion of tumbrils, were taken. The prisoners having been immediately sent to the Helder, I cannot at present give any statement of their number, but I do not believe it exceeds a few hundred men.

Under Divine Providence this signal victory, obtained over the enemy, is to be attributed to the animating and persevering exertions which have at all times been the characteristics of the British soldier, and which on no occasion were ever more eminently displayed; nor has it often fallen to the lot of any general to have such just cause of acknowledgement for the distinguished support he had that day experienced from the officers under his command.

I cannot, in sufficient terms, express the obligations I owe to general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and lieutenant-general Dundas, for the able manner in which they conducted their respective columns, whose success is in no small degree to be attributed to their personal exertions and ex-

ample. The former had two horses shot under him.

I must also state my warm acknowledgements to lieutenant-general Hulse, major-generals lord Chatham, Coote, D'Oyley, Burrard, and Moore, for their spirited efforts upon this occasion, and the abilities which they shewed in the conduct of their respective brigades. The latter, by his ability and personal exertion, very materially contributed to the success of his column; and although severely wounded through the thigh, continued in action for nearly two hours, until a second wound in the face obliged him to quit the field. Much praise is due to major-general Hutchinson, for the manner in which he led the 5th, or lord Cavan's brigade; and I hope it will not be considered as an improper intrusion, if I take this occasion to express my sincere regret that an unfortunate blow from a horse, in going into action, by fracturing his leg, should have deprived me of his lordship's services. Colonel M'Donald distinguished himself by his usual spirit and ability in the command of the reserve, as did lord Paget, who commanded the cavalry upon the beach, and whose exertions are deserving of every praise. Nor must I omit expressing my thanks to lieutenant-colonels Whitworth and Smyth, who commanded the artillery of reserve, and to major Judson, of the horse artillery. The detachment of seamen, under the command of captains Goddard and Jurcoing, were, upon this, as upon a former occasion, of the most essential service, in the direction of the gun-boats. The conduct of major-general Knox, who was attached to the column of Russian troops, was such as to afford me the greatest satisfaction.

I enclose the returns of the loss of the British and Russian troops, and must repeat my sincere regret that the advantages we have obtained (however brilliant), have been so dearly bought. In closing this dispatch, I cannot deny myself the pleasure of expressing my approbation of the staff of my army, and in particular of the exertions and abilities shewn by lieutenant-colonel Anstruther, deputy quarter-master-general.

I am, &c.
Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Alkmaar, October 6.

Total Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Battle of Bergen, fought on the 2d of October.

Total—1 major, 5 captains, 5 subalterns, 11 serjeants, 215 rank and file, 44 horses, killed; 2 colonels, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 3 majors, 22 captains, 39 subalterns, 1 staff, 46 serjeants, 7 drummers, 980 rank and file, 78 horses, wounded; 1 captain, 4 subalterns, 7 serjeants, 3 drummers, 178 rank and file, 3 horses, missing.

Return of Officers killed, wounded, and missing.

Staff—Major-general Moore,

of the 4th brigade; lieutenant-colonel Sontag; major Calcraft, of the 25th light dragoons, aid-de-camp to colonel lord Paget; captain W. Gray, of the queen's regiment, brigade major of the 3d brigade; lieutenant Charles Jackson, of the 40th regiment, acting on the staff with the Russian army, wounded.

15th light dragoons—Lieutenant-colonel Erskine, wounded.

Royal artillery—Capt. Nichol, wounded, since dead.

Grenadier battalion of the line—Captain Leith, of the 31st regiment of foot; captain Pratt, of the 5th regiment; lieutenant Stafford, of the 31st regiment; lieutenant Philpot, of the 35th regiment; volunteer Barrington wounded; captain O'Neil, wounded, and missing.

Light infantry battalion of the line—Captain Robertson, of the 35th regiment of foot; captain Hitchman, of the 3d battalion of the 4th foot, wounded.

27th foot—Captain Archibald M'Murdo, adjutant and lieutenant George Tuthil, quarter-master and ensign John Ryan, ensign W. T. Brazier, wounded.

29th ditto—Captain White, lieutenant Tandy, lieutenant Rowan, lieutenant Bamfield, wounded.

85th ditto—Lieutenant Nester, killed; lieutenant-colonel Ross, captain Bowen, captain M'Intosh, lieutenant Keilly, wounded.

2d battalion royals—Captain Barnes, captain Hunter, lieutenant Ainslie, lieutenant Frazer, lieutenant Edmonstown, lieutenant Patton, ensign Birmingham, wounded; lieutenant Hope, wounded and taken prisoner.

25th foot—Captain-lieutenant J. Weir Johnston, lieutenant Hugh M'Donald, killed; major S. V. Hinde, captain George Callander, captain F. P. Scott, captain F. C. Carew, lieutenant Alexander W. Light, lieutenant James Peat, lieutenant John A. Grant, lieutenant John Austin, wounded.

49th foot—Captain Archer, ensign Ginn, killed; Major Hutchinson, captain Sharp, captain Robins, lieutenant Urquhart, ensign Hill, wounded; lieutenant Richard Johnston, missing.

79th ditto—Captain James Campbell, of the grenadiers, killed; colonel Allen Cameron, lieutenant M'Donald, lieutenant M'Neil, lieutenant Rose, wounded.

92d ditto—Captain Wm. M'Intosh, lieutenant Alexander Frazer, lieutenant Gordon M'Hardy, killed; colonel marquis of Huntley, captain John Cameron, captain Alexander Gordon, captain Peter Grant, lieutenant G. Frazer, lieutenant Charles Chad, lieutenant Donald M'Donald, ensign Charles Cameron, ensign John Macpherson, ensign James Bent, wounded; captain John M'Lean, wounded and taken prisoner.

2d battalion of 17th ditto—Lieutenant Wynne, lieutenant Morrison, wounded.

2d battalion of the 40th foot—Quarter-master Philips, wounded.

1st battalion of the 20th foot—Captain Pawlett, wounded.

2d battalion of ditto—Ensign Mills, wounded.

63d foot—Captain M'Niver, lieutenant Lee Gitte, ensign Hall, wounded.

1st battalion of the 4th, foot—Ensign T. B. Carruthers, wounded.

31st foot—Ensign P. King, wounded.

23d foot—Lieutenant A. M'Lean, lieutenant William Keith, wounded.

55th foot—Major William Lumsden, killed; lieutenant W. H. Dixon, wounded.

Royal navy—Lieutenant Rowad, and 3 seamen, wounded.

Alexander Hope,
Assistant adjutant-general.

Head-quarters, Egmont-op-Hooff, October 5.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Russian Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Battle of Bergen, on the 2d of October.

Total—170 killed or taken prisoners, and 423 wounded.—50 horses killed.

Head-quarters, Alkmaar, October 7.

Sir,

The enemy, after the action of the 2d, having taken up the position between Beverwyck and Wyck-op-Zee, I determined to endeavour to force him thence before he had an opportunity of strengthening, by works, the short and very defensible line which he occupied, and to oblige him still farther to retire, before he could be joined by the reinforcements, which I had information were upon their march.

Preparatory, therefore, to a general forward movement, I ordered the advanced posts, which the army took up on the 3d instant, in front of this place, of Egmont-op-te-Hooff and Egmont-op-Zee, to be pushed forward, which operation took place yesterday morning. At first little opposition was shewn, and we succeeded in taking possession of the villages of Schermerhoorn, Acher Sloot, Limmen, Baccum, and of a position on the sand-hills near Wyck-op-Zee; the column of Russian troops, under the command of major-general D'Essen, in endeavouring to gain a height in front of their intended advanced post at Baccum, (which was material to the security of that point), was vigorously opposed, and afterwards attacked by a strong body of the enemy, which obliged general sir Ralph Abercrombie to move up in support with the reserve of his corps. The enemy on their part advanced their whole force; the action became general along the whole line, from Limmen to the sea, and was maintained with great obstinacy on both sides until night, when the enemy retired, leaving us masters of the field of battle. The conflict however has, I am concerned to state, been as severe, and has been attended with as serious a loss (in proportion to the numbers engaged), as any of those which have been fought by the brave troops composing this army since their arrival in Holland. The gallantry they displayed, and the perseverance with which they supported the fatigues of this day, rival their former exertions. The corps engaged were,

Major-general D'Oyley's brigade of guards.

Major-general Burrard's ditto.

Major-general earl of Chatham's brigade.

Major-general Coote's ditto.

Major-general the earl of Cavan's brigade, commanded by major-general Hutchinson.

The reserve, under the command of colonel M'Donald.

Part of the 7th and 11th light dragoons.

And seven battalions of Russians.

To general sir Ralph Abercrombie, and the other general officers in command of the brigades before mentioned, as also to colonel M'Donald, my warmest acknowledgements are due, for their spirited and judicious exertions during this affair; nor ought I to omit the praise due to colonel Clephane, commanding four companies of the 3d, and one of the Coldstream regiments of guards, who, by a spirited charge, drove two battalions of the enemy from the post of Acher Sloot, making 200 prisoners. I have sincerely to regret, that in the course of the action major-general Hutchinson received a musket-shot wound in the thigh, which, however, is not serious. I have not yet received any reports of the killed and wounded, but I am apprehensive that the number of British is not less than 500, and that the loss of the Russian troops, as far as I can understand, amounts to 1200 men. I shall, as early as circumstances possibly admit, transmit particular returns.

The loss of the enemy, upon this occasion, has been very great; and, in addition to their killed and wounded, 500 prisoners fell into our hands.

I am, &c.

Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug,
October 9.

Sir,

I have already acquainted you with the result of the action of the 6th instant, which terminated successfully to the allied arms, and at the same time pointed out the necessity of the movement which produced this affair. From the prisoners taken, upon the 6th instant, I learnt the certainty of the enemy having been reinforced since the action of the 2d, by two demi-brigades, amounting to about 6000 infantry, and of their having strengthened the position of Beverwyck, and fortified strongly in the rear of it, points which it would still be necessary to carry, before Haerlem could be attacked. It ought also to be stated, that the enemy had retired a large force upon Purmirind, in an almost inaccessible position, covered by an inundated country, and the *debouchés* from which were strongly fortified, and in the hands of the enemy; and farther, that as our army advanced, this corps was placed in our rear. But such obstacles would have been overcome, had not the state of the weather, the ruined condition of the roads, and total want of the necessary supplies, arising from the above causes, presented difficulties which required the most serious consideration. Having maturely weighed the circumstances in which the army was thus placed, and having felt it my duty on a point of so much importance, to consult with general sir Ralph Abercrombie and the lieutenant-generals of this army, I could not but consider, and their opinion was unanimous on the subject, that it would be for the benefit of the general cause to withdraw the troops from their advanced position, in order to wait his majesty's farther instruc-

tions. I must request you will again represent to his majesty the distinguished conduct of his army; which, whilst acting under the pressure of uncommon difficulties, never for a moment ceased to be actuated by the noblest feelings for the success of the public cause, and the honour of the British arms. As there are many points resulting from our present situation, upon which you may require particular information, and such details as cannot be brought within a letter, I have thought it necessary to charge my secretary, colonel Brownrigg, with this despatch, who will be able to explain fully all matters relating to this army. I transmit a return of killed, wounded, and missing, of his majesty's and the Russian troops, in the action of the 6th instant. I most heartily lament that it has again been so serious, and that so many brave and valuable men have fallen.

I am your's,

Frederick.

Right hon. Henry Dundas,
&c. &c. &c.

Return of killed, wounded, and missing, of his Majesty's Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Action of the 6th of October.

Total—2 lieutenant-colonels, 2 subalterns, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 83 rank and file, 7 horses, killed; 1 colonel, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 majors, 7 captains, 23 subalterns, 1 staff, 23 serjeants, 666 rank and file, 13 horses, wounded; 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 5 captains, 11 subalterns, 13 serjeants, 2 drummers, 569 rank and file, missing.

Names of Officers killed.

Lieutenant-colonel Philip Bainbridge and ensign M'Curtis, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.

Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, of the 2d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Lieutenant Forster, of the 3d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Names of Officers wounded.

Grenadier battalion of line—Lieutenant Dunn, of the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment of foot; lieutenant Hamilton, of the 1st battalion of the 5th ditto.

Light infantry battalion—Lieutenant Alexander, of the 3d battalion of the 4th foot; lieutenant Nicholson, of the 2d battalion of the 35th ditto; ensign Parsons, and volunteer J. M'Innis, of the 1st battalion of the 9th ditto.

Colonel Maitland and ensign Burke, of the 3d battalion of the 1st guards.

Surgeon Babington, of the 1st battalion of the 3d ditto.

Major Campbell, captain Newman, lieutenant Stevens, and ensigns Fevel and Humphries, of the 1st battalion of the 20th regiment of foot.

Captains Masters, Wallace, and Torrence; and ensign Drurie, of the 2d battalion of the 20th ditto.

Captain-lientenant John Wardlow; lieutenants Bennet, Pusall, Sankey, and M'Intosh, of the 63d regiment of foot.

Lieutenant-colonel Hodgson; ensigns Johnston, Carruther, and John Nicholls, of the 1st battalion of the 4th ditto.

Captains Gilman and Palman; lieutenants Deare and Wilson; ensigns Highmore and Archibald, of the 2d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Majors Wynch and Horndon, of the 3d battalion of the 4th ditto.

Ensigns Williams, Johnston and King, of the 31st regiment of foot.

Names of Officers missing.

Lieutenant-colonel Lake, of the 3d battalion of the 1st guards.

Lieutenant-colonel Cholmondeley; major Pringle; captains Archdail, Brodie, Gillmore, Chaplin; lieutenants Gasley, Wilson, Deare, Wilbraham; ensigns Brown, Ellis, Hill, Anderson, M'Pherson, Tryor, of the 2d battalion of the 4th foot.

Captain Williamson; ensign Algeo, of the 3d battalion of ditto.

Alexander Hope,
Assistant adjutant-general.

N. B. 7th light dragoons—2 rank and file, 2 horses, killed; 7 rank and file, 6 horses, wounded; 2 rank and file, 1 horse, missing.

15th ditto—2 rank and file, 1 horse, wounded.

The returns did not come in till the 10th.

11th light dragoons—7 men and 7 horses prisoners of war, not in the above return.

Head-quarters, Zuyper Sluys, October 13.

List of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the Russian Forces, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of York, in the Action of the 6th October.

Total—382 killed, or taken prisoners, and 735 wounded.

(Signed) D'Essen, major-gen.

London Gazette, Oct. 15, 1799.

Downing-street.

Despatches, of which the following are Copies, have been received by the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State, from Lieutenant-general Trigge, and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, Commanders-in-chief of his Majesty's Land and Sea Forces in the Leeward and Windward Caribbee Islands.

Head-quarters, Paramaribo, August 23.

Sir,

It affords me very particular satisfaction to have the honour of acquainting you, that the colony of Surinam surrendered to his majesty the 20th instant; and that the British troops took possession of Fort New Amsterdam, the principal fortress, on the following day.

On receiving your instructions of the 14th of June by Lord Hugh Seymour, I lost no time in making such arrangements as were necessary for collecting troops from Grenada and St. Lucia, which, with those I proposed taking from Martinique, would complete the number directed to be employed in the reduction of this settlement.

The admiral conceiving it advisable to dispatch captain Ekins in the Amphitrite to examine this coast, and prevent any vessels getting in with intelligence, it afforded me an opportunity of sending lieutenant-colonel Shipley, commanding engineer, to make such observations as might be useful on the occasion.

The troops being assembled at Fort Royal, embarked the 30th

of last month on board the different ships appointed to receive them; and the squadron, consisting of two line-of-battle ships and five frigates, with some small craft carrying stores and provisions, put to sea on the 31st ult.

On the 11th of this month, we made the coast to windward of the river Surinam, and fell in with the Amphitrite frigate, which had been sent forward from Martinique for the purposes I have already mentioned. She was afterwards, on the 12th, and again on the 14th, ordered to reconnoitre the coast, and ascertain with precision the strength of the post at Bram's Point, which defends the entrance of the river. This service was executed by lieutenant-colonel Shipley with great zeal and judgment; and, had it been necessary to effect a landing, his observations would have proved of the most essential service.

Captain Ekins of the Amphitrite, and lieutenant Senhouse, commanding the Requin, were generally employed as parties of observation, and have great merit for the zeal and activity which they evinced in the execution of the fatiguing and arduous duty entrusted to them.

The squadron stood in towards Surinam on the 16th instant, and came to anchor off the mouth of the river that afternoon, when it was agreed between lord Hugh Seymour and myself to summon the colony to surrender, which was accordingly done in the evening. But, as the governor requested forty-eight hours to consider the proposals, his answer was not received till the 18th, which was delivered by a deputation from the colony, composed of some military officers and gentlemen, inhabitants of the settlement, who were empowered to treat with us generally on the terms proposed, but not authorized to conclude the capitulation finally, the ratification of the several articles being reserved for the governor.

It being impossible, from the shallowness of the water, to proceed up the river with the line-of-battle ships, a disposition was made on the morning of the 19th, to remove the troops from the Prince of Wales and Invincible to the small craft, which was immediately effected; when they, with four frigates, (the admiral and myself being in one of them) got under weigh, and in the afternoon anchored two miles above the entrance of the river. A detachment of the 60th regiment was then landed, and took possession of the redoubts and battery at Bram's Point, called Peit Keyn, which had been previously abandoned.

In the situation now described, the squadron continued till the night of the 20th instant, when the capitulation was returned finally ratified and confirmed by the governor, which enabled us to proceed on the following day with the ships and small craft lying within the river, to Fort New Amsterdam, which was then taken possession of by 400 men of the 5th battalion of the 60th, under the command of major Dorsner, the acting adjutant-general, major Thomas having also landed with this detachment.

The garrison of Fort New Am-

sterdam consisted of about 750 men, 500 of whom were the Walloon guards, and 250 Dutch troops, who were allowed to march out with the honours of war.

On the 22d instant, the redoubt Leyden, and battery Frederici, the redoubt and battery Purmerent, fort Zeelandia, and the town of Paramaribo, the capital of this settlement, were taken possession of by the British troops in his majesty's name.

It became impossible, from the distance of the river Marawina and Suramina, to take immediate possession of the several posts thereon situated; but the troops who formerly occupied them having since entered into his majesty's service, now hold them for the British government.

I am very happy to be enabled to add, that the troops found in this colony, as well as the inhabitants, evince the utmost satisfaction, and appear perfectly contented and happy in the change that has taken place.

I have also great pleasure in acquainting you that our troops landed in perfect health, which is in a great measure to be attributed to the attention they received from the navy whilst on board ship.

My knowledge of the officers and men employed on this expedition warrants me in saying, that, had there been occasion for greater exertions than were found necessary, his majesty would have had every reason to be satisfied with their services; as it is, many must be content to have their merits unknown till some more trying occasion shall present itself; for this we must acknowledge, that the acquisition of this valuable colony is to be attributed to the sense entertained by the people of the advantage of having the exercise of their religion, the execution of their laws, and the enjoyment of their prosperity secured by the British government, added to the abhorrence in which they have long held French principles and French oppression, rather than to the effect of our exertions or the dread of our force. From these causes, I am persuaded his majesty will find the inhabitants loyal subjects, and the military who enter into his service faithful servants.

I am particularly indebted to vice-admiral lord Hugh Seymour for his cordial co-operation during the whole of this undertaking, and have great pleasure in acknowledging my obligations to the navy in general.

In the various arrangements since my arrival in the West Indies, on this and every other occasion, I have derived very essential assistance from the knowledge and experience of major Thomas, the acting-adjutant-general, acquired by his having served the greater part of the last and present wars in this country.

Enclosed I have the honour to transmit to you a return of the ordnance found in the several forts and batteries.

I have charged my aid-de-camp, captain Browne, with this dispatch, who will have the honour of giving you such farther information as may be required relative to the surrender of this colony.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

The right hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

[Here follows a return of ordnance, ammunition, and stores, in the different forts and batteries in the colony of Surinam, to a considerable amount.]

Head-quarters, Paramaribo, August 23.

Sir,

Enclosed we have the honour to transmit to you a copy of the articles of capitulation on which this colony surrendered to his majesty, together with the papers relating to the particulars thereof.

We have the honour to be, &c.

Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

Hugh Seymour, vice-admiral.

Right hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

By Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, Commanders-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's Land and Sea Forces employed at the Windward and Leeward Islands.

A squadron of his Britannic majesty's ships being arrived upon the coast of Surinam with a very considerable military force, we seize the first moment to offer terms so evidently for the advantage of the colony placed under your command, that we trust they will immediately be subscribed to; and particularly as the similar mark of our sovereign's gracious disposition has been productive of every possible happiness and advantage to your late sister colony of Demerara.

We have sent captain William Cayley, senior captain of the squadron, and lieutenant-colonel the baron de Rottenberg, commanding a battalion on this expedition, with these terms for your consideration, and shall wait twenty-four hours for your decision on this subject. Should the offer made on our part in the name of his Britannic majesty not be accepted, you must yourself be answerable for the effusion of blood and the loss of property which may be the consequence of terms not being attended to in time, which are formed for the general welfare of the colony over which you are placed, as well as the comfort and happiness of its individuals.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.

H. Seymour, vice-admiral.

Dated on board his majesty's ship Prince of Wales, off Bram's Point, August 16.

Articles of Capitulation agreed upon between Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge, and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, Commanders-in-chief of his Britannic Majesty's Land and Sea Forces employed at the Windward and Leeward Caribbee Islands, and Jurian François Friderici, Governor-general of the Colony of Surinam and its Dependencies, Major-general of Infantry, and Commander-in-chief by Sea and Land in the said Colony.

According to which the said colony and its dependencies shall be put under the immediate protection of his Britannic majesty, in conformity to the summons

which has been sent by the said commanders-in-chief, dated on board his majesty's ship the Prince of Wales, off Bram's Point, the 16th August, 1799, and the additional articles proposed by the said governor-general, and agreed to by the said commanders-in-chief the 19th August, 1799.

Art. I. The colony of Surinam, with its dependencies, shall immediately be placed under the protection of his Britannic majesty, and shall quietly and peaceably submit to his government.

II. The inhabitants of the colony shall enjoy full security to their persons, and the free exercise of their religion, with the immediate and entire possession of their private property, whether on shore or afloat, such only being excepted as may appear to belong to the subjects of the king of Spain or to those of the French republic; the ancient laws and usages which have hitherto been observed in the colony respecting property continuing in force.

III. All ships of war, artillery, provisions, and stores, in the public magazines and warehouses, as well as the effects of every description belonging to the public, shall be given up to his Britannic majesty in the state they now are, regular lists being immediately taken by officers appointed for this purpose by each of the contracting parties.

IV. All the debts of the colony which may exist at the moment of these terms being acceded to, shall be cleared by the produce of the taxes and imposts of the said colony, or by its revenues.

V. No change whatsoever shall take place in the laws of the colony, without it shall hereafter appear for the mutual advantage, and meet with the concurrence of the parties interested on that subject.

VI. In case the colony of Surinam remains in the possession of his Britannic majesty at the conclusion of a general peace, it shall enjoy every right and every commercial privilege enjoyed by the British colonies in the West Indies.

VII. The troops now in the colony of Surinam, as well as the officers belonging to the different corps serving under its present government, may, if they wish it, enter into his Britannic majesty's service, on the same footing with respect to appointments and pay as the rest of his army, provided they take the oath of allegiance and fidelity to his majesty, and engage to serve him where their services may be required. Seamen will likewise be admitted into his Britannic majesty's service, and will be sure to receive every possible encouragement.

VIII. The persons employed in the civil administration of the colony, who shall be recommended for their good conduct, may, on requesting it, continue in their present offices while their behaviour is proper, and that it accords with the oath of fidelity and allegiance to his Britannic majesty, which they will be required to take: but the command of the troops must be placed in the hands of the British officer who shall be named by his majesty, or by the commander-in-

chief of his troops employed in the West Indies.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.
H. Seymour, vice-admiral.
Friderici.

Dated on board his majesty's ship Amphitrite, in the river Surinam, the 20th of August, 1799.

Additions and Explanations proposed by his Excellency the Governor-general of the Colony of Surinam, J. F. Friderici, respecting the Articles of Capitulation proposed by their Excellencies Lieutenant-general Thomas Trigge and Vice-admiral the Right Honourable Lord Hugh Seymour, &c. &c. &c.

Art. I. That the offer made respecting the secure enjoyment of private property shall be confirmed, with no other exceptions than those contained in the summons.

Ans. Already agreed to.

II. That the trade of neutral powers shall be continued on the same footing on which it now is, especially with respect to the Americans, to whom the inhabitants of the colony have great obligations.

Ans. Already agreed to, as far as is necessary to place the colony of Surinam on the same footing as that of Demarara. The proposal made in favour of the Americans cannot be acceded to, but shall be transmitted to the British government, whose favourable disposition towards America cannot be doubted.

III. That the officers and soldiers who are desirous of entering into the service of his Britannic majesty shall be employed during the present war in the defence of this colony, and that those who do not choose to enter into his majesty's service shall be allowed to remain in the colony as private persons, or go to any other place.

Ans. This request cannot be granted consonantly with our instructions; but it is so reasonable, and is at the same time so much what the commander-in-chief wishes, that there can be little doubt but the object of the troops on this point will be accomplished. The troops which have been raised and continued at Demarara is a proof of this. The latter part of this article, respecting the soldiers who do not wish to enter into his Britannic majesty's service, is granted.

IV. That vessels and every thing necessary shall be provided to transport the Walloon guards, now in the service of this colony, to one of the ports of Spain in Europe; and that in other respects they shall be treated according to the stipulations entered into with them.

Answ. Being uncertain of the number to which the Walloon guards amount, and ignorant of the means of transporting them from the colony, it is impossible to fix upon any precise conveyance for them; but the spirit of the request will be conformed to, and 150 or 200 of them shall immediately be removed either to Spain, or to one of its colonies; it being understood that both officers and men are to be considered prisoners of war, and that they are not to

serve against Great Britain until regularly exchanged.

V. That the troops at present under the orders of the governor-general of the colony, shall, on giving up the forts in which they are, march out with the honours of war, and ground their arms on the glacis of the forts, by command from their own officers; and that they shall in other respects be treated with the attention they have deserved by their good conduct and attention to the colony.

Answ. Granted.

VI. The usual honours of war, of firing their guns before they strike their colours, shall be allowed to the men of war in the colony.

Answ. Granted.

VII. In what time is the article relative to private property to be understood?

Answ. On the subject of property it will be right to observe, that the habitations as well as property of individuals will be equally respected, whether they are present in the colony or not; such only being excepted from our protection as are now serving against Great Britain. Property of that description will be put in sequestration, until instructions are received from the British government on that subject. The same rule will be observed towards French proprietors who may be resident in France, or any of its dependencies.

(Signed) Tho. Trigge, lieutenant-general.
H. Seymour, vice-admiral.
Friderici.

London Gazette, October 26.

Downing-street.

Lieutenant-colonel Clinton, aide-de-camp to his royal highness the Duke of York, arrived this morning at the office of the right honourable Henry Dundas, with despatches, of which the following are copies:

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 20.

Sir,

In my late communications I have represented to you the circumstances under which I found it expedient to withdraw the army from its forward position in front of Alkmaar, within that which it at present occupies, and which I trust will have appeared to his majesty sufficient to warrant the measure.

The season of the year, which has already assumed here the aspect of winter, gave me, from day to day, additional reason to apprehend that any attempt towards a prosecution of the campaign in this country could not be attended with decisive advantages, whilst the impossibility of covering the troops in the narrow district of the country in our possession during the winter, and the precarious state of supplies to be expected in that season, added to the conviction I felt that the most advisable measure to be pursued was to remove with the army to England; an operation which, although it might have exposed the army to some loss in its execution, I judged in my mind preferable to any other which could be adopted.

Under this impression, and considering that serious loss might ensue from delay, I have been induced to conclude an armistice, in conjunction with vice-admiral Mitchell, with general Brune, commanding the French and Batavian armies, of which the conditions are enclosed, and which, although they provide for delivering up a large number of prisoners of war, now in our hands, yet I trust will not be thought by his majesty an inadequate compensation for many valuable lives which must have been lost, after the object which has hitherto directed them, no longer promised success; and when the only means which presented themselves of ensuring a secure retreat, were those of resorting to the destructive measure of inundation from the sea, which, as it would have involved the inhabitants of the northern-part of this province in ruin for a series of years, must have been highly repugnant to the feelings, as well as contrary to the character and practice of the British nation.

I rest confident that the motives which I have here detailed will excuse me to his majesty for having acted without waiting for previous instructions from home, and that I shall have the satisfaction of knowing that my conduct in this respect has met with his majesty's gracious approbation.

I am, &c.

Frederick.

The right hon. Henry Dundas, &c. &c. &c.

TRANSLATION.

Articles agreed upon between Major-general Knox, duly authorized by His Royal Highness the Duke of York, Commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian Army, and Citizen Rostollon, General of Brigade and Adjutant-general, duly authorized by Citizen Brune, General and Commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian Army.

Art. I. From the date of this convention all hostilities shall cease between the two armies.

II. The line of demarcation between the said armies shall be the line of their respective out-posts, as they now exist.

III. The continuation of all works, offensive and defensive, shall be suspended on both sides, and no new ones shall be undertaken.

IV. The mounted batteries taken possession of at the Helder, or at other positions within the line now occupied by the combined English and Russian army, shall be restored in the state in which they were taken, or (in case of improvement) in their present state, and all the Dutch artillery taken therein shall be preserved.

V. The combined English and Russian army shall embark as soon as possible, and shall evacuate the territory, coasts, islands, and internal navigation of the Dutch republic, by the 30th of November, 1799, without committing any devastations, by inundations, cutting the dykes, or otherways injuring the sources of navigation.

VI. Any ships of war or other vessels which may arrive with reinforcements for the combined

British and Russian army, shall not land the same, and shall be sent away as soon as possible.

VII. General Brune shall be at liberty to send an officer within the lines of the Zuyp and to the Helder, to report to him the state of the batteries and the progress of the embarkation. His royal highness the Duke of York shall be equally at liberty to send an officer within the French and Batavian lines, to satisfy himself that no new works are carried on on their side. An officer of rank and distinction shall be sent from each army respectively, to guarantee the execution of this convention.

VIII. Eight thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, taken before the present campaign, and now detained in England, shall be restored without conditions, to their respective countries. The proportion and choice of such prisoners for each, to be determined between the two republics. Major-general Knox shall remain with the French army to guarantee the execution of this article.

IX. The cartel agreed upon between the two armies for the exchange of the prisoners, taken during the present campaign, shall continue in full force till it shall be carried into complete execution; and it is farther agreed, that the Dutch admiral de Winter shall be considered as exchanged.

Concluded at Alkmaar, the 18th of October, 1799, by the undersigned general officers, furnished with full powers to this effect.

(Signed) J. Knox, major-general.
Rostollan.

London Gazette, Nov. 16, 1799.

Admiralty Office.

A Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Nelson, K. B. to Evan Nepean, Esq. dated Palermo, 1st October, introduces the following.

Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5.

Sir,

I am to request you will inform their lordships, that I took possession of Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and Tolfa, on the 29th and 30th ultimo, with 200 marines and seamen of the Culloden and Minotaur, and have already embarked and sent off near 3000 of the enemy; I now wait for transports to get off the remainder, which I suppose about 2000 more.

General Bouchard takes possession of Rome at the same time by the same treaty; all public property to be restored; their lordships may rely on every exertion on my part to put the capitulation in full force, and trust I shall succeed.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Trowbridge.

Evan Nepean, esq.

Civita Vecchia, Oct. 5.

Sir,

In obedience to orders from lord Nelson, I have the honour to send you, for their lordships information, a copy of the articles of capitulation I have made with the French general Garnier, to clear the Roman state. As I knew the French had all the valuables of the Roman state packed up ready for embarking, and the coast at Civita Vecchia forming a deep bay, with hard W. S. W. gales and

heavy sea, which prevented the blockade from being so close as was necessary to prevent the enemy from carrying off those truly valuable articles, I therefore thought it best to grant the liberal terms I have, to get them out of this country, where they have committed every excess possible.

I trust what I have done may meet their lordship's approbation.

I beg you to represent to their lordships, that I received every assistance from captain Louis, who went to Rome and arranged the evacuation, and taking possession of that place, with general Bourchard, with great ability and exertion, and much to my satisfaction.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. Trowbridge.

Evan Nepean, esq.

Articles proposed for the Convention between the General of Division Garnier, Commander-in-chief of the French Troops, and those of Italy and other Allies now in the Roman Republic in a State of Siege, and Commodore Trowbridge, commanding his Britannic Majesty's Squadron, lying off Civita Vecchia on the Part of Great Britain and her Allies.

Art. I. Considering that neither the French troops, nor the troops of their allies at Rome, Civita Vecchia, and posts within the jurisdiction of those places, have been regularly besieged by the troops of his Sicilian majesty or those of his allies, his said majesty consents that the troops of France and the Italian or Polonese troops serving with them, as also all persons attached or belonging to those forces, together with their wives and children, shall quit the Roman territory, in order to be sent to France and to the ports of Villa Franca, or Antibes, on board vessels to be provided for that purpose by the commanding officer of the British forces; it is, however, to be understood, that the officers, troops, and other persons, to be so embarked, shall be properly victualled by the English government, during the whole of their voyage, and that the expense attending such victualling shall hereafter be accounted for by the French republic.

Answer. Considering that Civita Vecchia, Corneto, Tolfa, and all the Roman state, under the command of general Garnier, has not been regularly besieged, but blockaded, I will grant to the troops of the respective garrisons to march out of these places with all the honours of war, to have their muskets, swords, and bayonets, and not to be considered as prisoners of war, on their being sent to France or Corsica, as may be most convenient. The French general shall be allowed to take from the public stores at Rome provision for the march to Civita Vecchia.

Proper provisions shall be put on board for the voyage, to be paid for by the government of France hereafter.

II. The troops above-mentioned shall assemble at Civita Vecchia within eight days after the acceptance of the present convention, and remain there under their own guard, with the honours of war, until the arrival or junction of the transports in which they

are to be embarked; and when the number of vessels necessary for that purpose shall be assembled, the said troops shall file off and embark accordingly, with drums beating, colours flying, a lighted match, and two field-pieces, or howitzers, with their appurtenances; and be also allowed to carry away their firelocks, bayonets, side-arms, and cartouch-boxes, together with all the effects belonging to each individual of the said troops, who shall moreover not be considered as prisoners of war.

Answer. The transports are ready. St. Angelo and its dependencies under general Garnier's orders on the other side Tolfa, to be delivered to the regular troops under marshal Bourcard.

The French garrison shall march out with the honours of war, drums beating, colours flying, in forty-eight hours after the capitulation is signed; but no field-pieces or howitzers allowed; only muskets, bayonets, swords, and cartouch-boxes, and not to be considered as prisoners of war.

III. Twenty-four hours after the present convention shall have been signed and accepted, a detachment of 400 men shall land from his Britannic majesty's ships; 100 of whom to be stationed at Civita Vecchia, and afterwards to occupy the hornwork at the Roman gate, conjointly with a like number of French troops; the remaining 300 to march to Rome, accompanied by a French detachment: and, on their arrival at that city, to be put in possession of the gate of Cavallegiere, and the hospitals; at which two places an equal number of French troops shall also be stationed, until the complete evacuation of Rome.

Answer. Civita Vecchia and Corneto to be put in possession of the British troops as soon as possible after the signing these articles as a courier can come from Rome; and the garrison to be embarked and sent to France.

General Bourcard will have directions to give a sufficient guard of regular troops to escort the garrisons of Rome and its dependencies.

IV. The sick, belonging to the French and their allies, not in a condition to be removed, shall be allowed to remain at Rome and Civita Vecchia, and be considered as under the immediate protection of his Britannic majesty and his allies, subject, however, to the domestic superintendance of a French commissary, and be treated and taken care of as heretofore, by their usual medical attendants, &c. who shall be permitted to continue with them at the two places above-mentioned.

Whatever expense may attend the victualling of the said sick shall be reimbursed to the proper persons by the French republic; and on the recovery of the sick they shall be conveyed by sea to the nearest port of France, together with the medical and other persons who may have attended them in the hospitals, and whose presence at Rome or Civita Vecchia may no longer be necessary, after the whole of the sick shall be recovered.

Answer. The sick belonging to the French garrisons shall be assisted by their own surgeons, at the expense of the French repub-

lic, and shall be sent to France when they are well.

V. With a view to the due execution of the preceding article, an assistant shall be appointed to the commissary of war, at Rome, for the purpose of enforcing the French regulations in the different hospitals, and seeing that the sick are treated according thereto; and he shall correspond, as far as relates to these particulars, with the commanding officer of the English troops, and their allies, who may happen to be at Rome or Civita Vecchia. The French general shall nominate an officer to take charge of the depot which may be formed at Civita Vecchia for the convalescents, according as they shall be discharged from the hospitals.

Answer. The general may leave such assistants to the sick as he may think necessary.

VI. The French troops and their allies, leaving Rome for Civita Vecchia, shall be provided with the necessary conveyances for their baggage, as also with a sufficient number of boats for the removal of the sick, who may be judged by the medical people to be in a condition to be sent to the last-mentioned place. The like means of conveyance for the several public accomptants, whether of the troops or civil administrations, such as civil commission, national treasury, civil and military appointments, &c. shall be also provided by the officer commanding the English troops, and their allies, who shall have entered the city of Rome in conformity to the third article of their convention; and he, the said commanding officer, will have regard to the requisitions which shall be made to him by the commissary of war entrusted with the chief management of this service relating to the division of the French army.

Answer. General Bourcard will furnish carts, boats, &c. for the accommodation of the French garrison of St. Angelo and its dependencies, and the baggage that may belong to it. Especial care shall be taken to convey such sick and wounded soldiers as may be in a state to be removed, to Civita Vecchia. In case waggons, &c. cannot be procured immediately, they shall be sent by the first opportunity to France.

VII. The French troops and their allies shall proceed to Civita Vecchia in the course of two days, according to stated marches: they shall set out on the first day for Monteroni, and on the second proceed to their destination; they shall be supplied, from the storehouses at Rome, with the supplies necessary for their subsistence during their march: and the officer commanding the English troops, and their allies, shall provide the means of conveying those supplies.

Answer. Answered before.

VIII. All private property, whether moveable or otherwise, belonging to the French or their allies in the Roman territory, shall be respected, and remain at the disposal of themselves or their agents.

Answer. Private property never molested.

IX. All description of property as well as objects of art, belonging to the French republic, throughout the whole extent of

the Roman republic, shall be also respected; and the French nation have liberty to leave one or more persons at Rome, for the purpose of arranging and preserving the several articles, until the French government shall take such measures relative to this matter as may appear most consistent with the national interests.

Answer. Public property was never before demanded in the long course of service I have seen, of course, wholly inadmissible.—Public property must be given up.

X. The cavalry corps belonging to the French and their allies shall be allowed to return to France by land, taking their horses with them, as also their arms and baggage: they shall be escorted by a detachment of 50 mounted Austrian troops, or their allies, as far as the advanced posts of the nearest French army. All French officers, or the officers of the allies of France, who shall be desirous of following the above-mentioned cavalry corps, with their horses, servants, carriages, and baggage, shall be at liberty to do so, and the necessary lodgings, provisions, and forage for this little column, during its journey, be provided by means of the interposition and good offices of commodore Trowbridge, with the persons in authority belonging to those governments through whose territories the troops may pass.

Answer. Cavalry-horses, being public property, must be delivered up. The remainder of the article inadmissible.

XI. An officer of artillery shall be appointed by each party to draw up a report of the ordnance and other military stores and ammunition remaining in the garrisons of the castle of St. Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Corneto, and the surrounding towers; and an officer of experience shall also be appointed on each side to make a report as to the actual state of the above fortresses, with a view to their surrender, and likewise that of the plans and charts in their dependency.

Answer. Agreed.

XII. Such citizens of Rome and other persons as shall now form, or may have heretofore formed a part of the constituted authorities of the Roman republic; and those also who shall have served the republican cause, by their patriotic works, or taken up arms for that purpose, shall be at liberty to depart with the French troops and on the same terms as they do, or remain in the Roman territory, free from all kind of molestation, on account of their political opinions or avocations, during the time they shall have exercised either their civil or military functions.

Answer. As long as the Romans conduct themselves with propriety, and are obedient to the laws, they will not be molested. Such Romans as choose to embark with the garrisons, have my full leave, taking with them their private property.

XIII. Commodore Trowbridge, on the part of his Britannic majesty and his allies, engages, on the good faith of the English, that no individuals within the Roman territory shall be incommoded or persecuted on account of their opinions; that their persons and

property shall be alike respected; and that they shall moreover be at all times allowed the necessary passports to enable them to leave the Roman territory, with entire liberty to make such a transfer or disposition of their property as they may think fit.

Answer. Answered before.

XIV. Any neutral vessels which may be in the port of Civita Vecchia, shall be allowed to be employed as transports for the conveyance of the troops, and be afterwards permitted to return to their former employments; and vessels belonging to the republics of France and Rome, which may also be at the port above-mentioned, shall be employed in like manner, and not held subject to confiscation as prizes.

Answer. Proper transports are provided.

XV. Two covered vessels (that is, vessels not subject to examination) shall be allowed, and chosen from amongst those above-mentioned, belonging to the French and Roman republics.

Answer. Inadmissible.

XVI. The storehouses of Civita Vecchia shall remain in the possession of the French, until the troops shall be on the point of embarking: and the French general allowed to take therefrom the supplies necessary for the division, passing his word that he will not suffer any waste, nor permit more to be taken away than the army may require.

Answer. As long as the garrison remains, the storehouses may be kept, but no more of any species of provisions to be issued than the usual allowance.

XVII. The French ambassador to the Roman republic shall enjoy, in the most ample manner, the privileges attaching to his character, according to the rights of nations, and be at liberty to leave Rome, and return to France either by land or water, taking with him whatever number of carriages he may judge necessary for his own personal accommodation, and the convenience of the persons attached to the embassy, as well as for the conveyance of their effects and the diplomatic papers. Should the ambassador prefer a conveyance by sea, he shall, together with his effects and those of the persons in his suite, and the archives of the embassy, be conveyed on board an English ship to some of the ports of Villa Franca, Antibes, or Toulon.

In this article are understood to be comprehended the secretary of embassy, the secretaries and other persons attached to the embassy, and people composing the suite of the ambassador. The members of the civil commission from the French republic, residing at Rome; their agents, and persons attached to such commission, shall also be understood as coming within the description of persons comprehended in this article; and they, the said members, shall be at liberty to take away with them the papers appertaining to their commission, together with their own personal effects, and those of the other persons belonging to the said commission.

Answer. A proper English vessel is ready for the reception of the ambassador and his suite, to carry him to France, with the baggage.

Public papers, belonging to the

Roman state, to be delivered to general Bourcard.

No public papers to be taken away which in any shape are belonging to the Roman state.

The agents to be sent to France by sea.

XVIII. The town of Ancona, being under a separate command, shall not be understood as comprehended in the present convention.

Answer. The places to be given up are understood to be those under the command of general Garnier; Ancona is excepted.

XIX. The articles of the present convention shall not be construed as affecting or tending in any respect to prejudice the sovereign rights or independence of the Roman republic.

Answer. Not understood.

XX. In case of any difficulty arising, with respect to the interpretation of the articles of this convention, such articles shall be explained in favour of the French and their allies.

Answer. Agreed.

Done and concluded at a council of war, the 10th Vendemaire, eighth year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) T. Trowbridge.
P. Garnier.

The foregoing treaty was made, concluded, and agreed upon, between us, the above-signed, in order to its having full and entire effect, according to the answers of commodore Trowbridge, placed under the respective articles proposed by general Garnier.

On board the Culloden, the 5th Vendemaire, eighth year of the republic, 20th September, 1799.

(Signed) P. Garnier.
T. Trowbridge.

Additional Articles to the Convention made between General of Division, Garnier, Commander in the Roman Republic in a State of Siege, and Commodore Trowbridge, Commander of his Britannic Majesty's forces before Civita Vecchia.

Art. I. His Britannic majesty's troops shall take possession of the fort and town of Civita Vecchia, the 7th Vendemaire (29th September) in the afternoon. The French troops of the garrison will remain in the barracks, as it will be mentioned hereafter; they will be allowed at the gate of the barracks a guard of honour of their own nation.

The British troops shall take possession of Corneto the 8th Vendemaire (30th September) in the morning; the French troops at Corneto will be at Civita Vecchia the same day, to be placed in the barracks as above. His Sicilian majesty's troops shall take possession of Rome and of fort St. Angelo the 8th Vendemaire (30th September,) two hours after midnight, in a sufficient number, and shall be placed according to the dispositions that may be proposed by general Garnier to general Bourcard, so as to assure the tranquillity of the town, and protect the evacuation of the French. The French shall begin to evacuate Rome the 8th Vendemaire (30th September); a second column shall march out the next day,

and the third, which will be the last, shall set out the day after.

They shall also repair to Monteroni the day after their departure, and the day succeeding they will arrive at Civita Vecchia.

They will take with them in the route 2 field-pieces and 1 howitzer, which they will deliver to the British commodore as soon as they arrive at Civita Vecchia.

Agreed,

II. General Garnier, or for him the French commandant of the city of Rome, agreeably with general Bourcard, shall continue to give the French and the Romans, in the suite of the army, public orders to regulate their evacuation, until the departure of the last French column.

Agreed.

III. The 9th Vendemaire (or the 1st of October,) the French troops in the barracks of Civita Vecchia shall be so embarked, that their barracks may be occupied by the first column coming from Rome, arriving the same evening at Civita Vecchia. This column shall be embarked the next day, to give room in the evening to the second column. This shall embark the 11th Vendemaire (4th October), to make way to the third column, which shall embark the day after their arrival.

The sick shall be embarked the last, and the most commodious vessels shall be kept for them.

Agreed.

On board the Culloden, the 5th Vendemaire, (or 27th September, 1799.)

(Signed) T. Trowbridge.

London Gazette, November 23, 1799.

Downing-street.

A Letter of which the following is a Copy, has been received by Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Alexander Hope, Deputy Adjutant-General from Sir Jas. Pulteney, Bart. by Order of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, transmitted by him to the Right Honourable Henry Dundas, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Swan Cutter, at Sea, November 20.

Sir,

I have from time to time reported to you, for the information of his royal highness the commander-in-chief, the progress which had been made in the embarkation and departure of the British and Russian troops which were left under my command, in the province of North Holland; and I am now happy to acquaint you, that the last of them embarked yesterday morning, when, the wind being fair, the whole of the ships of war and transports remaining in the Texel left that port. Every thing belonging to the army was brought off, excepting a small proportion of damaged provisions, a few waggons, and about 300 draught horses of little value, for which there was no tonnage; of these, the latter alone were saleable, but they bore so small a price, that I thought it better to distribute the whole to the magistrates of the different villages in and near which the army had been cantoned, to be

delivered to any of the inhabitants who might have suffered from the inevitable consequences of war. Several large Dutch Indiamen and other ships, which it was impossible for us to remove in their present state, but which might have been fitted out as ships of war by the enemy, were completely disabled and rendered useless for any farther purpose, through the exertions of a detachment of seamen, under the direction of captain Bovar. The desire of complying most strictly with the articles of the agreement entered into between his royal highness and general Brune, prevented their being blown up, which could not have been done without endangering the navigation of the Nieuve Diep. Vice-admiral Dickson, as well as myself, made it our study to comply in this, as in every other instance, with the articles of agreement, and must do the French general the justice to say, that he seemed actuated by the same spirit. Previous to quitting the Helder, I had, in obedience to his royal highness's instructions, discharged every just demand of the inhabitants of the country which had been occupied by the army; and I was happy to find that very few claims were brought forward beyond those which it was in my power to satisfy. The embarkation of the troops, difficult from the multiplicity of the arrangements required, and sometimes arduous from the state of the weather, was carried on with the utmost zeal and activity by vice-admiral Dickson, and the officers and seamen under his command. I feel particularly indebted to captain Lawford, of his majesty's ship Romney, who was left on shore, and had the immediate direction of the embarkation, for his exertions, and his attention to every branch of his majesty's service, and to captain Woodriffe, principal agent of the transport service, for his great zeal in the execution of the duties of that situation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

James Pulteney.

The hon. col. Hope, adjutant-general, &c.

P. S. Three armed vessels have been left to cruise off the Texel, to give warning to any British ships of our having evacuated the port. It was agreed by the French general, that if any should arrive previous to the expiration of the month, they should, as a matter of course, be allowed to depart.

Supplement to the Account of the Armistice concluded between his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and General Brune, published in the Gazette of the 20th ultimo.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 15.

General,

The late hour at which your letter reached me last night, prevented my sending sooner to Alkmaar major-general Knox, the officer alluded to in my letter of yesterday's date. He is entirely in my confidence, and is fully authorized to treat and conclude with you on the subject respecting which he has received my instructions.

(Signed) Frederick, duke of York,
Commander-in-chief of the com-

bined English and Russian army.

To general Brune, commander-in-chief, &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 15.

By virtue of the authority, and in obedience to the order of his royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army, major-general Knox will have the honour of communicating with general Brune, commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian army, and of stating to him, that in consequence of the difficulties arising from the very unfavourable and unusual state of the weather at this season, we have judged it expedient to re-occupy the position of Zuyp: that in this situation, with cantonments amply adequate to the amount of our forces, having an uninterrupted and certain means of keeping up our communication with England, and masters as we are of the Helder, the Texel, the Zuyder Zee, and the ocean, it depends upon us either to await the period when a favourable change of weather and of circumstances may enable us to renew offensive operations, or to withdraw our army by degrees, and without risk, from this country, retaining possession of such detached points as might be judged most favourable for annoying the enemy, or for securing real advantages to ourselves. In the event of our recurring to this last-mentioned measure, it will become our duty to neglect no means which can contribute to the preservation of the brave troops intrusted to our care; and for this purpose (however distressing, however ruinous to the inhabitants and to the country the alternative may be) we shall be compelled to avail ourselves of those dreadful expedients which it is in our power to adopt. Having perfectly at our disposal the sea-dykes, both towards the ocean and the Zuyder Zee, as well as the interior dykes, we should in that case be reduced to the terrible necessity of inundating the whole country of North Holland, and of adding to this calamity every destructive evil which must necessarily result from an attempt to force or interrupt our retreat.

We should, under such circumstances, also be constrained to make use of the ample means we possess of rendering the navigation of the Zuyder Zee henceforth impracticable, by obstructing the Mars Diep, and destroying the Nieuve Diep; works upon which so many years labour, and such immense sums, have been expended. Our system of carrying on war having on all occasions been governed by the most liberal principles, necessity and the strongest sense of duty could alone induce us to adopt a system repugnant to the sentiments which have ever directed the conduct of the English nation. From these considerations, and from our persuasion that general Brune and the Dutch people must be actuated by similar motives, and equally desirous to prevent an useless effusion of blood, by the amicable arrangement of a point which is, perhaps, the object of both parties, and from our anxiety, in case of a different result, to stand justified to the whole universe, from whatever

destruction may in consequence devolve upon this country; we propose and offer to general Brune, and to the Batavian republic, that the English and Russian troops shall evacuate, before the end of November next, all the coasts, the islands, and the interior navigation of Holland, without committing any act detrimental to the great sources of its navigation, or laying the country under any inundations.

For this purpose, we propose that a suspension of hostilities shall take place until the period above specified: That during this interval we shall remain in full possession of all the points, and of the whole extent of country we occupy at this moment, and that the line of the respective advanced posts shall also be that of separation between the two armies; and that this line shall not, under any pretence, be passed by the troops of either, even in the event of our choosing to retire from any part of our present position, or of our quitting it altogether: That during the above-mentioned interval no interference shall be allowed, nor any objections be started, with respect to the conduct of either of the parties within the limits of their respective possessions; and that all the rights of war (every act of hostility excepted) shall continue mutually in force: That we will grant to the persons and property of the inhabitants of the country occupied by us every protection consistent with discipline, in the circumstances under which we are placed, and all the advantages which the conduct generally observed by British troops entitles them to expect on such an occasion. If these proposals accord with the wishes, and are conformable to the intentions of general Brune, there can be no difficulty whatever in carrying them into execution in three days from the date hereof.

By order of his royal highness the commander-in-chief,
(Signed) H. Taylor, Sec.

The French and Batavian Armies.

Equality. *Liberty.*

Head-quarters, at Alkmaar, the 15th October, the 8th Year of the French Republic.

Brune, General-in-chief, to the Duke of York, Commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian Army.

General,

Major-general Knox, who was instructed to confer with me on your part, upon the subject of a note which he has delivered, signed by your secretary, will communicate my answer contained in an explanatory note.

(Signed) Citizen Brune,
General-in-chief of the combined French and Batavian army.

Head-quarters, at Alkmaar, the 15th October, the 8th Year of the French Republic.

The duke of York, commander-in-chief of the English army, proposes that a cessation of hostilities shall take place, in consequence of the approach of the inclement season. He promises to withdraw from the Batavian ter-

ritory, between the present period and the end of November next, the whole army under his command; and consents that no damage shall be committed, no sluices opened, or dykes broken up, on condition of his retreat not being molested by the French and Batavian army. These motives would not have been brought forward by the duke of York, if he had considered himself possessed of means sufficient for advancing into the country; for in that case he would have had the facility of extending his quarters, of procuring subsistence, and, in short, of placing himself beyond the reach of the inconveniences arising from the unfavourable season. We ought consequently to look to advantages in an arrangement, proportionate to the insufficiency of the forces under his command. The terms proposed by the duke of York contain nothing but what would be the necessary result of a cessation of hostilities. It can scarcely be supposed that the duke of York will cause the dykes to be destroyed, the country to be inundated, and the villages to be burnt, for the mere purpose of committing such acts of violence; as such conduct would be contrary to the laws of war, and must draw upon him the reprobation of all Europe and of his own nation. It appears therefore evident, that the duke of York would confine himself to such measures as might be useful to his own army, or detrimental to ours; but we look upon such accidents as inseparable from a state of war. No object of advantage to us appears therefore to result from the proposals which have been made. Since, however, the sufferings of humanity came under the consideration of the duke of York, general Brune is ready to meet this honourable feeling; and, in doing so, declares that the following stipulations, on which he offers to consent to a suspension of hostilities, are so obviously just, that he cannot depart from them:—

I. The Batavian fleet, which was surrendered to admiral Mitchell by admiral Storey, shall be restored to the Batavian republic with its stores and crews. In case the duke of York shall not be vested with sufficient powers to comply with this article, his royal highness shall engage to obtain from his court an equivalent compensation.

II. Fifteen thousand prisoners of war, French and Batavians, detained in England, shall be unconditionally released and sent home. The mode of selection, and the proportion for each country, to be settled between the governments of the two republics. The Batavian admiral de Winter shall be considered as exchanged. This article shall in no degree prejudice or interfere with the cartel of exchange at present established.

III. The batteries and fort of the Helder shall be restored in the condition in which they were found at the period of the invasion of the English and Russian army. An officer of artillery shall be sent to the Helder by general Brune to see that this article is complied with.

IV. The army under the command of the duke of York shall, within forty-eight hours, evacuate

the position of the Zuyp; its advanced posts shall be withdrawn to the height of Callants-Oog. The French and Batavian army shall preserve the positions it occupies at present, taking up, however, its advanced posts at Petten, Krabendam, Schagen Brug, and Colhorn. It shall have merely a vidette at the height of Callants-Oog.

V. The troops composing the English and Russian army shall be embarked successively, and as speedily as possible. All the British shipping shall quit the Texel, and all the English and Russian troops be withdrawn from the seas, coasts, and islands of the Batavian republic, before the 20th of November next, and shall not damage the great sources of navigation, or occasion any inundation of the country.

VI. All ships of war or other vessels, having on board reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army shall put to sea as soon as possible, without landing the same.

VII. To guarantee the execution of these articles, hostages shall be given by the duke of York, to be selected amongst the officers of rank in his army.

By order of general Brune, commander-in-chief of the combined French and Batavian army.

(Signed) Vevry, Secretary.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 17.

General,

I send back major-general Knox with my answers to the explanatory note which he has delivered to me in your name. He is fully authorized to conclude on my part upon every point which relates to the subject of his mission.

(Signed) Frederick, duke of York,
Commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army.

To gen. Brune, commander-in-chief, &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 17.

His royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army, proposed to general Brune, commander-in-chief of the French and Batavian army, an arrangement equally to the advantage of both parties, originating in his desire to prevent the farther effusion of blood, and to preserve his country from the terrible effects of an inundation, as also from the destruction of the best of its ports, involving the total ruin of the principal channels of its interior navigation and commerce. In answer to which, general Brune observes, that he cannot imagine his royal highness will recur to measures not less revolting to humanity, than repugnant to the character of the British nation, and to the general feeling of all Europe. Devastation or destruction is certainly incompatible with the character and with the uniform conduct of the English nation; and as little does either accord with the disposition of his royal highness the commander-in-chief; but there are duties peremptorily prescribed by the nature of particular situations, the odium of which must fall, not on

those who execute, but on such as render the measure necessary, by rejecting the conditions of a just and honourable agreement. Deeply impressed with what is due to his country on the one hand, and to claims of humanity on the other; persuaded, likewise, that general Brune is equally guided by these sentiments, his royal highness has taken his proposals into consideration, and consents to abide by the agreement as it stands in the answers annexed to the different articles.

Major-general Knox, who is charged therewith, is authorized to sign and conclude this agreement, as well as to arrange any points of detail which may arise out of it. It being the duty of every officer commanding his Britannic majesty's troops to make an exact report of whatever relates to his command, his royal highness the duke of York, will, of course, lay before the British government every communication which has taken place between his royal highness and general Brune.

Articles proposed in the explanatory Note of General Brune.

Answer to Art. I. His royal highness will on no account treat upon this article, the execution of which, it must be evident to both parties, is impossible.

Answer to Art. II. This demand appears to rest upon a supposed loss the combined army must sustain, should its embarkation be resolved upon. It is by no means admitted that such would be the result; but as, in the event of the army's carrying on the campaign during the winter, the loss of a certain number of men must naturally be expected; his royal highness, influenced by this consideration, agrees to promise, in the name of the British government, that 5000 French and Batavian prisoners, the proportion of each to be regulated according to the terms of the article, shall be unconditionally released and sent home. Nothing farther in this article can be agreed to.

Answer to Art. III. The fort and batteries of the Helder will be left, generally considered, in an improved state. None of the Dutch artillery shall be carried away.

Answer to Art. IV. On no account will it be consented that the army shall be withdrawn from the position of the Zuyp, until every preparation requisite to renfler its embarkation easy and complete can be arranged at the Helder. It must be evident, that it cannot be desired that any delay should take place in this respect. No addition shall be made to the works at the Zuyp, and persons properly authorized shall be admitted from time to time to ascertain and report upon this point, for the satisfaction of general Brune; but no armed detachment will be permitted to approach, or to take post, nearer than they already are to our position. It must be farther understood, that, on his part, general Brune will not allow any approaches or offensive preparations to be carried on, and that the French and Batavian army shall remain in the line of advanced posts which it occupies at present, which shall also be the line of separation between the two armies respectively.

Answer to Art. V. The embarkation of the English and Russian troops will take place with all possible expedition; and at this season of the year any unnecessary delay will naturally be avoided as much as possible; but to prevent any difficult or future discussion upon this point, it is proposed, that the suspension of hostilities shall be limited to the end of the month of November next, in order to secure sufficient time for the complete evacuation of the country, which, however, shall be effected sooner, if practicable.

Answer to Art. VI. The ships of war, or other vessels immediately expected with reinforcements for the combined English and Russian army, or which may hereafter be sent, shall not land their troops, but shall put to sea again as soon as possible.

Answer to Art. VII. Hostages shall be reciprocally given, to be selected among the officers of rank of the two armies, to guarantee the execution of this agreement.

By order of his royal highness the duke of York, commander-in-chief of the combined English and Russian army.

(Signed) H. Taylor, sec.

Alkmaar, October 17.

Sir,

I have seen general Brune, and have talked over with him fully all the articles on which I have received his royal highness's instructions. I have found the greatest disposition on the part of general Brune to enter fairly into the subject. In respect to the essential article of the fleet, general Brune has already received a letter from the Dutch directory, to make the delivery of it a *sine qua non*; and I much doubt whether there is any chance of his being brought to give way on this point, at least without some assurance that his royal highness would forward the demand to his court. In respect to the other very essential article of the prisoners, after much conversation, I brought the general to lower his demands to 8000 men, beyond which he cannot recede. Every other point can be amicably settled. I beg his royal highness's orders on these points; and I hope to receive them by noon tomorrow.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. Knox.

To the hon. colonel Hope, adjutant-general, &c.

Head-quarters, Schagen Brug, October 18.

Sir,

His royal highness the commander-in-chief, in his instructions to you of yesterday's date, having declared that every paper or proposal from general Brune, and consequently that relative to the whole Dutch fleet, will of course be regularly transmitted to England, can give no other answer than what you are already empowered to make, viz. "His royal highness will, on no account, treat upon this article; the execution of which, it must be evident to both parties, is impossible." If general Brune expects any thing farther to pass on that

subject, the sooner the negociation is put an end to the better. In regard to the number of prisoners, if every other point is clearly and immediately decided upon, his royal highness may be induced to relax; if not, it is unnecessary to enter farther into the subject; and he directs you to finish the negociation.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) Alexander Hope,
Deputy adjutant-general.

To the hon. major-general Knox, &c.

Alkmaar, October 18, Three P. M.

Sir,

I have received your letter, and have the pleasure to inform you, that every thing is settled to his royal highness's satisfaction; in consequence of which general Brune has given immediate orders to all his posts that all hostilities shall cease, and that no farther work of any kind shall be carried on; he requests his royal highness will be pleased to give similar orders without loss of time, as a report has just been made that some houses have been set on fire on the road leading to Herenhuysen.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) J. Knox.

To the hon. colonel Hope, adjutant-general, &c.

P. S. General Brune has sent off to Amsterdam, to direct that nothing hostile shall be attempted on the part of the flotilla there fitted out; and he begs that similar notice may be sent to admiral Mitchell.

TRIALS.

Trial of Jean Prevot, for the Wilful Murder of Captain Willcox, Commander of the Lady Jane Shore, a Botany Bay Ship.

Jean Prevot, a French boy about eighteen years of age, was indicted at the Old Bailey, Dec. 20, 1799, for that, he on the 1st of August, 1797, on the High Seas, within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty of England, feloniously and of his malice aforethought, did kill and murder James Willcox, Captain of the Lady Jane Shore, Transport.

Upon the prisoner's being put to the bar, he desired, through the medium of a French Interpreter, that his jury might be composed of half Foreigners and half Englishmen. The request had been anticipated, and a sufficient number of Foreigners summoned; but when their names were called over few of them appeared; the Court was kept waiting near two hours, and Messengers were sent to their respective habitations; but some of them were in the country, and others returned for answer, that they were unwell.

Lord Eldon was extremely angry, and intimated his determination to teach those foreigners who were summoned upon juries, and refused or neglected to attend, that the laws of the country were sufficiently competent to punish them, and he wished to have it understood, that persons so conducting themselves were liable to a further punishment than merely having a fine imposed upon them; and he observed, that if ever he witnessed in future a similar instance of

contumacy to the Courts of Justice of the country, he would punish the persons so offending with imprisonment as well as fine.

After a considerable time had elapsed, six foreigners were obtained, and the jury, constituted according to the prisoner's wish, was impannelled.

Dr. Nicholl, the King's Advocate, after some introductory observations upon the heinousness of the crime of murder, briefly stated the circumstances, which were afterwards detailed in evidence.

The first witness called was John Minchin, who deposed that he was the commander of the troops on board the Lady Jane Shore, which was a transport carrying troops and transports to Botany Bay. On the 1st of August 1797, about four in the morning, while the ship lay off Cape Friou, on the coast of Africa, he was disturbed from his sleep by an unusual noise on the deck, when he got up to see what was the matter, he found the hatchway fastened down, and at the same moment saw Captain Willcox, who commanded the ship, lying wounded at the bottom of the ladder; he took him up, and put him into his birth, and on the following day he died. Captain Willcox, before his death, appeared perfectly sensible, and knew that he could not recover of his wounds. The witness had several conversations with him before his death, and learned from him the manner in which he had received his wounds. He said, that upon first hearing the noise on deck, he ran out of his cabin, when he immediately felt the stroke of some sharp weapon, and as he rushed towards the ladder to call the witness, the prisoner Prevot met him and stabbed him with a bayonet. Captain Willcox's wounds which were on the neck and breast, were dressed by the surgeon, and the witness had not the slightest doubt but that those wounds occasioned his death.

As soon as daylight appeared witness saw Prevot who was a mariner on board the ship, standing as a sentinel over the hatchway, armed with a cutlass and pistols, and with the hat of Captain Willcox upon his head. The hatches were kept down by the mutineers, and none of the officers were suffered to come on deck. The body of Captain Willcox was buried out of the cabin window. The witness remained on board for fifteen days after this affair, and during that time the mutiny continued and the prisoner was actively engaged in it. He heard the prisoner say that it was not the first mutiny which he had been concerned in; and in the English language he told an Irishman, one of the mutineers that he was the man who had done for the b—— meaning captain Willcox. The witness with some others were at length put into a boat, and they got into Port St. Pedro, on the Brazil coast: the surgeon was kept on board the ship, and he has not since returned to England.

Robert Welch, an officer on board the Lady Shore at the same time, said that when he endeavoured to go on deck, at the time the mutiny broke out, to see what was the matter, he was prevented by three men standing with bayonets fixed to their firelocks, and

he saw the prisoner standing sentry at a gun which was loaded with broken bottles, and pointed down the hatchway, for the purpose of preventing people from coming up. The remainder of this witness's testimony was the same with that of captain Minchin.

Mr. Fraser was an ensign and on board the Lady Shore at the time in question; when he was permitted to go on deck he saw the prisoner armed and standing sentry at the hatchway. He heard him say that he had killed captain Willcox, and that he was not the first man whom he had assassinated. This witness as well as both the former ones, heard captain Willcox say that he had been stabbed by French Jack, which was the name the prisoner was known by.

The wife of a serjeant and a French sailor who was not engaged in the mutiny, gave a similar testimony, and both heard the prisoner boast of the murder which he had committed.

The evidence for the crown being closed, the prisoner commenced his defence, and through the medium of an interpreter denied the murder, and entered into a long unconnected detail, by which he endeavoured unsuccessfully to prove, that he had been compelled to take a part in the mutiny.

The first witness, captain Minchin, being again called and examined by Lord Eldon, said that the prisoner had voluntarily entered on board the ship at Falmouth previous to her sailing. Most of the French sailors on board the ship were emigrants, who had entered into the service of this country; there were fifteen of them, besides the Prisoner, engaged in the mutiny, with a few English and several Irish.

After a very able charge from Lord Eldon, the jury without retiring found the prisoner *Guilty of Murder*.

Sir William Scott then passed sentence on the prisoner, that he be hanged on Monday, and his body then given to the surgeons for dissection.

The prisoner seemed wholly to disregard the sentence, and laughed in the face of the court as soon as it was pronounced.

Monday December, 13, 1799, between the hours of two and three, he was hanged pursuant to his sentence, and exhibited the same hardened demeanour to the last.

Trial of James Eyres for the wilful Murder of Gabriel Franks.

James Eyres was indicted at the Old Bailey, January 9, 1799, for the wilful murder of Gabriel Franks, on the 16th of October 1798.

The indictment was opened by Mr. Abbott.

The Solicitor-General then rose and stated the particulars of the transaction, which were as follow. On the 16th of October, 1798, between eight and nine o'clock, when the magistrates of the Marine Police Office at Wapping, were engaged in business, the office was attacked in a most violent manner by an outrageous mob throwing stones of large size, breaking doors and windows, and committing so considerable an

outrage, that resistance became absolutely necessary. After some time a pistol was fired from the office, which produced the temporary dispersion of the mob, and the magistrates then left the office with the intention of reading the riot act. This was effected, but during the time that it was being read, one of the officers was slightly wounded, and the mob which had partly retreated coming forward again, a skirmish ensued in which the deceased was shot. The Solicitor-General proceeded to say, that with respect to the prisoner at the bar, it was not pretended that any evidence could be produced, to prove that he had actually discharged the pistol by which Franks was killed, but that he was one of the most active of the rioters, conspicuously engaged in encouraging and promoting the general disturbance. The learned gentleman then proceeded to explain the law, that all those who engage in a design of a riotous and tumultuous nature, which must in all probability lead to consequences which may produce bodily harm to numbers of people and perhaps the death of some, are guilty of murder if death ensues, because it is frequently impossible, in cases of that description, to discover from whom the actual stroke of death comes; but if persons are engaged in one common purpose of aggression and violence, and if one of the persons so engaged does kill a man, the crime of murder attaches not only to the person who actually inflicted the stroke of death, but to all those who were abetting, aiding, and assisting in the riot which produced the unfortunate circumstance.

Henry Lang, clerk to the Marine Police Office deposed, that on the 16th of October, the brother of the prisoner and some others were brought before Mr. Colquhoun, and Mr. Herriot charged with a misdemeanour, for which they were adjudged to pay a penalty of forty shillings. Soon afterwards a great noise was heard in the street, and a riot becoming probable, Mr. Colquhoun ordered some constables to go out, and if they could not succeed in dispersing the tumult to bring in some of the rioters. The mob had by this time attacked the house, and at length destroyed the shutters, broke the window glasses and frames, so that large paving stones came into the office, and when this had lasted some time the witness heard a pistol fired, but he did not know by whom. Shortly after the magistrates went out and the riot act was read by Mr. Colquhoun, which was hardly finished when one of the Police officers came running up with his hand wounded and bleeding. A messenger was then sent to the Volunteer Association to assist the police. Witness could depose no more from his own personal knowledge.

Richard Perry, an officer belonging to the Police Office Wapping, confirmed the deposition of the former witness in every particular. He farther stated, that it was he who fired the pistol from the window of the Police office, in consequence of the large stones which were thrown in, many of them of twenty pounds

weight, endangering his own life and those of the magistrates and other officers. He afterwards saw the flash of a pistol at some distance, which must have been fired by one of the rioters. The deceased Franks was then near him and said, "For God's sake Perry, take care."

Bartholomew Peacock deposed, that he knew the deceased, and hearing on the 16th of October that there was a riot at the Police office, they both with some others went thither. They found there a great mob assembled attacking the house with the most violent shouts, oaths, and execrations. A pistol was fired from the office which shot one of the rioters. One man was particularly active; Franks said, "Take notice of that man while I go and get a cutlass;" he then went towards the office, and the witness remained on the opposite side of the street; about a minute after Franks had left him he heard a pistol fired, and Franks called out that he was shot.

John Webb and Gabriel Butterworth, gave evidence closely resembling that which has been already detailed, the latter witness knew the prisoner and saw him actively engaged in the riot, throwing stones and uttering dreadful execrations.

Elizabeth Forester deposed, that she was going towards the police office at the time of the riot. She had known the prisoner intimately well for a long time. She saw him with some others attacking the Police office, and she heard him swear that "they had not had their vengeance but would have the b——y justices heads off," when the deceased came up, she heard the prisoner call out two or three times, to some one in the mob to fire, Franks then ran off but fell almost immediately. Witness afterwards saw Franks lying wounded in the street.

William Blizard, Esq. Surgeon to the London Hospital, deposed to the nature of the wound of which Franks died. He was in a perfectly collected, calm state of mind, and aware of his approaching end. The witness being a magistrate took the deposition of the deceased which was afterwards forwarded to Mr. Colquhoun.

The prisoner's defence consisted only in a declaration of his innocence, and the depositions of three or four witnesses, who declared the character of Elizabeth Forester to be so notoriously infamous, that she could not be believed upon her oath.

Captain Palmer, three serjeants of the foot guards, and three other witnesses, gave him a good character for humanity, good nature, and peaceable demeanour.

Mr. Gurney who conducted the defence, observed that the prisoner had come forward and voluntarily surrendered himself without any warrant having been taken out for his apprehension.

The Jury found him *Guilty*, and sentence of Death was passed upon him by the Recorder, in the following impressive manner.

James Eyre, prisoner at the bar, you have been charged with the horrid and heinous crime of murder, by your plea you have denied the charge. The Jury

after a very patient and attentive hearing of your own case, and of every circumstance which the humanity of a very learned judge, and the ingenuity of an experienced and able advocate could bring forward in your behalf, have found themselves bound by a duty which they owe to themselves, and which they likewise owe, in a case like the present, to the safety of the country, to pronounce you guilty.

My task is a very painful one indeed, when it compels me to deliver to a fellow creature, the most dreadful intelligence that can perhaps reach the ears of an individual, that his doom is fixed, and that an almost immediate separation of soul and body is the necessary and inevitable consequence of a very profligate act of wickedness. The very learned judges who preside over this tribunal, are satisfied with the verdict of the jury: you must therefore immediately prepare to die for the great crime you have committed. You have prisoner, in breach of the peace, and in open violation of the laws of the land, in the pursuit of a very wicked purpose, namely, the demolition of a house in which the magistrates administered the justice of the country, and the destruction of the magistrates themselves, you have been, I say, the wicked occasion of the loss to society of an innocent individual, I say the wicked occasion of the loss, because all persons who take an active part in a riot, are answerable by the sound policy of our law, for all the dreadful consequences which are most likely, and unfortunately for you, in the late tumult and outrage, did ensue. Prisoner,—In a civilized state of society, nothing promotes the real and solid happiness of the people so much as wholesome laws and an uninterrupted administration of them;—the magistrates therefore who are called into that often painful, but always very honourable service, must of necessity find protection from the outrages of the wicked and the profligate; they must find I say that protection in the strong arm and the just vengeance of the law, a law which I may truly say, is executed in this country with great mercy to individual delinquents, when mercy to individuals does not become cruelty to the public.

My duty calls upon me therefore, however painful the task may be, to declare that in a case like the present, mercy to spare your life, would be to want mercy for the people at large and for the dearest interests of society.—Prisoner, as to your happiness in the world to come, your crime seems to be so very malignant, that the limited understanding of man can scarce conceive it to come within the reach of mercy; the religion however which we profess teaches us, that there are no bounds to the mercies of the Father of all mercies! It may therefore be some consolation to you to learn, that your sufferings of body and of mind at the time of your execution; and the infamy and disgrace attached to a public exposition of your body after death, may in the end, be found the means of expiating your crime, provided you apply at the Throne of mercy for forgiveness with a contrite heart, full confession and

sincere repentance. I now pray God that your sad example may teach others to pause, to consider well before they engage in any illegal act of violence, which tending to the destruction of the lives and properties of others, may before they are at all sensible of their own danger, seal their own destruction, and their own final doom.

I pass now to the sentence which the law pronounces against all offenders of your description; I do award and the court do adjudge, that you James Eyres, the prisoner at the bar, be taken from hence to the place from whence you came, and from thence on Monday next to a place of execution; that there you be hanged by the neck until you are dead, and your body is afterwards to be dissected and anatomized, according to the statute in that case made and provided. Prisoner, the Lord have mercy on your soul!

Prisoner, Amen. I hope he will.

Trial of James Turnbull, for robbing the Mint at the Old Bailey, before Mr. Justice Rooke.

James Turnbull was indicted for assaulting Thomas Finch, and taking from him four bags containing two thousand three hundred and eight guineas.

Mr. Fielding for the crown, after a few explanatory observations of a legal nature, proceeded to state the circumstances of the case as follows.

Gentlemen, it happened on the 20th of last December, that the prisoner at the bar, who is a soldier in the third regiment of guards, with a comrade of his and two other men belonging I believe to the guards, were employed in the press room at the Mint; it being customary in order to carry on the business of coining, to take advantage of those men who are upon the spot, that they may come to turn what is called the fly. You very probably know what that sort of instrument is, requiring a considerable degree of force to impress the likeness upon the coin; the gold being first cast, and then formed into blanks it is delivered by a monier to this gentleman Mr. Finch, in different bags of different quantities, placed by him in a chest where he sits and feeds the dies; and the impressed coin being taken out is put into another place; in this employ was Turnbull on the 20th of December, his comrade, a man of the name of Dalton was present, and it is the custom at the Mint for the persons to go to their breakfast at nine o'clock. Mr. Finch being the immediate superintendant, saw them go as he supposed at the usual hour, but Turnbull and Dalton only retired for a few moments, and when the other men were quite gone, they returned into the room, the former advanced towards Mr. Finch, while Dalton kept the door. Turnbull immediately presented a pistol to Mr. Finch, and demanded the key of the chest, Mr. Finch though extremely surprised made an attempt to sieze the pistol without success, and Turnbull swore that he would instantly shoot him if he did not deliver the key. An elderly gentleman of the name of Chambers, who

was in the room advanced to the assistance of Mr. Finch, but Turnbull, who as you perceive is a very powerful man, ultimately succeeded in forcing both gentlemen into a passage where he confined them while he committed the robbery and immediately made his escape.

The part taken by Dalton was very extraordinary, for although he was apparently leagued with Turnbull, he gave him no aid beyond remaining at the door, and spread an alarm directly after the disappearance of the robber. Soldiers soon ran to the spot, and Mr. Franklin, the immediate superior of Mr. Finch, hearing some disturbance in the press room went thither and released him and Mr. Chambers from the place in which they had been shut up by Turnbull. Every possible step was promptly taken for the apprehension of the offender, who was apprehended at Dover on the 5th of January, by a man to whom he applied to procure him a passage to the coast of France, and who had a description of his person at that moment in his pocket. Upon searching his person more than a thousand guineas were found about him, and he made a full confession of his guilt. Here thus in front of the case will stand his confession, which will be complete evidence, but the evidence of Mr. Finch would be irresistible without that confession. Thus stands this most uncommon, this most audacious, this most intrepid robbery. At present therefore you will hear these circumstances from the witnesses, and I apprehend no doubt can be entertained that it will be your duty to find him guilty.

Mr. Finch was then sworn and examined; after answering several questions he stated that Turnbull presented the pistol, saying twice, "Give me the key" which was lying by his side, witness seized the pistol, but Turnbull immediately wrested it from him repeating his threats. Witness seeing the other man at the door, was struck with terror and made no farther resistance. The prisoner then took the key, unlocked the chest, and took out a bag of guineas which he put under his coat, Witness then was about to rise, but the prisoner turned round and swore that if he stirred he would shoot him. Mr. Chambers who was at breakfast at the farther end of the apartment, now came up with a poker in his hand and said to Turnbull, "Are you mad man? what are you doing? consider what you are about;" the prisoner put the pistol to Mr. Chambers's forehead and shoved him into a passage. While this was about witness made for the door, not then perceiving Dalton at his post, but the prisoner pursued him, brought him back and putting the pistol to his ear, obliged him to go into the same place with Mr. Chambers and locked the door upon them. When they were released, witness found that four bags had been taken from the chest, and part of one of them spilt about; the deficiency amounted to 2308 guineas.

The prisoner's defence was only an echo of his confession, and effectually cleared Dalton, who was he declared in entire igno-

rance of his scheme, and who ran off and gave the alarm as has been stated. He asserted that four respectable housekeepers of London were concerned in the robbery. In the house of one of these people he was concealed for some days previous to his leaving town for Dover. He related the means by which he had been taken into custody at Dover, and concluded by stating that he had been cheated out of ninety-eight pounds of his ill gotten wealth by the captain who engaged to land him on the coast of France.

The evidence having closed, Mr. Justice Rooke addressed the jury upon the arguments advanced by the counsel of the prisoner relative to some legal objections to the wording of the indictments which had they been successful would have cleared the prisoner from the capital part of the charge. Mr. Justice Rooke took a clear and accurate review of these arguments and summed up the evidence. The jury found the prisoner guilty, and Mr. Gurney and Mr. Alley having re-argued the same points in arrest of judgement with the same ill success, sentence of death was passed with the usual forms. The soldiers, who had been accomplices with Turnbull were afterwards tried and found guilty and sentenced to be confined one year in Newgate, and pay a fine of 200*l.* each.

Report of the Committee of Secrecy of the British House of Commons, printed the 15th of March 1799.

The committee of secrecy, to whom the several papers which were presented (sealed up) to the house by Mr. Secretary Dundas, upon the 23d day of January, 1799, by his majesty's command, were referred, and who were directed to examine the matters thereof, and report the same, as they shall appear to them to the house, have proceeded, in obedience to the orders of the house, to the consideration of the matters referred to them. They have been prevented from sooner laying before the house the result of their examination, not only from the extent of the matters which came before them, but because some of the recent circumstances which they have to state, could not, with propriety, have been disclosed at an earlier period.

In the whole course of their inquiry, your committee have found the clearest proofs of a systematic design, long since adopted and acted upon by France, in conjunction with domestic traitors, and pursued up to the present moment with unabated perseverance, to overturn the laws, constitution, and government, and every existing establishment, civil or ecclesiastical, both in Great Britain and Ireland; as well as to dissolve the connection between the two kingdoms, so necessary to the security and prosperity of both.

The chief hope of accomplishing this design has rested on the propagation of those destructive principles which originally produced the French revolution, with all the miseries and calamities since experienced in France, and now extended over a large part of Europe.

The most effectual engine, employed for this purpose, has been

the institution of political societies, of a nature and description before unknown in any country, and inconsistent with public tranquillity, and with the existence of regular government. The effects of this fatal cause, operating in its fullest extent, have been unhappily felt and exemplified in the distractions and calamities of Ireland. The same cause is known to have prepared the way for all the different revolutions by which France has succeeded in subverting so many of the governments of Europe, and reducing so many independent states to vassalage and subjection. In this country similar measures have been attempted; and although they have been hitherto defeated, by the precautions of the legislature, by the vigilance of his majesty's government, and still more by the general good sense and loyalty of the nation, the object is not abandoned. The utmost diligence is still employed in endeavouring, not only to sustain and revive those societies, whose seditious and treasonable purposes long since attracted the notice of parliament, but to extend their correspondence to every part of this kingdom, to Ireland, to France, and to those places on the continent where French emissaries are established; and to institute new societies, formed precisely on the same plan, and directed by the same object, as those whose influence in Ireland has produced such pernicious and formidable effects; and of which, the consequences might have proved fatal to that kingdom, if they had not been averted, in a season of the greatest difficulty, by the wisdom, firmness, and exertion of his majesty's government, and the parliament of Ireland. The extent and uniformity of this systematic conspiracy are equally striking. The formation and structure of all these societies, in this country, in Ireland, and on the continent, are similar; their views and principles are the same, as well as the means which they employ to extend their influence. A continued intercourse and concert has been maintained from their first origin to the present moment; sometimes between the societies themselves, sometimes between their leading members; and a frequent communication has been kept up with the government of France; to which they appear to look as their protector and ally, and which has repeatedly furnished an asylum to those, who, on account of their principal share in these criminal transactions, have become fugitives or outlaws from the British dominions.

In stating the grounds of this opinion, although your committee will have much and important new matter to lay before the house; yet they will also be obliged to recall to the recollection of the house, many particulars which have already been brought under the consideration of parliament, but on which new lights have been thrown by the events which have since occurred, and by the subsequent intelligence which has been received. The information which has been produced to your committee, on the whole of this subject, has been most ample and extensive. The indispensable necessity of secrecy, with respect to the sources of many parts of that intelligence,

must be felt by the house, as resulting from considerations of good faith as well as public safety. They are convinced, that the early and uniform defeat of all attempts to disturb the public tranquillity of this kingdom, is, in a very great degree, to be ascribed to the meritorious and laudable diligence of the persons filling those departments of his majesty's government to which this duty has peculiarly belonged. They appear, during a long period of time, to have obtained early and accurate information of the chief designs and measures of the conspirators; and the striking manner in which the most important particulars of the secret intelligence thus procured, have, in a great variety of instances, been completely confirmed, by events now notorious to the world, and by the confession of parties concerned, entitles, in the opinion of your committee, the whole of the information derived from the same sources, to the fullest credit.

§ 1. *View of the Nature and System of the Society of United Irishmen, as fully established in Ireland.*

Your committee are induced, in the first instance, to state the nature, extent, and influence, of the society of United Irishmen; because this society has proved the most powerful engine, in the hands of the conspirators, against the government of their country, which has ever yet been devised; and because its proceedings place in the clearest view, the real object of all societies of this description, either in Ireland or Great Britain; the peculiar means by which they act; and the extreme danger which such societies must produce, whenever they are fully established. It is this which has given exertion, consistency, solidity, and force to the Irish rebellion; which has enabled the conspirators to form themselves, under the eye and in defiance of government, into one body, compacted by one bond of union, under an oath of fidelity and secrecy; engaging themselves, in the first instance, to misprision of treason, and, successively, to the perpetration of the most atrocious crimes. This society, thus united and combined, extended itself, by its subdivisions, through every part of the kingdom; and was enabled to involve in one general confederacy, a very numerous description of individuals of almost every class, connected with each other by a pledge of secrecy, by consciousness of guilt, and by the sense of personal danger, either from the violated laws of their country, or from the resentment and power of their associates. These bonds of union were strengthened by the use of secret signs, frequently changed and applied to different ranks in the conspiracy, for the purpose of preventing discovery.

The system thus established, gradually acquired the means of disturbing the tranquillity of the country in all its parts; of impeding the execution of justice, by forcible resistance to the authority of the laws; by the protection of accused persons; by the rescue of prisoners, the seizure of arms, and, at length, by the assassination of informers, of wit-

nesses, of magistrates, and of jurymen; till, by the general terror which was diffused, the loyal inhabitants in different counties were successively driven into the towns, or compelled wholly to quit the kingdom. At the head of this extensive conspiracy was placed a committee, terming itself "An Executive Directory," extending its influence and power over the disaffected through every part of the kingdom by "Provincial and Baronial Committees;" through whom, and by the mission of itinerant delegates over the country, an universal correspondence was established between this executive directory and all the subordinate powers and members of this system. An intercourse was maintained, in the name of the whole, with individuals and societies in this country, as well as with the governments of his majesty's enemies; and the conspirators were thus enabled to conceal or display their numbers at will, and consequently to magnify their power, or to hide their weakness; to circulate, with rapidity and effect, the most atrocious calumnies against his majesty's person and government, and against all descriptions and bodies of men whom they thought it their interest to vilify; to raise contributions, extorted frequently from those who had not become members of their union; to procure, disperse, and conceal arms, ammunition, and artillery; to collect military information: and, finally, to raise an army formed of all those among them capable of bearing arms, and placed under the command of officers, in military divisions, corresponding with those established for the general purposes of the conspiracy *.

It is material to state, in detail, the formation of the different branches of this system, in order to compare it with the institutions of a similar nature, which have been since formed in Great Britain, and which will be hereafter mentioned. Each of the inferior societies consisted, according to their original institution, of thirty-six members; which number was afterwards reduced to twelve. These twelve chose a secretary and treasurer; and the secretaries of five of these societies formed what was called a "Lower Baronial Committee;" which had the immediate direction and superintendance of those five societies. From each lower baronial committee, thus constituted, one member was delegated to an "Upper Baronial Committee;" which, in like manner, assumed and exercised the superintendance and direction of the lower baronial committees in the respective counties. The next superior committees were, in populous towns, distinguished by the name of "District Committees;" and in counties, by the name of "County Committees;" and were composed of members delegated by the upper baronial committees, each upper baronial committee delegating one of its members to the district or county committee; and the district or county committee had the superintendance and direction

* See Report of secret committee of house of lords of Ireland, August 17, 1798; an abstract whereof we have given in our Register for 1798. Page * 265.

of the upper baronial committees. Having thus "organized" (as it is termed) the several counties and populous towns, a committee, called a "Subordinate Directory," was erected in each of the four provinces of Ulster, Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, composed of two members or three, according to the extent and population of the districts which they represented; who were delegated to a provincial committee, which held the immediate direction and superintendance of the several county and district committees in each of the four provinces; and a "General Executive Directory," composed of five persons, was elected by the provincial directories; but the election of this directory was so managed, that none but the secretaries of the provincial directories knew on whom the election fell. It was made by ballot, but not reported to the electors; the appointment was notified only to those on whom the election devolved; and the executive directory, thus composed, assumed and exercised the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole body of the union, which, by these secret modes of election, was kept utterly ignorant who were the persons to whom this implicit obedience was paid.

§ *Institution of United Irishmen in* 1791; *and Rise of different Societies in Great Britain.*

For the purpose of obtaining a comprehensive view of the attempts which have been repeatedly made, in the course of the last eight years, for establishing a similar system in this country, and of the means by which they have been hitherto defeated, as well as in order to enable the House to judge fully of the perseverance with which the system is pursued, and of the nature and tendency of the measures which are carrying on at the present moment, your committee deem it necessary, before they advert to more recent transactions, to go back to that period, when societies of this tendency first appeared in both kingdoms, and to trace, as shortly as they can, their progress and intercourse to the present time.

The society of United Irishmen was established in the year 1791; and other societies in Great Britain, particularly the constitutional society (which had long existed, but about this time assumed a new character,) the Corresponding Society, which was instituted in the spring of 1792, and the societies of persons in Scotland terming themselves "The Friends of the People" (which originated at nearly the same period), appear to have adopted, in their fullest extent, all the extravagant and violent principles of the French revolution. The events which followed, in the course of that year and the year 1792, encouraged among the leading members of these societies, and other persons of similar principles, a sanguine hope of introducing into both countries, under pretence of the reform of abuses, what they termed a *new order of things*, founded on the principles of that revolution. The degree of bigotry and enthusiasm with which they attached themselves to these principles, was manifested, as well by the speeches and writings of the members of the societies, as by the zeal with which

they laboured to propagate among the lower classes of the community, a spirit of hatred and contempt for the existing laws and government of the country.

It can hardly be necessary to recall to the recollection of the House, the industry with which they endeavoured to disseminate these sentiments, by the circulation of their own proceedings and resolutions; uniformly directed to vilify the forms and principles of the British constitution; to represent the people of this country as groaning under intolerable oppression; to eradicate all religious principle; and to recommend a recurrence to experiments of desperate innovation, similar to those which were at that time adopted in France. For the same purpose, the works of Paine, and other seditious and impious publications, were distributed, throughout almost every part of the kingdom, with an activity and profusion beyond all former example.

So confident were the societies of the efficacy of these measures, that they appear almost universally to have looked forward from the beginning, to the entire overthrow of every existing establishment in these kingdoms, and to the creation of some democratical form of government; either by uniting the whole of the British empire into one republic, or by dividing it into two or more republics. The conspirators in Ireland, unquestionably, always meditated the complete separation of that country from Great Britain: all, however, considered themselves as engaged in one common cause, as far as related to the destruction of the existing constitution; all looked to the success of the disaffected in each country as forwarding their common views; and each was ready to support the other in any resistance to the lawful government: a frequent intercourse among them was therefore considered as important to their ends; and they all invited, or expected, the countenance and aid of France.

The attempts made in the beginning of this conspiracy to disguise the real objects, under false pretences, which ought at no time to have imposed even on superficial observers, have long since been abandoned. Subsequent transactions have not merely shown the extremes to which the nature and principles of these societies naturally led, but have completely unveiled the original and settled designs of the persons chiefly concerned in them. Your committee beg leave, in this place, to refer the House to his Majesty's proclamation* of the year 1792,

* Proclamation and Addresses ..... 1792.
Lords Report ..... 1794.
Commons Report ..... May 1794.
Do. do. ..... June 1794.
Irish Lords Reports ..... 1798.
—— Commons do. ..... 1798.
Trial of Muir, Skirving, Margarot, Gerald, Palmer, and others, for sedition in Scotland, in ..... 1793 and 1794.
—— of Watt and Downie, for treason in Scotland, in ..... 1794.
—— of Hardy and others, for treason, in ..... 1794.
—— of Redhead, alias Yorke, for sedition, in ..... 1795.
—— of Stone, for treason, in ..... 1796.

and the several addresses of both Houses of parliament thereupon; to the reports of the committees of parliament in this kingdom and in Ireland; and to the different trials for treason and sedition in both kingdoms: and they are confident, that an attentive examination of those documents can leave no doubt in the opinion of the House (even on the circumstances known at that early period,) respecting the real nature and extent of the original conspiracy.

§ 3. *First open Attempt in Scotland.*

The groundwork having been thus laid in each kingdom, the first public attempt which was openly directed to the object of overthrowing the government, and effecting a revolution, was made in Scotland, under circumstances which even then evidently marked the connection between the disaffected throughout his Majesty's dominions. An assembly, styling itself "A General Convention of Delegates from the Societies of the Friends of the People throughout Scotland," met at Edinburgh, on the 11th of December, 1792. Thomas Muir, a leading member of this assembly, endeavoured to prevail upon its members, at one of their meetings, to receive and answer a paper, intituled, "An Address from the Society of United Irishmen, in Dublin, to the delegates for promoting a Reform in Scotland," dated the 23d of November, 1792, and set forth in the Appendix (No. 1.); in which the United Irish address the Scotch delegates in what they term "the spirit of civic union in the fellowship of a just and common cause;" and rejoiced, "that the Scotch did not consider themselves as merged and melted down into another country;" but that in the great national question to which the address alluded, "they were still Scotland." They added, "that the cause of the United Irish was also the cause of the Scotch delegates;" that "Universal Emancipation, with *Representative Legislature*, was the polar principle which guided the Society of United Irishmen;" that their end was "a national legislature, their means, an union of the whole people." And they recommended assembling the people in each county in (what they term) "peaceable and constitutional convention;" the object of which they attempted to disguise by the pretence of reform and petition to parliament. Several members of the Scotch convention appear to have been alarmed at the language of this address, and, notwithstanding the efforts of Muir, no answer was sent; and the meeting adjourned to April, 1793. The conduct of Muir in this assembly, formed part of the charge of sedition upon which he was afterwards tried and found guilty. His zeal, however, recommended him to the conspirators in Ireland; and on the 11th of January, 1793, he became a member of the Society of the United Irishmen, of Dublin.

He was absent in France at the time of the second meeting of the Scotch Convention, which assembled in April, 1793, and again adjourned itself to the 29th October following, when it met a third time at Edinburgh, after the trial of Muir, who was convicted and

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sentenced to transportation in August, 1793. It is well known that he afterwards escaped from the place of his transportation, and has recently resided in France, pursuing a conduct marked by the most inveterate hostility to his country.

This meeting* of the Scotch convention in October, 1793, appears to have been held in concert with several societies in England, and particularly the Constitutional Society and the London Corresponding Society, already mentioned. These societies afterwards sent delegates to the Scotch convention; the terms of whose instructions demonstrate the dangerous views of those who sent them.

Hamilton Rowan, a member of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin (now a fugitive from Ireland, and attainted of high treason), and the honourable Simon Butler) likewise a member of the Society of United Irishmen), attended this meeting; and Hamilton Rowan had previously been solicited, by letter from Scotland, on the subject of sending delegates from Ireland to the Convention. It does not appear, however, that these persons bore the distinct character of delegates, but they were received with marked attention; and the Convention resolved, on the 5th November, 1793, "that any of the members of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin should be admitted to speak and vote in the Convention." On the 22d of November, 1793, the Convention had changed its title to that of "The British Convention of Delegates of the People, associated to obtain Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments." They assumed in almost every particular, the style and mode of proceeding adopted by the National Convention of France: they divided themselves into "Sections, Committees of Organization, Instruction, Finance, and Secrecy;" granted honours of sitting; made honourable mention in their minutes of patriotic donations; entered their minutes "in the first year of the British Convention;" instituted "Primary Societies, Provisional Assemblies and Departments;" received from their sections a variety of motions and reports, some of which, in their studied affection of French phrases, had the words "*Vive la Convention*," prefixed to them, and ended with "*Ca Ira*:" and some were dated "first year of the British Convention, one and indivisible."

The views of this dangerous assembly appear from the minutes of their proceedings, and from the correspondence of Skirving, their Secretary, Margarot and Gerald, the delegates of the London Corresponding Society, and Hardy, the Secretary of that Society; which are stated in the Report of the Committee of this House in 1794, and in the Appendix to that report, and were given in evidence on the trials above referred to.

It is observable upon the face of these minutes, that the funds of this Convention were extremely low; so low, that perhaps at first sight the assembly itself may appear to have been rather an object of contempt, from the apparent

* Report of the Secret Committee of the House of Commons, June, 1794.

inadequacy of its pecuniary means than an object of alarm, from the dangerous extravagance of its revolutionary designs. It is happy for the peace of this country, that the means of these societies, in their different shapes and stages, have not been more equal to such designs. But the recent proceedings in Ireland too plainly show, that though the want of money may retard the progress, and cripple the exertions of such conspiracies, yet numbers thus leagued together for the total subversion of the government and constitution of a country possess means which (if not seasonably counteracted) may introduce scenes of the most horrid confusion, rebellion, and blood.

This Convention continued to hold its meetings in the city of Edinburgh until the 4th of December, 1793; when its objects evidently tending towards open rebellion, some of the leading members were arrested, together with Skirving, their secretary; and Skirving, Margarot, and Gerald, were afterwards tried in Scotland for sedition, and sentenced to transportation. The members of this Convention, notwithstanding the arrest of some of their body, assembled again on the 5th of December, and refused to disperse till compelled by the magistrates; but they continued for some time to meet privately, in different societies, and to carry on a secret correspondence with various parts of England and Scotland.

The Society of United Irishmen of Dublin, who had already shown the interest they took in the meeting of this Convention, appear (as was to be expected,) to have considered its dispersion as hostile to their views, and declared their sentiments, by a resolution of the 20th December, 1793; in which, after noticing what they called "the oppressive attempt in Edinburgh to stifle the voice of the people through the British Convention, and the truly patriotic resistance to that attempt," they resolved, "That all, or any of the members of the British Convention, and the Patriotic Societies which delegated members to that Convention, should be received as brothers and members of their society."

§ 4. *Attempts to assemble a Convention of the People in England.*

The leading English Societies, which have been already stated to have sent delegates to the Scotch Convention, had, during its sittings, and for a considerable time previous thereto, been actively employed in measures directed to similar objects. For the purpose of promoting their seditious projects, they had carried on a constant correspondence with all the numerous country societies, which had been formed in many populous towns in different parts of the kingdom. They had, as early as in May, 1792, presented an address, sufficiently expressive of their principles, to those whom they styled "the friends of the constitution at Paris, known by the name of Jacobins." In the end of the same year, after receiving a letter of approbation from persons calling themselves "Friends of Liberty and Equality in France," they instituted a regular Committee of Foreign Correspondence;

and they had even proceeded to present addresses to the National Convention in France, which had then assumed the whole legislative and executive power, and was assembled for the purpose of framing a new constitution, and proceeding to the trial of the King. In one of these addresses, (particularly noticed in the report of 1794, but which your committee think it material again to advert to,) they styled the Convention "Servants of a Sovereign People, and Benefactors of Mankind."—They rejoice that the Revolution had arrived at that point of perfection which enabled them to address them by such a title. They extol the proceedings of the 10th of August, as a glorious victory, and add, "*The benefits will in part be ours*, but the glory will be all your own; and it is the reward of your perseverance, the prize of virtue." In January following, at the eve of the murder of the French King, and of the commencement of hostilities against this country, Barrere, Roland, and St. André, active members of the French Convention, had been elected honorary members of the Constitutional Society: and two speeches, made by Barrere and St. André, delivered for the express purpose of accelerating the condemnation and execution of the King, asserting the doctrines of the sovereignty of the people, and deducing, as its consequence, the unlimited rights of a National Convention, and the personal responsibility of the monarch, were entered on the books of the Constitutional Society; and the resolution for this purpose was published in the newspapers. Actuated by these principles, the English societies persevered in their design; and notwithstanding the dispersion of the meeting at Edinburgh, which had assumed the appellation of "the British Convention," proceeded on a plan which they had long had in contemplation, for assembling in England a similar, but more extensive meeting, under the appellation of "a Convention of the People."

At a general meeting of the corresponding society, held at the Globe Tavern, on the 20th January, 1794, a resolution and address to the people of England were agreed to, and ordered to be published, expressly directed to the object of assembling a general convention of the people.

At another general meeting of the same society, held at Chalk Farm, on the 14th of April, 1794, among a variety of inflammatory resolutions, they declared, that the whole proceedings of the late British convention, at Edinburgh, claimed their approbation and applause. They, at the same time, returned thanks to Archibald Hamilton Rowan, prisoner in Newgate, in the city of Dublin, (who had, in March, 1794, been chosen an honorary member of the constitutional society), as well as to the society of United Irishmen in Dublin, whom they exhorted to persevere in their exertions to obtain justice for the people of Ireland. The language held on different occasions evidently showed their intention of endeavouring to establish, by force, the authority of such a convention. They exhorted each other "to prepare courageously for the struggle which they meditated;" and

openly avowed that they meant to obtain the redress, which they professed to seek, "not from parliament, nor from the executive government, but from themselves, and from their own strength and valour; from their own laws, and not from the laws of those whom they termed 'plunderers, enemies, and oppressors.' For the purpose of assembling such a convention, and of preparing the people at large to look to its proceedings with respect, and to adopt and countenance the doctrine and practices which it might recommend, itinerant members of the societies above mentioned dispersed themselves throughout different parts of the country, proceeding from town to town, and from village to village, endeavouring to inculcate into the minds of those with whom they conversed, the necessity of such a measure as that which they had in contemplation, for the reform of the abuses of the government, and the redress of the grievances of the people; and describing, in language varied according to the passions or prejudices of different classes whom they addressed, the nature and extent of the different political purposes which might be effected by a convention once assembled. The dispersion of Paine's works, and other works of a similar tendency, was at the same time continued with increased industry; and the societies flattered themselves that they had, by these means really made a progress towards preparing a large portion of the nation to favour their project.

The zeal, indeed, of many of the country societies appears to have outrun the instructions of the agents, and to have carried them into discussions beyond those limits which the persons who planned and instigated the measure thought it prudent in the first instance, to prescribe. The agents were instructed to confine the views of the several societies to whom they were deputed, and to point the wishes of individuals purely to the attainment of universal suffrage, from which, once established, it was represented that all the reforms which could be desired would naturally flow; and it appeared to have been the design of those who directed the business to prevent the premature discussion of any of those points, which they represented as subordinate, until after the convention should have been assembled, and this primary object of universal suffrage obtained. No caution or prohibition, however, could prevent many of the country societies from showing how confidently they anticipated, as the result to which the deliberations of that convention must necessarily lead, the abolition of monarchy, of aristocracy, and of other establishments, which they deemed equally oppressive; and the substitution of a representative government, founded on the new doctrine of the rights of man; and uniting, in one body, all the legislative and executive powers of the state.

This intended convention was prevented from assembling by the arrest of the secretaries, and of several members of the two societies, called "the London corresponding Society," and "the Constitutional Society." The secretaries and leading members of the societies at Sheffield and Norwich

(which, together with several other subordinate societies in different parts of the kingdom, were in constant correspondence with them) were also taken into custody. The attention of parliament was at this period directed to these proceedings; and in consequence of the evidence then laid before a secret committee of this house, the power of detaining suspected persons was intrusted to his majesty.

The subsequent proceedings are sufficiently known. Some of the persons so arrested were prosecuted for high treason. A grand jury for the County of Middlesex found a bill against Thomas Hardy, the secretary of the London corresponding society, and eleven others. Three of the persons so indicted, viz. Thomas Hardy, John Horne Tooke, and John Thelwall, were tried, and on their trials were acquitted of the charge in the indictment. But the evidence given on those trials established, in the clearest manner, the grounds on which the committees of the two houses of parliament had formed their reports in 1794, and shewed, beyond a possibility of doubt, that the views of these persons and their confederates were, in their nature, completely hostile to the existing government and constitution of this kingdom, and went directly to the subversion of every established and legitimate authority.

After these acquittals, Henry Redhead, *alias* Yorke, who had been committed, at the same time, on a charge of high treason, was brought to trial at York, in July, 1795, upon an indictment for a seditious conspiracy; in which Joseph Gale, the printer of a newspaper, at Sheffield, and Richard Davison, of Sheffield, both of whom had fled from justice, were included. Upon the trial of Yorke, on this indictment, he was found guilty, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

§ 5. *Farther Proceedings subsequent to the Arrests in* 1794.

The disclosures made upon these trials, the detentions already mentioned, and the powers vested in government, by the "act to empower his majesty to secure and detain such persons as his majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his person and government," which received the royal assent on the 23d of May, 1794; broke for a time all the measures which had been concerted by the disaffected, and obliged them to proceed with more caution and reserve. But they never appear for a moment to have relinquished their original design; and the nature and constitution of the correspouding society (which still subsisted) peculiarly qualified it secretly to continue its machinations, and to extend and diffuse its pernicious principles among the lower orders of the people. The plan of this constitution, as originally proposed, not having been stated in the reports before referred to, is inserted in the Appendix *. It is evident, that the overthrow of every part of the government and constitution of this kingdom was in the immediate contemplation of those by whom this plan was formed; and that

* This Appendix is not printed.

it was contrived with the view of being applied to the most extensive purposes, if they had succeeded in that object, and of enabling the conspirators, after the overthrow of the existing government, to usurp and exercise an uncontrouled authority over the whole kingdom. It does not appear that this plan was ever formally adopted; but so much of it as led to the establishment of a secret system of direction, resembling that of the United Irishmen, was agreed to, and reduced to practice.

Not contented with employing these means gradually to extend their influence through different parts of the kingdom, the leading members of these societies, shortly before the opening of the session of parliament, in October 1795, called together an unlawful meeting, in a field near the metropolis, evidently with a view of trying the temper of the populace. Under the pretence of "debates," language of the most seditious and inflammatory nature was held to a large multitude, whom curiosity or other motives, had assembled there, and the most daring libels were uttered against every part of the constitution of these realms.

The public tranquillity appears to your committee to have been greatly endangered by this step; so exactly resembling that which fifteen years before had nearly led to the destruction of the metropolis: and your committee are decidedly of opinion, that the shameful and highly criminal outrages which soon after took place, on the first day of the session, are, in a great degree, to be ascribed to the influence of these inflammatory proceedings, and of this public and open violation of the laws. It is not without regret that your committee feel themselves obliged to recall to the recollection of the house, the horrid and sacrilegious attempt against his majesty's person, with which those outrages were accompanied.

This alarming proof of the dreadful and desperate consequences, which meetings and proceedings of such a description naturally tend to produce, made a deep impression on the mind of the public, and necessarily engaged the attention of parliament. On a full consideration of all the circumstances, the legislature, by salutary laws, strengthened the authority of the magistrate, for the repression of sedition and tumult; provided fresh checks against meetings of adangerous tendency, and of a description unknown in the history and constitution of this country, increased the penalties of obstinate and repeated guilt, and added a fresh safeguard to the sacred person of his majesty.

One of the immediate effects of these measures was to put a stop to a practice which had too long been suffered in the metropolis, to the disgrace of all order and government—the open and regular delivery of public lectures, inculcating the doctrines of sedition and treason; inciting the hearers to follow the example of France, and animating them to the commission of the most atrocious crimes. This practice has not since been revived in the same shape; but many of the debating societies which subsist at the pre-

sent time appear to your committee to be, in a great measure, directed to the same pernicious objects, and to require farther animadversion and correction. Some check was also given to the licentiousness of the press, which had, till then, been in a great measure unrestrained. That licentiousness has furnished, in every part of Europe, one of the most dangerous instruments in the hands of conspirators. The industry with which every species of inflammatory and seditious libels had been disseminated, applying to the various passions and prejudices of every class of society, but particularly of that which is the least informed, and therefore the most open to seduction, is an unaswerable proof both of the extent and of the zeal of the conspiracy in this country.

After the passing of these bills, the London corresponding societies sent their delegates into the country, to point out the method of evading them, and for the purpose of feeling the disposition of the people. Two persons, in this character, John Binns and John Gale Jones, were sent, by the London Corresponding Society, to Birmingham, where they were arrested. They were found addressing a meeting of persons in that town. Upon the person of Jones were found two papers; one a letter of credence from the society, signed by John Astley, their secretary, introducing Binns and Jones as their accredited delegates; and the other, the instruction of the society for the conduct of these delegates; both which papers your committee have inserted in the Appendix (Nos. 3 and 4); they wish particularly to notice, that after directions given to the delegates, to persuade the people whom they were to address, that the sole object of the society was parliamentary reform, and that the bills last referred to need not prevent their continuing to meet, the 7th article of the instructions is in these words: "The design of the above article is to remove misapprehensions relative to the safety of our association under the existing laws. This part of your mision being effected, you are to strain every power of your mind to awaken the sleeping spirit of liberty; you are to call upon our fellow citizens to be ready with us, to pursue our common object, if it must be, to the scaffold, or rather, (if our enemies are desperate enough to bar up every avenue to inquiry and discussion) to the field, at the hazard of extermination; convinced that no temper less decided than this will suffice to regain liberty from a bold usurping faction. But, to the end that we may succeed, by the irresistible voice of the people, you are to excite in every society the desire which animates our bosoms, to embrace the nation as brethren, and the resolution to bear every repulse from passion and prejudice which fails to deprive us of the sure grounds of argument." And in the 13th article are the following expressions:

"In a word, you are always to reflect, that you are wrestling with the enemies of the human race, not for yourselves merely, for you may not see the full day of liberty, but for the child hanging at the breast; and that the

question, whether the next generation shall be free or not, may greatly depend on the wisdom and integrity of your conduct in the generous missions which you and your fellow-deputies now take upon yourselves."

Notwithstanding this disposition to resist and evade the effect of these bills, yet the seasonable and effectual check thus, for a second time, given to the progress of sedition and treason, averted immediate danger; and if it did not extinguish the hopes of the conspirators, at least deterred them from the public avowal and pursuit of their projects. But the attempt to poison the minds of the lower orders of the people, and to prepare the means, which might be resorted to on any favourable occasion, was pursued with unabated perseverance.

During the remainder of the year 1796, the system continued to operate silently and secretly; but, in the beginning of the following year, its contagious influence was found to have extended to a quarter where it was the least to be suspected, and produced effects which suddenly threatened the dearest interests and immediate safety of the country with the most imminent danger.

The mutiny, which took place in the fleet, if considered in all its circumstances, will be traced to an intimate connection with the principles and practices described by your committee, and furnishes the most alarming proof of the efficacy of those plans of secrecy and concert, so often referred to, and of the facility with which they are applied for inflaming and heightening discontent (from whatever cause it proceeds), and for converting what might otherwise produce only a hasty and inconsiderate breach of subordination and discipline, into the most settled and systematic treason and rebellion. These principles and this concert could alone have produced the wide extent of the mutiny, and the uniformity of its operation in so many and such distant quarters. The persons principally engaged in it, even in its early stages, were many of them United Irishmen. The mutineers were bound by secret oaths to the perpetration of the greatest crimes. An attempt was made to give to the ships in mutiny the name of "The Floating Republic," and this attempt was countenanced both by papers published in France, and by a paper here, called "The Courier," which has, on many occasions, appeared almost equally devoted to the French cause. In some instances, a disposition was manifested to direct the efforts of the mutineers to the object of compelling the government of this country to conclude a peace with the foreign enemy; and they at length even meditated betraying the ships of his majesty into the hands of that enemy. All these circumstances combine to impress your committee with a firm persuasion that whatever were the pretences and misrepresentations employed to seduce from their duty a brave and loyal body of men; yet a spirit, in itself so repugnant to the habits and dispositions of British sailors, must have had its origin in those principles of foreign growth which the societies of the conspirators have industri-

ously introduced into this country, and which they have incessantly laboured to disseminate among all descriptions of men; but especially among those whose fidelity and steadiness is most important to the public safety. A striking instance of the desperate extent to which these principles were carried appears in the proceedings of a court martial, held in the month of June, 1797, an abstract of which your committee have thought it right to insert in the Appendix, (No. 17). The opinion stated by your committee will be still more confirmed by the repeated and atrocious attempts (bearing still more evidently the character of those principles in which they originated), which have been made in a great number of instances since the general mutiny was suppressed; and of which it will be necessary for your committee hereafter to take notice. At the period now referred to, these systematic attempts, made to seduce both the sailors and soldiers from their duty and allegiance, to incite them to mutiny, and to engage them in plans for the subversion of government, had become so apparent and frequent as to attract the immediate notice of the legislature. Among these attempts, that one, made by a person of the name of Fellows, convicted at Maidstone, in July, 1797, deserves particular attention. The seditious hand-bill, which he was proved to have distributed among the soldiers, is inserted in the Appendix (No. 5); and it appears from a letter (also there inserted), No. 6, written by him to Evans and Bone, two of the most active members of the London Corresponding Society, and who have successively filled the office of secretary to that society, shortly before his arrest, that he had gone to Maidstone, for the purpose of circulating seditious papers, as well as of making reports of the society at Maidstone.

In consequence of the prevalence of these dangerous practices, two acts of parliament were passed in the year 1797 *; one inflicting severe penalties on any person guilty of inciting any of his majesty's forces by sea or land to mutiny; the other for more effectually preventing the administering or taking of unlawful oaths. The propriety and necessity of both these acts was farther evinced shortly after. A person of the name of Fuller, (who was detected, two days after the passing the first act, in attempting to seduce a soldier belonging to the Coldstream regiment of guards,) was found guilty, at the following sessions of the Old Bailey, and sentenced to death; and one Charles Radcliffe, prosecuted under the second act, at the last court of session, held for the county palatine of Chester, was found guilty of administering the oath or test of the society of United Irishmen. The paper found upon Fuller, and which formed the chief ground of his conviction, is inserted in the Appendix, (No. 7), and deserves particular attention.

Your committee have thus traced the chief transactions

* 37 Geo. III. c. 70. 37 Geo. III. c. 123.

which took place in this country connected with the general design of the conspiracy, nearly to the period when its effects were manifested in their most dreadful and formidable shape in Ireland, by the atrocious and unexampled rebellion, which broke out in the beginning of the last summer. About this time, either with a view to that very rebellion, or in consequence of it, the societies in this country entered into still closer connection with the society of United Irishmen, and assumed a shape, more similar than before, to that extraordinary combination, the nature and effects of which have been already fully described. It will therefore be necessary for your committee, in this place, shortly to review the progress of this society, and of the steps by which it gradually prepared the way for all the recent miseries and calamities which have been experienced in Ireland.

§ 6. *Progress of the Society of United Irishmen, in Ireland, till the Period of the Rebellion; its Intercourse with France, and with the leading Members of Societies in this Country.*

The transactions of the conspirators in that country are so fully detailed, in the different reports of the two houses of the Irish parliament, that your committee do not think it necessary to state them at length; and will only call the attention of the house to such parts of them as prove, from the subsequent conduct of the conspirators, the falsehood of the early pretences, by which they attempted to disguise their real views, as well as the intercourse kept up by them with the French directory, chiefly through England, and the communication between leading members of the society of United Irishmen, and those of similar societies in Great Britain.

As early as in the year 1793, hopes and expectations were held out of French assistance; prayers were publicly offered up at Belfast, from the pulpit, for the success of the French arms; military associations were entered into without any legal authority; and repeated attempts were made to seduce the soldiery from their duty.

In February, 1794, Jackson, an Irish clergyman, passed from France through England, into Ireland, for the purpose of carrying on a treasonable correspondence, with a view to an invasion of both kingdoms. He was particularly recommended to some of the leading members of the English societies; and he transmitted to the French government, both from London and from Dublin, papers on the subject of his mission, which had been previously communicated to other persons in each kingdom *.

In April, 1794, he had many confidential conversations, at Dublin, on this subject, with Hamilton Rowan, a leader of the United Irishmen, before-mentioned, who was then in prison, and since his escape has been attainted for high treason; with Wolfe Tone, also a leading member of

* Vide Jackson and Stone's Trial, and Report of Commons in Ireland.

the same society, who was lately taken on board the French ship, the Hoche, in the actual attempt to invade Ireland; and with Lewins, now the resident envoy from the United Irish at Paris.

Although the trials of Jackson and Stone, and the arrest and flight of Hamilton Rowan and Tone, checked these projects for a time, the society of United Irishmen pursued their measures with unabating activity. The government of Ireland acquired information respecting the conduct of particular persons, whom they had even at that time sufficient ground to consider as chiefly engaged in this treasonable conspiracy; particularly Lewins, above referred to; Henry and John Sheares, since convicted of high treason, and executed; Oliver Bond, and Wolfe Tone, convicted of the same crime, and both since dead, the latter by his own hands, to escape the punishment due to his crimes; lord Edward Fitzgerald, who died in prison in consequence of the wounds he received in resisting the officers of justice, and has been since attainted of high treason; and Arthur O'Connor, M'Nevin, and Emmet, whose individual guilt, as well as that of the whole conspiracy, is sufficiently proved by their own confessions.

It is stated, in the confessions of the three persons last named, that the first communication, which came to their knowledge, between the Irish and the French directories, was an offer made by the latter, in the year 1796, to send a French army to Ireland, to the assistance of the republicans. But the committee of the house of lords, in Ireland, have stated it as their opinion, that Lewins had been despatched to France, in the summer of 1795, to request this assistance; and your committee are convinced, from secret intelligence which has been laid before them, that this opinion was well founded.

The invasion of Ireland, which was attempted in December, 1796, was arranged at an interview, which took place on the frontier of France, between lord Edward Fitzgerald, Arthur O'Connor, and general Hoche, in the summer of that year. After the failure of this attempt, the solicitations of the Irish directory were renewed; a proposal, which arrived from France early in 1797, was accepted, and an answer transmitted, through England, by the means of Arthur O'Connor; Lewins was despatched to Paris, in April, and M'Nevin in June. Both were employed in urging the invasion of Ireland, and in counteracting the negociation for peace with the French republic, which his Majesty's minister was then carrying on at Lisle. A conference was held in the same summer, in London, between lord Edward Fitzgerald and a French agent, who came from Hamburgh, in which farther arrangements were made for the intended invasion.

The arrest of several persons in Ireland, and the flight of others; and the memorable defeat, by lord Duncan, of the fleet intended to protect the expedition fitted out from Holland, again disconcerted the projects of the conspirators. After this event the French government appears to have repeat-

edly urged the leaders of the Irish Union to immediate insurrection; but the more cautious among them were unwilling to act, until the French should actually have landed; and their opinion for a time prevailed.

The correspondence was in the mean time continued: the projects of rebellion and invasion were ripening; and at this period the hopes of the Irish conspirators derived fresh encouragement from reports of the progress of new societies in Great Britain, formed on the same plan with themselves. A regular communication was kept up between the Irish and English committees, through Arthur O'Connor, who had come from Ireland to England, early in January, 1798; and in the reports transmitted by the English societies to Ireland, the force of the United Englishmen (a society which had been recently formed on the model of the United Irish, and of which a more particular account will be given hereafter) was represented to be considerable, though your committee have reason to believe that there was much exaggeration in these reports. Arthur O'Connor *, in a letter to his brother, dated London, 13th February, 1798, and seized in lord Edward Fitzgerald's apartments, at Leinster-house, states, "That Scotland is Irish all over—that the people here give no opinion, though it is easy to learn they look for a change."

At a provincial meeting in Ireland, held on the 1st of February, 1798, it was stated to the meeting, by a person just arrived from Dublin, that "the French were going on with the expedition, and that it was in a greater state of forwardness than was expected; but what was more flattering, three delegates had been sent from the United Britons to the Irish national committee, and from that moment the Irish were to consider England, Scotland, and Ireland, all as one people, acting for one common cause." An address was at the same time produced, which it was stated the delegates of Britain had brought with them to the Irish national committee. It was also stated, that the priest, O'Coigly, was one of the delegates mentioned to have been then lately returned from France; and it was added, that he, and another priest, who had fled from Ireland, were the principal persons who had opened the communications with the United Britons.

At another provincial meeting, held on the 27th of February, 1798, it appears to have been stated, "that a delegate had arrived from France; that the French were using every endeavour to have the expedition for Ireland completed; and that the Irish delegate came home to cause the United Irish to put themselves into a state of organization to join them, as the directory positively assured the Irish delegates, that the expedition would set out for Ireland the end of April, or the beginning of May." It was also stated, that there had been a

* Vide Trial of O'Connor.

meeting of all the delegates in England and Scotland held in London; but that their resolutions could not be obtained till the next provincial meeting to be held on the 25th of March.

The address, which the delegates of United Britons were so stated, at the provincial meeting of the 1st of February, 1798, to have brought with them to the Irish national committee, your committee have inserted, in the Appendix, (No. 8.) About the same time a most seditious paper, sent from the London Corresponding Society, to the society of United Irishmen, signed J. T. Crosfield, president; Thomas Evans, secretary; dated 30th of January, 1798, (also inserted in the Appendix, No. 9), was published, in Ireland, in a paper, called, "The Press," and the original seized, in March, 1798, in consequence of the apprehension of Arthur O'Connor, in England.

The priest, O'Coigly, referred to in these transactions, and who has since been convicted and executed at Maidstone, was a native of Ireland, and went from that country to Cuxhaven, in 1797, with another Irishman, who was obliged to fly from Ireland, and passed into Holland, at the time when the Dutch fleet, under admiral de Winter, was about to sail, with a large body of troops, on an expedition destined against Ireland. When that fleet had sailed without the troops, O'Coigly, and his companion, went to Paris, where, finding themselves thwarted by the jealousy of the resident envoy from the Irish Union, O'Coigly returned to England about the middle of December, 1797, and went to Ireland in January, 1798.

Whilst in Ireland, he appears to have had interviews and correspondence with lord Edward Fitzgerald, and others of the Irish conspirators; and he returned to England about the middle of February, 1798.

Intelligence was conveyed to government of this man's designs, and particularly of his intention to pass into France, for the purposes which afterwards appeared to be the object of his mission; he was therefore narrowly watched; and on the 28th of February, 1798, he was, together with Arthur O'Connor, John Binns, Allen, and Leary, taken into custody at Margate, in the attempt to obtain a passage to France. The particular circumstances attending these attempts are detailed in the evidence on his trial *. One of the papers seized by the officers, who apprehended him, was an address from "the secret committee of England, to the executive directory of France," set forth in the Appendix, (No. 10); clearly demonstrating the traitorous views of those who formed the address, and were instrumental in the attempt to transmit it to France.

It appears also to your committee, both from previous and subsequent information, that Arthur O'Connor, who had been, to the moment of leaving Ireland, one of the members of the Irish Directory, was not only going to France in the confidence that, when there, he should be considered and received as an accredited agent, but

* See our Register for 1798, p. 202.

was confidentially employed by the remaining members of that directory, who were at that time dissatisfied with the conduct of Lewins.

§ 7. *Further Intercourse between the United Irishmen, the French Government, and the British Societies: Formation of new Societies, and their Proceedings.*

At the meetings of the London Corresponding Society, for above two years before this time, it had been avowed, that the object of the society was to form a republic, by the assistance of France. Reform in parliament, or even annual elections, or universal suffrage, were therefore no longer mentioned. Your committee have abundant reason to believe, from the information laid before them, that a person of the name of Astley, (one of the persons arrested in 1794) and who had, for a long time, been secretary to this society, was now acting as their agent at Paris, and had recently given them hopes of the succour of a French army. Meetings were held, to contrive the means of procuring arms, to enable them to co-operate with a French force, in case of an invasion. The leading members of the disaffected societies were also in the habit of frequenting an occasional meeting, which was held at a cellar in Furnival's Inn, and was first formed for the purpose of reading the libellous and treasonable publication, called "The Press." This place gradually became the resort of all those who were engaged the most deeply in the conspiracy. It was particularly attended by Arthur O'Connor and O'Coigly, previous to their attempt to go over to France; and by the persons chiefly instrumental in carrying on correspondence with the Irish conspirators; and secret consultations were repeatedly held there, with a view to projects, which were thought too dangerous and desperate to be brought forward in any of the larger societies. Among these plans, was that of effecting a general insurrection, at the same moment, in the metropolis, and throughout the country, and of directing it to the object of seizing or assassinating the king, the royal family, and many of the members of both houses of parliament. An officer, of some experience in his majesty's service, was selected as their military leader; and sanguine hopes were entertained, that they could command a sufficient force to effect their desperate purpose, in the first instance, by surprise. But, although the apprehension, that they could not as yet collect sufficient numbers to maintain and secure their advantage, appears, for the time, to have deterred them from the attempt; yet the general language, held among these persons, at this period, proved, that they had brought themselves to the opinion that matters were nearly ripe for measures of open violence.

Attempts were, at the same time, made to form, in London, upon the plan of the United Irishmen, the Society of United Englishmen, or United Britons, before referred to: and O'Coigly and John Binns appear to have been leading persons in that design. It was proposed to divide this so-

ciety into four districts, including a large part of the coasts of this kingdom the most exposed to invasion: and it was also in contemplation to combine the operations of this society with those of the society of United Irishmen; of which your committee will find it necessary separately to take notice.

Most of the societies through England, which had used to correspond with the London Corresponding Society, had also about this time adopted the same plan of forming societies of United Englishmen; and finding their communications by writing to be hazardous, they avoided, as far as possible, the keeping any papers; used cyphers or mysterious words, in the few writings that passed between them, and principally carried on their intercourse by agents, who went from place to place, and were recognized by signs, which were frequently changed. Many ignorant or inconsiderate persons, throughout the country, were gradually involved in these criminal transactions; and the influence of the destructive principles from which they proceeded, was still farther extended by the establishment of clubs, among the lowest classes of the community, which were open to all persons paying one penny, and in which songs were sung, toasts given, and language held, of the most seditious nature.

Information having been received of a meeting of United Englishmen, to be held at a house in Clerkenwell, warrants of arrest were issued, and persons were apprehended on the 18th of April, 1798. There was found upon the secretary of the London Corresponding Society (who appears to have officiated as president at that meeting) the oath proposed for the United Englishmen, set forth in the Appendix, (No. 11); another oath, of the same nature, was found under the table; and also a printed constitution of the society of United Englishmen, set forth in the Appendix, (Nos. 12 and 13.)

Information having also been received of an extraordinary meeting of the delegates and secretary of the London Corresponding Society, intended to be assembled at a large room in Wych-street, on the 19th of April, 1798, the persons there assembled were likewise arrested; and from the discoveries made in consequence of these arrests, the connection between the London Corresponding Society and the London Society of United Englishmen was clearly established.

It appeared, that about forty divisions of United Englishmen had been formed in London; about twenty of which had their regular places and days of meeting; and that many similar societies were forming in different parts of the country. With respect to these latter, it was intended that the different counties in Great Britain should respectively be divided into districts; in each of which a central society was to be established in the principal town, and was to carry on a constant correspondence, both with the smaller societies in that district, and with the general society in London. And this system was so constructed, as to admit of still farther subdivision, if the increase of

numbers had been such as the leaders hoped.

It appears to your committee, that the chief progress made in the formation of societies of United Englishmen, was in London and the parts adjacent; and in Lancashire, and some parts of the west of England and of Wales, more immediately communicating with Ireland, and in which there were many United Irishmen, either as residents, or as fugitives from their country.

At Manchester, and in the adjacent country in particular, the plan of these conspiracies was extending itself in the most alarming manner; and they were much promoted by the activity of the United Irishmen, of whom there are very large numbers resident in that neighbourhood. Great numbers of printed copies of the "Constitution of United Englishmen," have been discovered in Manchester and the neighbourhood; and it is evident that the society was making great progress, when it was checked by the arrest of several of its leaders in 1798.

A society of United Englishmen had been established in and about Manchester before the year 1797. In the beginning of that year it consisted of about fifty divisions, and in the year 1798 had extended to about eighty. Each of these divisions consisted of not less than fifteen members, and was again subdivided when the number of its members exceeded thirty-six. This society has been particularly active in the most wicked attempts to seduce the soldiers in different regiments; for which purpose they adopted a system of more particular secrecy, and it has therefore been difficult to discover the extent of these crimes; but the general good conduct of his majesty's forces, of every description in this kingdom, affords the most satisfactory proof that these diabolical practices have not been successful in any considerable degree. The test used for the soldiers is set forth in the Appendix (No. 14.) In other respects the society has followed the United Irish and the United English formed in London, in their constitution, their test, and their signs of secrecy; and its operations have been conducted with the same mystery, and under the same direction; the whole being governed by the persons who form the committee of United Englishmen, styled "The National Commitee of England," who are, apparently, unknown to the rest of the members of the society, though their dictates are implicitly obeyed. They were the more induced to acquiesce in this system, and to obey implicitly the directions of their leaders, from the persuasion with which they appear to have been universally impressed, that persons of higher situations in life afforded them countenance and pecuniary aid; though, from circumstances of caution, those persons had not become actually members of the society; or, if they were members, concealed the fact with considerable care, and did not attend the meetings. In some degree this persuasion may have been well founded; but your committee are induced to think, that some art was used to strengthen this impression, for the purpose of giv-

ing greater encouragement to the members in their hopes of final success.

The societies in the country connected with Manchester have been formed into twelve districts, each of which sent a delegate to the committee, called "The Country Commitee;" which appears to have corresponded, not only with the National Committee of England, but also with the National Committee of Ireland.

The intercourse between the United Englishmen in these parts and the United Irish, appears indeed to have been continual; many of the United Irish frequently passing and repassing between Cheshire, or Lancashire, and Ireland, and frequently visiting the English societies. Among the persons who have been thus travelling from one country to the other, your committee have remarked O'Coigly, who repeatedly visited Manchester, Stockport, and other places in the neighbourhood; and particularly in the year 1797, when he was received with marked attention. He came there again in 1798, on his return from Ireland after his journey into France before mentioned. He then wore a military dress, and passed by the name of captain Jones, the same appellation by which he was introduced, by Arthur O'Connor, to Mr. H. Bell, of Charterhouse-square, from whose house O'Connor took his departure, previous to his arrest at Deal. The accounts which have been obtained of his conversation and conduct at Manchester, leave no room to doubt the objects of his different journies between Great Britain, Ireland, and France, and particularly of his intended journey to France, which was prevented by his arrest; and there appears also little reason to doubt, that many, both of the United Englishmen and United Irish, at Manchester and in its neighbourhood, were aware of the general purport, at least, of his mission, and anxiously expected that assistance from France, of which they received, from him, very strong assurances.

The society at Manchester seems to have been the central society of an extensive district; and to have been managed by a very zealous and active committee. It frequently sent delegates to places in the neighbourhood, and to various parts of Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and Cheshire. Their correspondence appears to have extended to the most distant parts of England, as well as to Edinburgh and Glasgow.

Liverpool also became the seat of another central society, presiding over a surrounding district, and corresponding with other parts of England, and with Scotland and Ireland; and different emissaries, some of whom were foreigners, about this time were sent through various parts of the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining the numbers and dispositions of the societies of United English and United Irish.

Whilst the societies in England were thus endeavouring to form a society of United Englishmen, or of United Britons, on the model of the Irish Society, attempts were made in Scotland to form a distinct society of "United Scotsmen" on the same plan. And your committee cannot forbear to

remark the industry with which it has been attempted in this instance, as well as in others, to separate Scotland as well as Ireland from England, and to found, on the ruins of the established government, three distinct republics of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The attempts to form a society of United Scotsmen had made little progress till the spring of 1797; but from the month of April, 1797, until November following (when a discovery was made in the county of Fife, on which George Mealmaker was brought to trial, and convicted of sedition) these attempts appear to have been attended with more success, and particularly in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and in the counties of Ayr, Renfrew, Lanerk, Dumbarton, Fife, and Perth. Glasgow, and the county of Ayr, were the places in which this spirit first manifested itself, and from which emissaries were sent into different parts of the country, for the purpose of increasing the numbers of the society, and disseminating what they termed "political knowledge."

The societies thus formed, in Scotland, appear to have been reduced to a system almost as regular and complete as that which was established in Ireland; the outlines of the plan were the same, and the studied secrecy of the proceedings, and the gradations of the internal arrangement, formed its great characteristic. By a general rule of their association, no society was to consist of more than sixteen members, and when any society had obtained a number of members exceeding sixteen, it was to divide itself into two societies. In some small towns there were three or more such societies, all of which were sometimes assembled, by their individual members, or by a committee from each society: and such assemblies were termed "Parochial Meetings." Each of these Parochial Meetings had a secretary who was also treasurer; and one or two delegates were chosen to represent the parochial at the county meeting, which was composed of delegates from all the Parochial Meetings, within the county or district, and was held every six weeks. The delegates were elected by ballot; but the ballot was so conducted that no person knew on whom the choice fell, except the secretary and the person chosen. This election was sometimes made, by each member whispering in the ear of the secretary the name of the person for whom he gave his vote; and as there could be no material check on the declaration of the secretary, it is evident that the election of delegates might be managed in any manner most agreeable to the leaders of the society. The meetings called "County Meetings" were not restricted to the known divisions of the counties, but were composed of delegates from Parochial Meetings, within either larger or smaller districts, according to the number of United Scotsmen in each neighbourhood. At the County Meeting, delegates were elected, to represent the societies at a "National Meeting," in the same secret manner as was used for the election of the delegates to the County Meetings; and the place

of that meeting was not generally disclosed. The secretary of the County Meeting gave the delegate, when chosen, a small slip of paper, containing the name of a person to whom he was to apply, and who was to take him to the place of the National Meeting. This person was called "The Intermediate." The counties were also distinguished by numbers, and not by their names; and the delegate received, on another slip of paper, the number of the county, and the time appointed for the National Meeting.

The meeting assuming this name was a committee formed of delegates from the County Meetings, and assembled every seven weeks; and there the most important business of the society was transacted. This meeting received reports from a secret committee and nominally directed its conduct, but the secret committee really had the chief management. This committee was elected, from amongst the delegates at the national meeting, in the same secret manner as those delegates had been chosen at the county meeting, the persons elected being only known to the secretary; and the committee, thus secretly formed, did not disclose itself in the transaction of business; all of which was conducted through the intervention of a person (already noticed) called "The Intermediate;" who delivered their orders, and who was the same person to whom the delegates had been directed to apply for information, respecting the place of assembly of the National Meeting. Except therefore to the Intermediate, to the secretary, and to each other, the persons composing the secret committee remained wholly unknown.

Every proceeding was involved in the same mysterious secrecy; and though this system of blind obedience had the effect of disgusting and alarming some of the delegates, who perceived themselves to be instruments in the hands of an unknown authority, for purposes, of which the extent was never fully disclosed to them; yet the committee, thus formed, continued to preserve its general influence; disbursing at its pleasure the money collected; giving all orders for the places of the national meetings; sending missionaries, disseminating papers, receiving information, and conducting every part of the business without control.

The national meeting was generally, if not always, held in or near Glasgow; and from reports of what passed at those meetings, it appears that they corresponded with the society of United Britons, and sent delegates to England, and received delegates from thence. When the meeting broke up, each delegate received a note of the time appointed for the next meeting; which he was to deliver to the secretary of his own county meeting, when the new delegate was elected.

Their communications with different parts, and particularly with England, were seldom carried on in writing: some papers, however, have been discovered, which clearly show that the society had the most dangerous objects in view; and that some of its members were sanguine enough to

profess an opinion, "that if the flattering accounts which they received from London were real, the emancipation of the country was at no great distance, when they should rally round the standard of liberty."

This system of union as well as that of the United Englishmen, was evidently borrowed from Ireland; and there is reason to believe that it was introduced by delegates from that country. Signs were adopted for the purpose of distinguishing the members, as was practised in Ireland; but the knowledge of the signs seems to have been only imperfectly diffused; they never have been generally understood; or having been altered at different times in different places, without concert, were never uniform in all parts of the country.

In their sanguine expectation of success, these conspirators formed wild and extravagant plans of seizing, in the same night, all the leading people over the whole island. If these persons should resist, they were to be put to death; if they submitted quietly, their lives and property were to be spared, but they were to be kept in custody till a new constitution should be formed, which was clearly meant to be conformable to French principles.

An oath or test was formally administered, and printed papers were circulated under the title of "Resolutions and Constitution of the Society of United Scotsmen," a copy of which is set forth in the Appendix (No. 15.)

The measures of this conspiracy were disconcerted by the arrest of Mealmaker, of Dyer, and of Archibald Gray, the latter of whom, after his indictment, escaped to the continent, and has become a member of a society at Hamburgh, which will hereafter be noticed, by the name of "The Philanthropic Society."

In addition to this view of the proceedings of the societies both in England and Scotland, at this period, it is material to remark, that whilst the rebellion was at its height in Ireland, there were found individuals in this country who so strongly manifested their desire to support the cause of the rebels, that they became the objects of criminal prosecution. Among these a man of the name of Martin Dunnovan was indicted, for distributing at Gosport the address stated in the Appendix (No. 16,) intituled, "An Irishman's Address to his Countrymen in England;" the contents of which perhaps might have warranted a prosecution for a higher crime, and are so striking a specimen of the intentions of the disaffected, that although the particular instance relates only to the conduct of one individual, your committee have thought it highly deserving of notice. This man was convicted at the last summer assizes at Winchester, and sentenced to two years imprisonment.

In pursuance of the same plan, the United Irishmen in this country have been incessantly labouring to disseminate their principles, both by means of secret combinations among such of them as have found their way into the naval service, and by extending their societies both in the metropolis and in different parts of the

kingdom. The extent to which these practices have prevailed, and (notwithstanding repeated instances of detection and punishment) are still carried on in the fleet, has been fully demonstrated by the evidence which has appeared in a variety of courts martial, the proceedings of which have been laid before your committee, and which contain matter so serious and important, that your committee have thought it right to insert an abstract of them in the Appendix (Nos. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.) It appears that oaths have been tendered by the mutineers to the crew, "to be United Irishmen, equal to their brethren in Ireland, and to have nothing to do with the king or his government;" that they have acted in the professed expectation of assistance from France, with the express view of co-operating, for the expulsion of the protestants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Catholic government; and it has been part of their plan to murder their officers, to seize on the ship, and carry her to France or Ireland.

On another occasion, the oath has been as follows: "I swear to be true to the Free and United Irish, who are now fighting our cause against tyrants and oppressors, and to defend their rights to the last drop of my blood, and to keep all secret: and I do agree to carry the ship into Brest the next time the ship looks out ahead at sea, and to kill every officer and man that shall hinder us, except the master: and to hoist a green ensign with a harp in it, and afterwards to kill and destroy the Protestants."

The mutineers on board one of his majesty's ships appear to have been engaged in the plan of carrying the ship to France, in expectation that they would there be promoted in proportion to their crimes; that one of their ringleaders was to be appointed captain, and that they were then to proceed with the French against Ireland; and this deep laid villany was disguised and aggravated by a degree of hypocrisy and imposture scarcely to be paralleled: the particulars are stated in the Appendix (No. 20.)

The mutineers in another ship were proved to be connected with corresponding societies at Nottingham. The oath which they attempted to administer was, "to carry the ship into an enemy's port, French, Dutch, or Irish;" and they meant, in the event of being brought into action with an enemy's ship, to shoot their own officers on the quarter-deck.

While these proceedings of the United Irishmen in the fleet exhibited so dreadful a picture of their sanguinary designs, and of the similarity of their views and principles to those which have produced so much calamity and bloodshed in Ireland, their conduct on shore has not been less deserving of the most serious attention. Your committee have no hesitation in stating, on the clearest proof, strongly confirmed by recent circumstances, that among the various bodies enlisted, in any part of Great Britain, for the purposes of sedition and treason, the societies which have been formed by the United Irishmen in this country are in all respects the most formidable, particularly

at the present moment; whether considered with a view to their combination, their actual numbers, or the atrocious nature of the designs of which they are preparing, in a very short time, to attempt the execution, in direct co-operation with France.

The danger to be apprehended from these societies is much increased, from the constant communication which they maintain with the societies in Ireland; their mutual confidence in each other; and the alarming circumstance of their being at this moment subject to the same secret direction and the same chiefs.

These societies have been instituted not only in London but in different parts of the country, and have formed themselves into subdivisions. In the Appendix (Nos. 23. and 24) are inserted printed forms of certificates of election to the society, which were seized among the papers of a person long engaged in this conspiracy. One of these forms has been framed for a "London Society." The other appears to relate to a society called an "*External Society.*" The impression of the seal on the former of them is the same with that of the seal found in the custody of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when he was apprehended. The reference in these certificates to the constitution and the test confirm the unquestionable information which your committee have received, that these societies form a part of the dreadful system which was unhappily established in Ireland. The constitution of the United Irishmen, such as it was acted upon in Ireland, appears to regulate their proceedings; and copies of this constitution have been found in the possession of persons principally concerned in promoting these meetings. The views which they entertain at this moment, and the sanguine hopes with which they look to their accomplishment, are apparent in an inflammatory and treasonable paper recently found at one of those meetings, of which government had received intelligence, and the persons present at which were consequently apprehended. This paper is inserted in the Appendix (No. 25.) Other papers, seized at the same meeting, strongly confirm the account which your committee have received, that a mode has lately been adopted by these societies (similar to that practised both in Ireland and Scotland,) of keeping the accounts of the society, by substituting different numbers for the names of the members. Your committee think it also not immaterial to insert in the Appendix (No. 26) copy of a printed card, which has been found in the possession of different persons, and particularly, among other seditious papers, in that of a person recently apprehended, who, there is reason to believe, has been very lately chosen to act as general secretary to the different societies of United Irishmen now in London. The person named in this card, and the transaction to which it relates, are such as to require no comment.

Your committee have received different accounts of the numbers of this society; but, though their force is probably exaggerated by themselves, for evident reasons,

there is sufficient ground for believing that their numbers have been long considerable. Many Irish, ordinarily resident here, chiefly among the lowest classes of the community, have been gradually induced to become members of this society. But the most active part consists of those Irish rebels who have fled to this country, rendered desperate by their crimes, not daring to return to Ireland, and either unable to make their way to the countries subject to France, or not receiving sufficient encouragement to attempt it, they remain here, waiting for the opportunity of executing those violent and desperate projects to which they have become familiar. And they appear to be under the direction of some persons of a higher class, who sometimes furnish pecuniary aid and form the committee; by means of which a constant correspondence is carried on through Hamburgh with France.

Among these plans, there is good reason to believe, that early in 1798, it was seriously in agitation among the conspirators in Ireland to convey, in small vessels, from Ireland to England, a great number of United Irishmen; and to land them on different parts of the coast, with instructions to divide themselves into small bodies, and to endeavour to make their way to the capital, in the manner least liable to suspicion, under the disguise of those trades and occupations in which the Irish, commonly resorting hither, are principally engaged. Their object is represented to have been that of co-operating with the Corresponding Society in effecting an insurrection in London at the time of the rebellion breaking out in Ireland, for the purpose of distracting the military force, and preventing reinforcements being sent to that country; and the plan is said to have failed, from the Corresponding Society shrinking from the execution of it. About the same period, another project was secretly formed, (of which your committee have received more distinct information) for collecting, at one point, a chosen body of the most determined from among the United Irish employed on the river Thames to whom a new oath of secrecy, obedience, and fidelity, was to be administered; large rewards were to be promised; they were to be kept wholly ignorant of the precise service they were intended to perform till the moment of its execution, which was to take place as soon as an attack on some part of the coast was announced on the part of the French: they were then to be privately armed with daggers, to be put under leaders of known talents and courage, and formed into three divisions; and were to make an attack, by surprise, at the same moment, on both houses of parliament, on the tower, and on the bank.

The intelligence obtained from time to time by government, respecting the proceedings and plans of the conspirators, the seizure and detention of some of the intended leaders, and perhaps the timidity or reluctance of some of the parties concerned, prevented any open attempt to realize these extravagant designs when they were first in contemplation.

But, notwithstanding the continuance of every precaution, and although these conspirators cannot be ignorant of the prepared and formidable force, and the determined spirit and general loyalty with which such an enterprise would be immediately resisted, your committee have received undoubted proofs that plans of this nature are now, more than ever, in agitation. Attempts are actually making, by agents from Ireland, to concert with the French government the time for a fresh and general insurrection in Ireland. Intelligence has been received, that in the ports of France the utmost diligence is used in preparing another expedition to co-operate with the rebels in that kingdom. The time for making this attempt seems to be in a great measure fixed. The expectation which appears to be generally entertained among the traitors in Ireland tallies, in this respect, with the intelligence which has been laid before your committee; and this expectation has been particularly communicated from thence to their confederates in this country. It seems to be intended, at the same time, to attempt a diversion by another French force on different parts of the coasts of this kingdom. The manner in which such expeditions are likely to be calculated to advance the ends of the conspirators, both in Great Britain and Ireland, and the species of warfare which the French have had in contemplation, will be sufficiently evident for a reference to the instructions of Tate, who was made prisoner in Wales, (which are printed in the Appendix to the Report made last session, on the treatment of prisoners of war) and to those of Humbert, who commanded the force which landed last year in Ireland, and who had also been destined to command an expedition against Cornwall, which are inserted in the Appendix to this Report, (Nos. 27 and 28.) For the purpose of co-operating with these attempts, and particularly with the same view as that to which the measures before enumerated were directed in the beginning of 1798, that of preventing, if possible, reinforcements being sent from hence to Ireland; it is also part of the plan, that an effort should be made to create an insurrection in the metropolis, and in some other parts of the kingdom, where these societies are most numerous. Your committee are fully confident that while plans of this nature continue to be traced and known, and while government retains the means which it at present possesses, such wild and desperate projects may be expected to lead only to consequences destructive to their authors; but your committee are, at the same time, so forcibly struck with the view they have had of this part of the system, and with the peculiar danger continually arising from the society of United Irishmen, which they deem to be in its nature incompatible with the secure maintenance of public tranquillity, that they have thought it necessary to bring it thus distinctly under the immediate consideration of the house.

§ 8. *Societies at Hamburgh.*

In addition to this mass of treason in Great Britain and in Ire-

land, your committee find, that for the purpose of more convenient communication between France and Ireland, a committee of United Irishmen, has been formed at Hamburgh. That place has long been the receptacle of those disaffected persons who have fled from Great Britain or Ireland, either from apprehension of the consequences of the treasonable practices in which they have been engaged, or for the purpose of assisting the conspiracies carried on against their respective countries; and with the latter view it has been the centre of a correspondence which has long subsisted among the British and Irish societies established at that place, as well as in London and Paris; and this correspondence with Great Britain and Ireland has frequently been covered by the pretence of commercial transactions, or of communicating intelligence for the public newspapers.

Hamburgh has also been the resort of the disaffected of every other country, whose intrigues are constantly directed to the object of spreading the principles of jacobinism in Holstein and the north of Germany, and generally in all the northern parts of Europe. Many emissaries, English, Scotch, and Irish, have been despatched from time to time from Hamburgh to Great Britain and Ireland, and to various parts of the continent, as circumstances required. There has recently been established at Hamburgh, Altona, and the neighbourhood, a society called "The Philanthropic Society," for the purpose of correspondence with the republicans of all countries, upon the plan of the corresponding societies established in Great Britain and Ireland; and whose avowed object is the reform of all kingdoms and states. The leading members of this society, who direct all the rest, compose a committee of about twenty persons, British, French, Dutch, and Germans. The members of the subordinate societies at Hamburgh and Altona, are all under the control of the committee, or principal society before mentioned. This committee constantly corresponds with Great Britain and Ireland, and all parts of Germany. It has secretaries skilled in different languages, and correspoding agents in different towns, particularly in London. It may become a formidable engine in the hands of the French directory, and it appears to be making considerable progress; but there is reason to hope that it has at length attracted the notice of the governments of those places.

Conclusion.

Upon a review of all the circumstances which have come under the consideration of your committee, they are deeply impressed with the conviction—that the safety and tranquillity of these kingdoms have, at different periods from the year 1791, to the present time, been brought into imminent hazard, by the traitorous plans and practices of societies, acting upon the principles, and devoted to the views, of our inveterate foreign enemy:

That, although the society of United Irishmen, in Ireland, has alone been enabled to attain its

full strength and maturity; yet the societies instituted on similar principles in this country, had, all an undoubted tendency to produce similar effects, if they had not been checked by the general demonstrations of the zeal and spirit of his majesty's faithful subjects, and by the timely and judicious use of those extraordinary powers, which parliament has, in its wisdom, from time to time confided to his majesty's government.

That, either directly or indirectly, a continual intercourse and connection has been maintained between all these societies in Great Britain and Ireland, and that the real objects of the instigators of these proceedings, in both kingdoms, were no other than the entire overthrow of the British constitution, the general confiscation of property, and the erection of a democratic republic, founded on the ruins of all religion, and of all political and civil society, and framed after the model of France.

The vigorous resistance opposed to the rebellion in Ireland, the success of the measures which have been employed for detecting and defeating the designs of the conspirators here, and the general and ardent spirit of loyalty and attachment to the laws and constitution, have hitherto counteracted the progress of the mischief, and averted impending danger; but even these circumstances by no means appear to your committee to justify the hope that the mischief is eradicated, or the danger past.

The principles and views of the conspirators remain unchanged. Their reliance on the assistance and co-operation of France, by which they expect ultimately to effect their purposes, continues undiminished; and the system of those secret societies which are at once the instruments of seditious conspiracy at home, and the channel of treasonable correspondence with France, though in many parts broken and interrupted, is by no means destroyed. Your committee have already referred to the positive information laid before them, stating that hostile preparations are now making, with extraordinary vigour and exertion, in some of the ports of France, for the invasion of this country, or of Ireland. The activity of seditious and treasonable societies, in their correspondence with France, and in their endeavours to gain proselytes here, keeps pace with the preparations of the enemy; and the principle of secrecy, generally enforced by unlawful oaths, which is the great characteristic of these societies, peculiarly fits them for the most desperate enterprises, and, by holding out a prospect of security, increases the means of seduction. It has, at the same time, an obvious tendency to elude detection in the first instance, and to defeat legal inquiry in the next. To this principle therefore, in the opinion of your committee, such farther measures, as parliament in its wisdom may think fit to adopt for the public safety, should be more immediately and decisively pointed.

Your committee have seen, with satisfaction, the powers which, in conformity to the ancient practice and true principles of the consti-

tution, have from time to time, as the urgency required, been confided to his majesty's government; and they feel it their duty particularly to remark, that the power of arresting and detaining suspected persons (a remedy so constantly resorted to by our ancestors in all cases of temporary and extraordinary danger,) has, under the present new and unprecedented circumstances, been found particularly efficient. It has greatly interrupted and impeded the correspondence with the enemy, and has checked, from time to time, the progress and communication of sedition and treason at home. But from particular circumstances which have come under the observation of your committee in the course of their inquiry, they feel it their duty to remark, that the good effects of this measure would be rendered more complete, and the public tranquillity better secured, if the leading persons who have been, or may be hereafter detained on suspicion of treasonable practices shall hereafter be kept in custody in places sufficiently distant from the metropolis.

The whole of the secret information which has been laid before your committee, has strongly confirmed them in their opinion of the necessity of confiding these extraordinary powers to his Majesty's government; and the very circumstances which create this necessity, and which continue at this time to operate more powerfully than ever, have rendered it their peculiar duty to abstain from disclosing, in its full extent, the particular information, of which they have stated to the House the general result, and on which their judgment is founded; but they trust that they have laid before the House sufficient grounds to justify their persuasion, that the multiplied and various attempts, by which the enemies to their country carry on their dangerous conspiracies, can only be defeated by a corresponding vigilance on the part of government, and by the exercise of such additional powers, as may from time to time, be intrusted to it by parliament, and may be best adapted to the peculiar exigency of the moment. And although your committee do not think it any part of their province to suggest particular measures, the consideration of which must be left to the wisdom of parliament, they cannot forbear particularly and earnestly pressing their unanimous opinion, that the system of secret societies, the establishment of which has, in other countries, uniformly preceded the aggression of France, and, by facilitating the progress of her principles, has prepared the way for her arms, cannot be suffered to exist in these kingdoms compatibly with the safety of their government and constitution, and with their security against foreign force and domestic treason.

Your committee have great satisfaction in adding, that if this growing and formidable evil can be effectually repressed, and if the same system of vigilance and precaution which has been successfully adopted for some years past, is adhered to, there is every reason to look forward with confidence to the ultimate disappointment and defeat of the projects which have been so long pursued by our foreign and domestic ene-

mies. Impressed with a just sense of the blessings enjoyed under our happy constitution, which distinguish this country from every nation in Europe, all ranks and conditions of society have shown their determination to preserve those blessings entire, and have stood forward with a becoming ardour and alacrity in their defence. While this laudable spirit continues to pervade every part of the kingdom, and while the wisdom of the legislature encourages and directs its exertions for the public safety, your committee entertain a full conviction that the religion, the laws, and the constitution of Great Britain, and with them the interests and happiness of all classes of his Majesty's subjects, will, in the midst of surrounding danger and calamity, and in spite of every machination at home or abroad, rest, under the protection of Divine Providence, on the surest basis, secured by the energy and firmness of the government, and by the courage, the patriotism, and the virtue of the nation *.

New Constitution of the French Republic.

An Official Copy.

CHAPTER I.

Article 1. — The French Republic is one and indivisible.

Its European territory is distributed into departments and communal districts.

2. Every man born and resident in France, and of the age of 21 years, who has inscribed his name in the Civic Register of his Communal District, and afterwards remained a year on the territory of the French Republic, is a French citizen.

3. A foreigner becomes a French citizen, who, after having attained the age of 21 years, and declared his intention of fixing his residence in France, has resided there for ten successive years.

4. The title of French citizen is forfeited by naturalization in a foreign country.

By accepting any office or pension from a foreign government.

By affiliation with any foreign corporation which supposes distinctions of birth.

By condemnation to corporal or infamous punishments.

5. The exercise of the rights of a French citizen is suspended by bankruptcy, or by a total or partial succession to the property of an insolvent.

By a state of hired servitude, either attached to the service of the person or the family.

By a state of judicial interdiction, accusation, or contumacy.

6. In order to exercise the rights of citizenship in a communal district, a person must have fixed in it his domicile or place of abode by a year's residence, and at the same time, he must not have lost it by a year's absence.

7. The citizens of every communal district are to point out, by their votes, those they conceive most proper to manage the public affairs. The number so pointed out, forms a list of men worthy of confidence, amounting to a tenth

* We have thought it unnecessary to lay before our readers the Appendix to this Report, which contains only details of the principal facts stated in the body of it

of the number of citizens having a right to vote. Out of this list are to be chosen the public functionaries of the district.

8. The citizens, comprehended in the communal lists of a department, shall likewise point out a tenth part of their own number. Hence is formed a second list, called departmental, from which are to be chosen the public functionaries of the department.

9. The citizens whose names stand on the departmental list, shall likewise name a tenth of their own number. Thus there is a third list formed, which comprehends the citizens of the department eligible to public national functions.

10. The citizens having a right to assist in the formation of any of the lists mentioned in the three preceding articles, are to be called upon every three years to supply the place of those upon the lists who may have died, or who are absent for any other cause than that of exercising a public employment.

11. They at the same time may erase from the list those whom they think unfit to appear any longer upon it, and appoint as their successors, other citizens in whom they have greater confidence.

12. No person can be erased from any of the lists, but by the votes of an absolute majority of the citizens having a right to vote on its formation.

13. A person is not to be erased from one list of eligible persons, solely because he is, at a given period, member of another list, inferior or superior.

14. Inscription on a list of persons eligible, is not necessary but for those public offices, for which this condition is expressly required by the constitution of the law. All the lists of eligible persons shall be formed in the course of the year 9.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Conservative Senate.

15. The Conservative Senate is composed of eighty members, irremovable, and for life, who shall be forty years of age at least.

For the formation of the senate, there shall at first be named sixty members. This number shall be increased to sixty-two in the course of the year 8; to sixty-four in the course of the year 9; and thus be gradually increased to eighty, by the addition of two members during each of the ten first years.

16. The appointment of the situation of senator is made by the senate itself, which chooses one out of three candidates presented; the first by the legislative body, the second by the tribunate, and the third by the chief consul.

The senate may choose one of two candidates, in the case that one of them is proposed by two of the presenting bodies. The senate must admit a person who is proposed, on the same occasion, by all the three authorities.

17. The chief consul, upon quitting his office, either by the expiration of his functions, or by resignation, necessarily, and as a matter of right, becomes a senator.

The two other consuls, during the month which follows the expiration of their functions, may take their seats in the senate, but are not obliged to exercise that privilege.

They lose it altogether, if they quit their consular functions by resignation.

18. A senator is always ineligible to any other public function.

19. All the lists made in the departments, by virtue of the 9th article, shall be addressed to the senate. They shall compose the national list.

20. From this list shall be elected the legislators, the tribunes, the consuls, the judges of cessation, and the commissaries à la responsibilité.

21. They shall confirm or annul every act referred to them as unconstitutional by the tribunate or the government; the lists of the eligibles shall be included among these acts.

22. The revenues of national domains, the terms of which are expired, shall be liable to the expenses of the senate. The annual salary of each of its members shall be paid out of those revenues. It shall be equal to a 20th of that of the chief consul.

23. The sittings of the senate are not public.

24. Citizens Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the two consuls who are to go out of office, shall be nominated members of the conservatory senate; they shall unite with the second and third consuls nominated by the present one. These four citizens shall appoint the majority of the senate, which shall afterwards complete itself, and proceed to the elections entrusted to its direction.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Legislative Power.

25. No new law shall be promulgated, unless the plan shall have been proposed by the government, communicated to the tribunate, and decreed by the legislative body.

26. That the plans which the government may propose shall be drawn up under different heads. In every case in which such plans shall be discussed, the government may withdraw them, and present them again in a modified state.

27. The tribunate is to be composed of one hundred members, of twenty-five years of age at the least; they shall be renewed by fifths every year, and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national list.

28. The tribunate shall discuss the plans of every law that may be proposed: it shall vote for the adoption or rejection of them.

It shall send three orators taken from its body, by whom the motives of its vote, with respect to each of the plans, shall be stated and supported before the legislative body.

It shall refer to the senate, but for the cause of inconstitutionality only, the list of eligibles, the acts of the legislative body, and those of the government.

29. It shall express its opinion as to the laws made or to be made, the abuses to be corrected, the

ameliorations to be attempted, in every part of the public administration, but never relative to the civil or criminal affairs referred to the tribunal.

The opinions it shall give, by virtue of the present article, are to be followed by no necessary consequence; they compel no constituted authority to come to any deliberation.

30. When the tribunate adjourns, it may appoint a committee of from ten to fifteen members, charged to convoke it, if it shall be deemed necessary.

31. The legislative body shall be composed of three hundred menbers, of thirty years of age at the least; they shall be renewed by fifths every year. There ought always to be one citizen, at least, of each department of the republic, present.

32. A member who goes out of the legislative body cannot reenter till after the interval of a year; but he may be immediately elected to any other public function, including that of tribune, provided he is in other respects eligible.

33. The sitting of the legislative body shall commence every year on the 1st Frimaire, and shall continue only four months; it may be extraordinarily convoked during the other eight by the government.

34. The legislative body enacts the law by determining by secret scrutiny, and without any discussion on the part of its members, upon the plans of the law debated before it, by the orators of the tribunate and the government.

35. The sittings of the tribunate, and of the legislative body, shall be public; the number of strangers in either of them not to exceed two hundred.

36. The annual salary of a tribune shall be 15,000 francs, that of a legislator 10,000 francs.

37. Every decree of the legislative body shall, on the 10th day after it shall be made, be promulgated by the chief consul, unless in the mean time it is referred to the senate, on the ground of inconstitutionality. Such reference cannot be made with regard to laws that have been promulgated.

38. The first renewal of the legislative body and of the tribunate shall not take place till the 10th year.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Government.

39. The government is entrusted to three consuls appointed for ten years, and indefinitely reeligible. Each of them is to be elected individually with the distinct quality of chief, second, or third consul. The first time the third consul shall only be named for five years.

For the present time Gen. Buonaparte is appointed chief consul; citizen Cambaceres now minister of justice, second consul; and citizen Lebrun, member of the committee of ancients, third consul.

40. The chief consul has particular functions and attributes, which, when he is exercising, he may be temporarily supplied by one of his colleagues.

41. The chief consul is to promulgate the laws; he is to name and revoke at pleasure the members of the council of state, the ministers, embassadors, and other foreign agents, the officers of the army by land and sea, the members of local administration and the commissioners of the government at the tribunals. He is to appoint all judges criminal and civil, as well as justices of peace, and the judges of cessation, without the power of afterwards revoking them.

42. In the other acts of the government, the second and third consuls are to have a consulative voice; they are to sign the register of the acts, in order to manifest that they were present; and, if they please, they may countersign their opinions; after which the determination of the chief consul shall follow.

43. The salary of the chief consul shall be 500,000 francs, for the 8th year. The salary of the other two consuls shall be equal to three-tenths of that of the first.

44. The government is to propose the laws, and to make the necessary regulations to ensure their execution.

45. The government is to direct the receipts and expences of the state, conformable to the annual law which determines the amount of each; it shall superintend the coinage of money, of which the law alone shall order the issue, fix the value, the weight, and the impression.

46. When the government is informed of any conspiracies against the state, it may issue orders to arrest and bring before them the persons who are suspected as the authors or accomplices; but if, within ten days after such arrest, they are not set at liberty, or brought to trial, it shall be considered, on the part of the minister signing the order, as an act of arbitrary detention.

47. The government is to superintend the internal safety and external defence of the state; it is to distribute the forces by sea and land, and regulate the direction of them.

48. The national guard on duty is subject to the regulations of the public administration. The national guard not on duty is only subject to the law.

49. The government is to manage political relations abroad, to conduct negociations, to make preliminary stipulations, to sign and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions.

50. Declarations of war and treaties of peace, alliance and commerce, are to be proposed, discussed, decreed, and promulgated in the same manner as laws.

Only the discussions and deliberations relative to these objects, as well in the tribunate as in the legislative body, are to be in a secret committee, if the government desires it.

51. The secret articles of a treaty cannot be destructive of the public articles.

52. Under the direction of the consuls, the council of the state is charged with drawing up the plans of the laws and regulations of the public administration, and to resolve such difficulties as may occur in all administrative matters.

53. It is from among the members of the council of state that the orators are to be selected, who shall be appointed to appear in the name of the government before the legislative body.

There are never to be any more than three of these orators sent to support the same plan of a law.

54. The ministers are to procure the execution of the laws, and the regulations of the public administration.

55. No act of the government can have effect till it is signed by a minister.

56. One of the ministers is specially charged with the administration of the public treasury. He is to verify the receipts, direct the application of the funds, and the payments authorised by law. He is not at liberty to pay any thing, except by virtue, first of a law, and only to the extent of the funds for defraying those expences such law has determined upon. Secondly, by a decree of the government. Thirdly, by an order signed by a minister.

57. The detailed accounts of every minister, signed and certified by him, are to be made public.

58. The government can only elect or retain, as counsellors of state or ministers, such citizens whose names are inscribed in the national list.

59. The local administrations established, whether for each communal district, or for the more extended portions of territory, are subordinate to the ministers. No one can become or remain a member of these administrations, unless he is entered in one of the national lists mentioned in the 7th or 8th articles.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Tribunal.

60. Every communal arrondissement shall have one or more justices of the peace, elected immediately by citizens, for three years.

Their principal duty consists in reconciling the parties applying to them, and, in case of non-conciliation, to decide their dispute by arbitrators.

61. In civil matters there are tribunals of first instance, and tribunals of appeal. The law determines the organization of the one and the other; their competence and territory forming the jurisdiction of each.

62. In cases of crimes, to which are annexed a corporeal or infamous punishment, a first jury admits or rejects the charge. If it be admitted, a second jury pronounces on the fact, and the judges composing a criminal tribunal apply the punishment. The judgment is without appeal.

63. The function of public accuser to a criminal tribunal is filled by the commissioner of government.

64. The crimes which do not amount to corporeal or infamous punishment are tried before the tribunals of correctional police, saving an appeal to the criminal tribunals.

65. There is for the whole republic a tribunal of cassation which pronounces on appeals against judgments in the last re-

sort, given by the tribunals in cases referred from one tribunal to another on account of lawful suspicion, or the public safety, upon exceptions taken by the party against the whole tribunal.

66. The tribunal of cassation does not inquire into the merits, but it reverses the judgments given on proceedings in which form is violated, or which contain something contrary to the expressed law, but sends the case back to be tried on the merits by the tribunal, which has cognizance of them.

67. The Judges who constitute the tribunals of first instance, and the commissioners of government established at the tribunals, are taken from the communal or departmental list.

The judges forming the tribunals of appeal, and the commissioners placed with them, are taken from the departmental list.

The judges composing the tribunal of cassation, and the commissioners belonging to that tribunal, are taken from the national list.

68. The justices, except the justices of the peace, remain in office for life, unless they should be condemned to forfeit their places, or should not be continued on the list of eligibles corresponding with their functions.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Responsibity of the Public Functionaries.

69. The functions of members, whether of the senate or of the legislative body, or of the tribunate, and also those of the consuls or counsellors of state, do not discharge them from responsibility.

70. Personal crimes, to which are annexed corporeal or infamous punishment, committed by a member either of the senate, tribunate, legislative body, or of the council of state, are prosecuted before the ordinary tribunals, after a deliberation of the body to which the person charged belongs has authorised such prosecution.

71. The ministers arraigned, in their private capacity, of crimes to which are annexed corporeal or infamous punishment, are considered as members of the council of state.

72. The ministers are responsible—1st, for every act of government signed by them, and declared unconstitutional by the senate; 2d, for the non-execution of the laws, and of the regulations of the public administration; 3d, for the particular orders which they have given, if these orders are contrary to the constitution, the laws, and ordinances.

73. In the several cases of the preceding article, the tribunate denounces the minister by an act on which the legislative body deliberates in ordinary form, after having heard or summoned the person denounced. The minister placed in a course of judgment, is tried by a high court, without appeal, or resource for a reversal.

The high court is composed of judges and jurors. The judges are chosen by the tribunal of cassation and from its bosom. The jurors are chosen from the national list; the whole according to

the forms prescribed by the laws.

74. The judges, civil and criminal, for crimes relating to their functions, are prosecuted before the tribunals to which the tribunal of cassation sends them, after having annulled their acts.

75. The agents of government, other than the ministers, cannot be prosecuted for acts relating to their functions, but by virtue of a decision of the council of state; in this case the prosecution is carried on before the ordinary tribunals.

CHAPTER VII.

General Dispositions.

76. The house of every person inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable asylum.

During the night no person has a right to enter it, except in case of fire, inundation, or the request of the persons within.

In the day, one may enter it for a special purpose, determined either by the law, or an order emanating from a public authority.

77. In order that the act which ordains the arrest of a person may be executed, it is necessary, 1st, that it express in form the causes for such arrest, and the law in execution of which it is ordered; 2dly, that it issues from a functionary to whom the law has formally given that power; 3dly that it be notified to the person arrested, and a copy of it left with him.

78. No keeper or gaoler can receive or detain any person without having first transcribed on his register the act ordering his arrest. This act must be a mandate, given in the forms prescribed by the preceding article, or a warrant for taking the body, or a decree of accusation, or a judgment.

79. Every keeper or gaoler is bound, without any order being able to dispense with it, to represent the person in his custody to the civil officer having the police of the house of detention, whenever this officer shall demand such account.

80. A representation of a person in custody shall not be refused to his parents and friends, carrying an order from the civil officer, who shall always be obliged to grant it, unless the keeper or gaoler produces an order of a judge to keep the prisoner secret.

81. All those who, not being invested by the law with the power of arresting, shall give, sign, or execute the arrest of any person whatever; all those who, even in the case of arrest authorised by law, shall receive or detain the person so arrested in a place of confinement, not publicly and legally designated as such; and all keepers or gaolers who shall act contrary to the dispositions of the three preceding articles, shall be guilty of the crime of arbitrary detention.

82. All severities used in arrest, detentions, or executions, other than those commanded by the laws, are crimes.

83. Every person has a right of addressing private petitions to every constituted authority, and particularly to the tribunate.

84. The public force is necessarily in in a state of obedience; no armed body can deliberate.

85. Military crimes are subjected to special tribunals, and particular forms of judgment.

86. The French nation declares, that it will grant pensions to all the military, wounded in defence of their country, and also to the widows and children of such military as have died on the field of battle, or in consequence of their wounds.

87. It shall decree national rewards to the warriors who shall have rendered distinguished services in fighting for the republic.

88. A constituted body cannot deliberate except in a sitting, at which two-thirds of its members, at least, are present.

89. A national institute is charged with receiving discoveries, and perfecting the arts and sciences.

90. A committee of national compatibilité regulates and verifies the accounts of the receipts and expenses of the republic. This committee is composed of seven members, chosen by the senate from the national list.

91. The régime of the French colonies is determined by special laws.

92. In case of the revolt of an armed body, or of troubles which menace the safety of the state, the law may suspend in the places, and for the time it determines, the empire of the constitution.

This suspension may be provisionally declared in the same cases, by an arrêté of government, the legislative body not being sitting, provided this body be convened at a very short time by an article of the same arrêté.

93. The French nation declares, that in no case will it suffer the return of the French who, having abandoned their country since 1789, are not comprised in the exceptions contained in the laws against emigrants. It interdicts every new exception on this point.

The property of emigrants irrevocably belongs to the republic.

94. The French nation declares, that after a sale legally completed of national property, whatever may be its origin, the lawful purchaser cannot be dispossessed, saving the right of third persons, if such there should be, claiming to be indemnified out of the public treasury.

95. The present constitution shall be offered forthwith for the acceptance of the French people.

Done at Paris, the 22d Frimaire (Dec. 13), in the 8th year of the French republic, one and indivisible.

The signatures of the members of the legislative committees and consuls follow.

Public Acts passed in the Third Session of the Eighteenth Parliament of Great Britain.

December 17, 1798.

An act for continuing and granting to his Majesty, certain duties on malt, mum, cyder, and perry, for 1799.

For a duty on pensions, offices, and personal estates, and certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff.

To continue the act for preventing and punishing attempts to seduce persons serving in the navy or army from their allegiance.

December 20.

To continue the act enabling

his Majesty to accept the services of such part of the militia as may voluntarily offer themselves to be employed in Ireland.

December 22.

An act for raising the sum of three millions by way of annuities

To enlarge the time limited for the redemption of the land-tax, and to explain and amend the former act.

January 4, 1799.

An act for extending the time allowed for taking out certificates for using armorial bearings.

To amend the acts respecting promissory notes and bills of exchange.

To continue the Scotch small note act.

To continue the act respecting merchandize on board of neutral ships, and for regulating the trade and commerce to and from the Cape of Good Hope.

January 9.

An act to repeal the duties imposed by an act for granting aid and contribution for the prosecution of the war, and to grant certain duties upon income in lieu thereof.

To continue the act empowering his Majesty to secure and detain suspected persons.

For exempting the volunteer corps from being balloted for the supplementary militia, under certain conditions.

For indemnifying those who have omitted to qualify themselves for offices, &c.

To revive and continue the act for establishing courts of judicature in Newfoundland.

March 7.

An act for raising a certain sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

March 21.

An act to amend the income act.

To amend the land-tax redemption act.

To continue the bounties on British and Irish linens exported, and taking off the duties on the importation of foreign raw linen yarns.

Mutiny act.

For the regulation of the marines on shore.

To continue the act for restraining the negotiation of promissory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited sum.

To continue the Scotch small note act.

To continue the act for disallowing the bounty on sail cloth or canvas exported to Ireland.

To revive and continue the act for prohibiting the importation of cambrics and French lawns, except warehoused for exportation.

To repeal part of the provisional cavalry act.

April 10.

An act to continue the Scotch distillery act.

To permit ships to sail from Newfoundland without convoy.

April 19.

An act for raising a further sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

For amending the game act respecting partridges.

May 10.

An act for raising an additional sum of money by loans or exchequer bills.

For enlarging the time for the redemption of the land tax.

For extending the time of the income-tax.

For amending three acts relative to the redemption of the land-tax.

To amend the act imposing stamp duties on attornies indentures.

For exempting the volunteer corps and associations from being balloted for the militia, under certain conditions.

To continue the importation of rape-seed, and seal-skins, and the duties on glass.

For remedying certain defects in the law respecting offences committed upon the high seas.

For increasing the rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers, &c. on quartering soldiers.

May 20.

An act to continue the act for securing and detaining suspected persons, until March, 1800.

For making perpetual the act to explain and amend the laws relating to the punishment of felons, as far as relates to the burning in the hand.

For making perpetual such part of the same act as relates to the lodgings of judges at country assizes.

June 13.

An act for permitting certain East India goods to be warehoused, and for repealing the duties, and granting other duties in lieu thereof.

To continue the promissory note act.

To continue the small Scotch note act.

For indemnifying the governors, &c. of the West-India islands for permitting the importation and exportation of goods in foreign bottoms.

To extend the bail given in cases of criminal information in Scotland.

To make perpetual the act for the relief of debtors.

For continuing the act for the transportation of felons, and the removal of offenders to temporary places of confinement in England and Scotland respectively.

For continuing the act relating to penitentiary houses.

To continue the act for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

To explain the act relating to colliers in Scotland.

For encouraging the improvement of lands subject to the servitude of thirlage in Scotland.

To grant indemnity for penalties incurred under the tanners' act, and to repeal certain parts of the said act relating to the buying of hides.

June 21.

An act for raising 15,500,000*l.* by annuities.

To repeal the duty on Prussian yarns.

For regulating the rates of porterage in London, Westminster, and Southwark.

To amend the Scotch militia act.

July 1.

Act to grant additional duties on sugar and coffee.

For granting to his Majesty 200,000*l.* to be placed to the account of the commissioners for the reduction of the national debt.

For allowing a bounty on pilchards, and transferring the salt duties to the excise.

For regulating the salaries of the Scotch sheriffs.

To enable a person appointed to the office of baron of the exchequer to take upon himself the degree of a serjeant at law.

July 12.

Act to raise a sum by lottery.

For raising three millions.

For raising 3,500,000*l.* by loans or exchequer bills.

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by the same.

For repealing the salt duties, and granting others.

For postage on ship-letters.

To continue the Scotch distillery act.

To enable the lords of the treasury to issue exchequer bills on the credit of the income tax.

For altering the time for making up the duties on vellum, parchment, and paper stamped.

To amend the income act.

For exempting certain public bodies from the legacy duty.

For regulating the spirit-licence act.

To repeal so much of the acts of Queen Anne, &c. as puts an end to the forfeiture of inheritances upon attainder of treason, after the death of the Pretender and his sons.

To continue the act for farming the post-horse duty.

To regulate the importation of goods from foreign colonies in America.

For defraying the charge of the pay and cloathing of the militia.

To allow the importation of Spanish wool.

For suppressing seditious and treasonable societies.

For regulating the carrying of slaves from the coast of Africa.

To prevent unlawful combinations of workmen.

For purchasing the Duke of Richmond's coal-duty.

An act to regulate the quarantine of the Levant trade.

To continue certain laws respecting the Greenland fishery.

To revive and continue certain laws respecting the British fisheries, and Newfoundland fishery.

For prohibiting the exportation of corn.

To regulate the East-India shipping.

To protect masters against embezzlements by their clerks or servants.

For a grant to his Majesty out of the consolidated fund.

For granting certain stamp duties on bills of exchange and promissory notes.

For augmenting the judges' salaries in England and Scotland.

To amend the land-tax redemption act.

For reducing the militia forces, and augmenting the regulars.

To permit the importation of certain naval stores from Germany.

For recruiting the forces of the East India Company.

To enable his Majesty, by order in council, to permit the importation of certain goods in neutral ships.

An accurate Extract of the Prices of the Quartern Loaf, Wheaten Bread, at the Commencement and Conclusion of the several Mayoralties herein stated, from the Year 1735, to the present Time.

The Price at the Commencement of each Mayoralty shews the Price at the Conclusion of the preceding Mayoralty.

Nov. 9.	MAYORS.	Price of the quartern loaf, wheaten.	Weight of the penny loaf, wheaten.	Nov. 9.	MAYORS.	Price of the quartern loaf, wheaten.	Weight of the penny loaf, wheaten.
		d.	*lb. oz. dr.*			*d.*	*oz. dr.*
1735	Williams	5½	0 12 10	1768	Turner	6½	10 11
—36	Thompson	5¾	0 12 1	—69	Beckford *	6	11 9
—37	Barnard	5½	0 12 10	—70	Crossley	6½	10 10
—38	Perry	5¾	0 13 3	—71	Nash	7¼	9 9
—39	Salter	6	0 11 9	—72	Townsend	8	8 11
—40	Parsons *	7½	0 9 4	—73	Bull	7½	9 4
—41	Godschall *	5¼	0 13 3	—74	Wilkes	8	8 11
—42	Wilmot	4¾	0 14 10	—75	Sawbridge	6½	11 1
—43	Westley †	4¼	1 0 5	—76	Hallifax	6½	10 11
—44	Marshall	4¼	1 0 5	—77	Esdaile	7½	9 4
—45	Hoare	4¼	0 14 10	—78	Plumbe	6¼	11 1
—46	Benn	5½	0 12 10	—79	Kennet	5¼	13 1
—47	Ladbroke	5	0 13 14	—80	Lewes	7½	9 4
—48	Calvert	6	0 11 9	—81	Plomer	7	9 4
—49	Pennant *	5¼	0 13 3	—82	Newnham	8½	8 6
—50	Cockayne	5	0 13 14	—83	Peckham	7¼	9 9
—51	Winbterbottom*	6	0 11 9	—84	Clarke	7½	9 4
—52	Gascoyne	5½	0 12 10	—85	Wright	6½	10 11
—53	Ironside *	6	0 11 9	—86	Sainsbury	6	11 9
—54	Janssen	5	0 13 14	—87	Burnell	6½	10 11
—55	Bethell	5	0 13 14	—88	Gill	6½	10 11
—56	Dickenson †	7½	0 9 4	—89	Pickett	7¾	8 15
—57	Asgill	7½	0 9 4	—90	Boydell	7¼	9 9
—58	Glyn	6	0 11 9	—91	Hopkins	6½	10 11
—59	Chitty	5	0 13 4	—92	Sanderson	7¼	9 2
—60	Blackiston	5½	0 12 10	—93	Le Mesurier	7¼	9 4
—61	Fluyder	4½	0 15 7	—94	Skinner	7¼	8 15
—62	Beckford	5¼	0 12 10	—95	Curtis †	12¼	5 10
—63	Bridgen	6	0 11 9	—96	Watson	8¾	7 15
—64	Stephenson	6½	0 10 11	—97	Anderson	9¼	7 8
—65	Nelson	7	0 9 14	—98	Glynn	8	8 11
—66	Kite	8	0 8 11	—99	Combe	13	5 5
—67	Harley	8¼	0 8 6				

* *Died in their Mayoralty*—Parsons succeeded by Lambert, 1740. Godschall, by Heathcote, 1741. Pennant, by Blackford, 1749. Winterbottom, by Alsop, 1751. Ironside, by Rawlinson, 1753. Beckford, by Trecothick, 1769.

† Westley, 1743, bread for two weeks, at 4d. the quarten loaf, in this mayoralty. Dickenson, 1756, bread at 9½d. four weeks. Curtis, 1795, five weeks, at 15d. the penny loaf weighed 4 oz. 10 drs.

AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN FOR 1799.

	Wheat.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
	s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
January . . .	6	2	3	7	2	5	4	0
February . .	6	2	3	6	2	2	4	2
March . . .	6	3	3	7	2	6	4	2
April	6	8	3	7	2	9	4	4
May	7	7	4	6	3	4	4	9
June	7	11	4	5	3	11	5	3
July	8	4	4	6	3	10	5	5
August . . .	9	1	4	10	4	0	5	10
September . .	9	5	4	11	4	0	6	10
October . . .	10	5	5	2	4	0	6	7
November . .	11	3	5	3	4	0	7	6
December . . .	11	8	5	8	4	0	7	7
General Average	8	5	4	5½	3	5	5	6½

Account of the Import of Foreign Wheat into the Port of London, from the 1st of January, 1781, to 1799, presented to the House of Lords:

	Quarters.	*Bushels.*		*Quarters.*	*Bushels.*
1781	— 93,270	0	1791	— 49,504	5
1782	— 4,635	6	1792	— 7,065	5
1783	— 240,134	3	1793	— 170,971	3
1784	— 36,966	5	1794	— 10,654	5
1785	— 605	0	1795	— 198,911	5
1786	— ——	4	1796	— 477,877	6
1787	— ——	6	1797	— 195,462	6
1788	— 4	5	1798	— 152,449	0
1789	— 5,908	0	1799	— 238,208	4
1790	— 67,082	0			

PRICE OF STOCK FOR THE YEAR 1799.

N.B. The highest and lowest prices of each Stock in the course of any month are put down in that month.

1799.	Bank Stock	3 p. ct. red.	3 p. ct. cons.	4 p. ct. cons.	5 p. ct. Navy.	5 p. ct. 1797.	Long Ann.	Short Ann.	India Stock	India Bonds.	New Loan.	S. Sea Stock	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Exch. Bills.	Imp. 3p ct.	Imp. Ann.	Irish 5p.ct.	Eng. Lot. Tickets.	Irish L. Tickets
Jan.	139½	54⅜	55	68¼	81¼	82¾	15½	6¼	167¼	—	2½pr	—	53⅝	—	—	52⅛	10⅝	76¾	13 16 0	—
	137½	53¼	52⅞	66¾	81	81	15¼	—	161¼	—	¾dis.	—	53½	—	—	51	10½	76	13 14 0	—
Feb.	141¼	55	54¾	70⅛	83¾	84⅛	16	6⅜	163	—	2½pr	63	54⅝	—	—	52⅛	10⅝	77¾	15 6 0	—
	138¾	53½	52¾	67⅞	80¾	81⅞	15½	6¼	162¼	—	¾dis	59	53⅜	—	—	51	10½	75½	13 1 6	—
Mar.	142½	55⅞	54⅝	71	84	—	16	6⅜	168	—	—	57⅝	55¼	54¼	⅛ dis.	52¼	10¾	77¼	20 0 0	—
	134½	54¾	53⅛	69⅞	81⅜	—	15½	6¼	164¼	—	—	57¼	55	54	¾ dis.	51¼	10⅜	76	—	—
April	140	54¾	55	71⅛	86¼	83⅞	16⅛	6⅛	170	7 pr.	—	57⅝	54⅛	—	1 dis.	52⅞	10⅞	75¾	—	7 12 0
	135	54¼	53⅝	69⅜	81¾	83⅜	15¾	6	165	3	—	57¼	53⅛	—	4	61¾	10½	74	—	7 8 0
May	140¼	56	56¼	70	87¼	85½	16⅛	6⅞	171¾	2 pr.	—	—	55⅜	—	3 pr.	5	—	80	—	7 16 0
	137	54⅛	54¾	68⅞	85⅝	83¼	15⅝	6	169	—	—	—	55	—	1	52⅛	10¾	74¼	—	7 14 0
June	154¼	61½	62¾	76¾	88¾	90¾	17⅝	6¼	185	—	—	—	60¼	—	4 pr.	58⅞	—	87¼	—	8 0 0
	140	55⅞	56⅛	70½	87¼	85⅜	16	6⅛	170	—	Omn.	—	55¼	—	1 dis.	53⅜	11½	80	—	7 16 0
July	168¼	65	66	83½	96	97	19¼	6½	199	4 pr.	15pr	—	64¼	—	3 pr.	63⅛	10¾	93	—	8 10 0
	153	59⅜	61	75⅞	93½	89¼	17½	6⅜	180½	1 dis.	6	—	61¼	—	2 dis.	57¾	—	86¾	15 9 0	8 0 0
Aug.	176	69	68¾	86	99½	99	20¾	6⅞	203½	9 pr.	21	173½	64⅝	—	7 pr.	67⅞	—	96½	15 8 0	7 10 0
	164	62⅞	61	80¾	92¾	93¾	18¾	6½	190	—	9½	170	—	—	1	61	12⅞	90⅞	15 12 0	
Sept.	174	69	69	85	99	100¼	19¼	6⅝	202	2	20¼	—	—	—	5½ pr.	67¼	12½	96	15 10 0	7 14 0
	163	68½	60⅝	83½	93¼	98¾	19½	—	193	—	7¼	—	—	—	3 dis.	60⅛	12⅝	89⅜	—	7 10 0
Oct.	160½	61	63¼	76½	93½	90½	18⅛	6⅜	197½	4	10½	—	60¼	62¾	5	62⅛	12	89	15 12 0	7 17 0
	155½	58	58¾	74⅜	88	88¾	17⅜	5¾	189	2	2½	—	57⅞	—	1	58	—	81¼	—	7 14 0
Nov.	160½	62⅞	63½	77⅜	95	91⅞	17⅞	6¼	200	6	12½	—	62¾	62¼	7	61⅝	—	86¼	15 15 0	8 5 0
	152	59	59¾	74⅜	90¾	88⅛	17⅛	5⅞	190¾	3	4½	—	59	60⅛	5	59⅛	—	82¾	15 12 0	7 17 6
Dec.	158	63½	63¾	77⅜	94¾	92¼	18	5⅞	198¾	5	11¼	—	62¾	—	7	60⅜	—	85½	15 17 0	—
	154¾	61¼	62¾	76⅞	94¼	90½	17⅝	—	197¼	2	9	—	61⅝	—	4	59½	—	84⅞	15 15 0	—

Total Value of Imports into Great Britain, in the following Years:

In the year 1785	£15,948,000	In the year 1792	£19,659,000
1786	15,786,000	1793	19,256,000
1787	17,804,000	1794	22,288,000
1788	18,027,000	1795	22,736,000
1789	17,821,000	1796	23,187,000
1790	19,130,000	1797	21,013,000
1791	19,669,000	1798	25,654,000
	124,185,000		153,793,000
Average of these 7 years	17,740,000	Average of these 7 years	21,970,000
			17,740,000
		Excess in the last 7 years	4,230,000

Total Value of Exports from Great Britain, in the following Years:

	Foreign Manufactures.	*British Manufactures.*	*Total.*
In the year 1785	5,004,000	11,082,000	16,086,000
1786	4,470,000	11,830,000	16,300,000
1787	4,815,000	12,053,000	16,869,000
1788	4,747,000	12,724,000	17,472,000
1789	5,561,000	13,779,000	19,340,000
1790	5,199,000	14,021,000	20,120,000
1791	5,921,000	16,810,000	22,731,000
	35,717,000	93,199,000	128,918,000
Average of these 7 years	5,102,000	13,314,000	18,416,000
In the year 1792	6,568,000	18,336,000	24,904,000
1793	6,497,000	13,892,000	20,390,000
1794	10,008,000	16,725,000	26,734,000
1795	10,785,000	16,527,000	27,312,000
1796	11,416,000	19,102,000	30,518,000
1797	12,013,000	16,903,000	28,917,000
1798	14,028,000	19,771,000	33,800,000
	71,315,000	121,256,000	192,575,000
Average of these 7 years	10,187,000	17,322,000	27,510,000
	5,102,000	19,814,300	18,416,000
Excess in the last 7 years	5,085,000	4,008,000	9,094,000

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1799.

1799.	Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer.			Hygrometer.			Rain
	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	Greatest height.	Least height.	Mean height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.
January	50	23	35,6	55	41	49,0	30,43	29,25	29,98	86	61	79,1	0,949
February	56	22	33,7	60	42	51,0	30,26	28,88	29,70	92	57	75,2	2,235
March	56	28	39,4	62	49	53,6	30,23	29,31	29,84				0,433
April	56	30	44,7	58	47	54,3	30,23	28,75	29,62				1,671
May	70	40	53,2	62	54	58,7	30,38	29,33	29,84				1,749
June	77	49	59,4	67	58	62,1	30,41	29,18	30,04				0,552
July	77	52	63,1	68	62	64,9	30,18	29,22	29,82				2,913
August	72	51	61,1	66	62	63,3	30,12	29,26	29,81	78	45	59,8	2,209
September	71	46	57,2	67	60	62,1	30,40	29,04	29,82	83	45	63,9	2,824
October	63	35	49,7	63	55	59,5	30,37	29,34	29,80	88	53	69,4	2,191
November	58	32	45,0	60	53	56,1	30,40	28,82	29,87	87	55	71,9	1,587
December	50	17	34,7	57	43	50,4	30,54	29,19	29,93	85	60	71,1	0,349
Whole Year			48,5			57,1			29,84				19,662

A

GENERAL BILL

OF

CHRISTENINGS AND BURIALS,

From December 11, 1798, to December 10, 1799.

Christened	Males 10,087 / Females 8883	In all 18,970	Buried	Males 9046 / Females 9088	In all, 18,134.

Increased in the burials this year, 21.

Died under 2 years 5211	20 and 30 - - 1299	60 and 70 - - 1565	101 - 2
Between 2 and 5 - - 1790	30 and 40 - - 1724	70 and 80 - - 1125	
5 and 10 - - 644	40 and 50 - - 1924	80 and 90 - - 456	
10 and 20 - - 573	50 and 60 - - 1758	90 and 100 - - 63	

DISEASES.		Evil	5	Quinsy	1	Drowned	99
		Fevers of all kinds	1784	Rash	1	Excessive Drinking	5
Abortive, Still born	580	Fistula	3	Rheumatism	3	Executed *	12
Abscess	27	Flux	5	Rickets	0	Found Dead	10
Aged	1343	French Pox	23	Scurvy	3	Fractured	2
Ague	3	Gout	91	Small Pox	1111	Frighted	2
Amputation	0	Gravel, Stone, & Strangury	11	Sore Throat	12	Frozen	2
Apoplexy and suddenly	249	Grief	4	Sores and Ulcers	11	Killed by Falls and several other Accidents	64
Asthma and Phthisic	663	Head-ach	0	Spasm	2	Killed themselves	28
Bedridden	2	Headmoldshot, Horse-shoe-head, and Water in the Head	76	St. Anthony's Fire	0	Killed by a Cow	0
Bleeding	16	Impposthume	1	Stoppage in the Stomach	11	Killed by Fighting	0
Bursten and Rupture	20	Inflammation	433	St. Vitus's Dance	1	Murdered	3
Cancer	48	Itch	2	Swine pox	2	Poisoned	6
Childbed	131	Jaundice	78	Teeth	335	Scalded	2
Colds	14	Jaw Locked	1	Thrush	35	Shot	1
Colick, Gripes, &c.	8	Leprosy	1	Tumor in the Womb	0	Smothered	1
Consumption	4843	Livergrown	10	Vomiting and Looseness	0	Starved	4
Convulsions	3794	Lunatic	107	Worms	11	Sprain	0
Cough, & Hooping Cough	451	Measles	233	CASUALTIES.		Strangled	0
Cramp	1	Miscarriage	3			Suffocated	7
Croup	16	Mortification	226	Bit by a mad Dog	2	Tooth-ach	0
Diabetes	1	Palpitation of the heart	2	Broken Limbs	4	Total	269
Dropsy	906	Palsy	105	Bruised	2		
Ear-ach	1	Pleurisy	14	Burnt	13		
Eaten by Lice	1						

* There have been executed in Middlesex and Surrey 25; of which number 12 only have been reported to be buried (as such) within the bills of mortality.

SUPPLIES

Granted by Parliament for the Year 1799.

NAVY.

November 27, 1798.

That 120,000 seamen be employed, including 20,000 marines.

For wages for ditto	2,886,000	0	0
For victual for ditto	2,964,000	0	0
For wear and tear of ships in which they are to serve	4,680,000	0	0
For ordnance sea-service on board such ships	390,000	0	0

December 3.

For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers	729,063	6	7
For buildings and repairs of ships, and other extra works	693,750	0	0

June 25, 1799.

For the expense of the transport-service, and for the maintenance of prisoners of war in health	1,311,200	0	0
	£. 13,654,013	6	7

ARMY.

December 3, 1798.

That 52,051 men be employed for land service, including 5,766 invalids.

For guards, garrisons, and other land-forces, in Great Britain, Jersey, Guernsey, and Alderney, and in Ireland	1,977,253	7	10
For forces in the Plantations, including Gibraltar, Portugal, the Cape of Good Hope, those on special services, and a corps of foot in New South Wales	861,653	10	3
For difference between the British and Irish pay of six regiments of foot for service abroad	42,901	19	0
For four troops of dragoons, and twenty companies of foot, stationed in Great Britain, for recruiting regiments serving in East India	29,124	3	4
For recruiting and contingencies for land-forces, and extra feed for the cavalry	185,000	0	0

For general and staff-officers, and officers of hospitals	114,144	5	5
For full pay to supernumerary officers	41,741	16	0
For allowances to the paymaster-general of the forces, commissary-general of the musters, &c. &c.	123,006	13	3
For the increased rates of subsistence to be paid to inn-keepers, and others, on quartering soldiers	220,000	0	0
For reduced officers of land-forces and marines	169,379	7	1
For allowances to reduced horse guards	20	12	11
On account of officers late in the service of the states-general	1,000	0	0
Ditto - - - of reduced officers of British American forces	52,500	0	0
For allowances to several reduced officers of ditto	7,500	0	0
For the in and out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, and the expences of the hospital	142,688	11	3
For pensions to widows of commissioned officers	18,591	3	3
For expences expected to be incurred in the barrack-master-general's department	622,478	0	0
For foreign corps in the service of Great Britain	173,735	18	7
June 25, 1799.			
To defray the extraordinary services of the army for 1799	2,500,000	0	0
£.	7,277,319	8	2

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS.

December 3, 1798.			
For the embodied militia of Great Britain, the royal corps of miners of Cornwall and Devon, and several corps of fencible infantry	3,139,908	10	8
For contingencies for the embodied militia, and corps of fencible infantry	60,000	0	0
For clothing for the embodied militia, and corps of miners	279,934	19	2
For corps of fencible cavalry	418,440	5	8
For extra feed for ditto	25,000	0	0
For the embodied provisional cavalry	109,151	3	8
For the volunteer corps of cavalry and infantry	500,000	0	0
June 13, 1799.			
Making provision for pay and clothing of the militia.			
Ditto - - - for allowances to subaltern officers of the militia, in time of peace.			
£.	4,532,434	19	2

ORDNANCE.

December 3, 1798.

For ordnance land-service, for 1799	1,324,413	14	7
Ditto, not provided for in 1797	81,969	17	4
For sea-service, not provided for in 1797	56,218	11	11
Ditto, land-service, not provided for in 1798	108,225	1	2
£.	1,570,827	5	0

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

December 3, 1798.

Plantations. For the civil establishment of Upper Canada	7,150	0	0
Ditto of Nova Scotia	5,415	0	0
Ditto of New Brunswick	4,650	0	0
Ditto of St. John's Island	1,900	0	0
Ditto of the Island of Cape Breton	1,840	0	0
Ditto of Newfoundland	2,451	1	0
Ditto of the Bahama Islands	4,100	0	0
Ditto of the Bermudas, or Somers Islands	580	0	0
Ditto of the Island of Dominica	600	0	0
Ditto of New South Wales	6,016	15	0

March 11, 1799.

That his majesty be enabled to grant a yearly sum, out of the consolidated fund, not exceeding 12,000*l.* to Prince Edward.

Ditto to Prince Ernest Augustus.

March 16.

For his majesty's secret service abroad	150,000		
For relief of the suffering clergy and laity of France, Toulonese emigrants, and American loyalists	226,000	0	0
For assisting the Levant company in carrying on their trade	5,000	0	0

April 18.

For printing the journals, &c. of the house of commons, in 1798, over and above the estimated sum	2,773	15	0
Ditto, for the year 1799	8,000	0	0
For defraying the charge of the superintendance of aliens	7,819	0	0

For discharging the balance due on account of the expenses of the mint, for 1798	25,307	6	1
For defraying the extraordinary expenses incurred for prosecutions relating to the coin, in 1797, over and above the estimated sum	284	17	6
Ditto, in the year 1798	1,607	9	4
For defraying the expences of convicts at home, in 1798, over and above the estimated sum	971	0	7½
Ditto, for the year 1799	35,923	15	4
For the board of agriculture	3,000	0	0
For support of the veterinary college	1,500	0	0
For repairing the parish church of St. Margaret, Westminster	6,721	0	0

May 9.

To defray the sums which the commissioners, under the American treaty, have awarded to be paid by the British government; and the expenses attending the said commission	25,150	14	4
To make good money issued pursuant to addresses	9,337	5	6

June 8.

Towards enabling his majesty to make good such engagements with the emperor of Russia, as may be best adapted to the exigency of affairs	825,000	0	0
To make good the deficiency of the consolidated fund, on the 5th of January and 5th of July, 1797	699,043	11	2
To complete the supplies granted for 1797	35,990	9	6
To make good the sums paid for discount on prompt payments of the loan and lottery granted for 1798	211,791	2	7
To discharge bills to be drawn from New South Wales, and which may become due in 1799	20,000	0	0

June 13.

To make good money paid to the bank, for receiving contributions to the loan and lottery for 1798	14,698	9	2
Ditto, the deficiency of the grants for 1798	519,888	11	4
Ditto, the charges of preparing and drawing the lottery for 1798	12,200	0	0
Ditto, money issued for secret service abroad, above the sum granted in the last session	20,502	0	0
Ditto, for payment of expenses arisen from the execution of the alien-act, ditto	2,450	7	4
Ditto, for the purchase of an instrument for measur-			

ing altitudes, &c. for the commissioners appointed to ascertain the situation of St. Croix	97	9	0
Ditto, to sundry officers of the house of commons, for attendance on committees	909	13	6
Ditto, for purchase of the old gaol in the county of Surrey, for the purpose of converting the same into a court and prison for the Marshalsea	4,214	12	0
Ditto, for making up, and publishing weekly, returns of the average price of sugar	897	6	0
Ditto, to Mr. Baldwin, for his attendance in the house of peers, on the trial of Mr. Hastings	261	15	6
Ditto, for allowances and salaries to additional clerks in the office of the commissioners for auditing the public accounts	2,7621	5	0
Ditto, for disbursements on account of the settlement at New South Wales	529	12	0
Ditto, for expenses of alterations at the house of the speaker	849	16	3¾
Ditto, for expences attending the parliament-office	412	9	10
Ditto, for the purchase of a house, for an office of one of the secretaries of state	7,878	3	0
Ditto, to pay the expense of the police-office in Wapping	1,437	6	6
Ditto, to defray extraordinary expenses of prosecutions relating to the coin	300	0	0
Ditto, for completing the indexes to the rolls of parliament, and to the journals of the house of lords	1,955	18	0
Ditto, for making a survey of the Isle of Dogs, and several plans and estimates of docks, and other works, and for executing copper-plates of the plans thereof	411	3	9
Ditto, for salaries to officers, and incidental expences of the commission for reducing the national debt	1,731	16	0
Ditto, for incidental expences attending the execution of the act for sale of the land-tax	600	0	0
Ditto, for a clerk employed on various businesses and references relative to American claims	121	11	6
For the works and repairs of the military roads and bridges in North Britain	4,000	0	0
For supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	20,000	0	0
To enable his majesty to purchase the collection of natural history belonging to the late Dr. John Hunter, for the use of the public	15,000	0	0

June 25.

To enable his majesty to make remittances, to be

‡

applied to his service in Ireland, on provision being made by the parliament of that kingdom, for defraying the interest and charges of a loan to that amount	3,000,000	0	0
Ditto, to make good the sums which may be awarded under the seventh article of the treaty with America, to be paid by the British government	60,000	0	0
Ditto, to make indemnification to Earl St. Vincent and Sir Charles Grey, on account of decrees against them for the detention of American ships	35,000	0	0
To be paid to William Ashforth, and others, being the amount of the first payments on the sum subscribed to the loan of 7,500,000*l.* in 1796, by Robert Reeves, stock-broker, and which became forfeited to the public, by his omitting to make the future payments	4,275	16	0
June 27.			
For the purchase of ground for erecting a penitentiary house for convicts, and towards the expense of erecting the same	36,000	0	0
£.	6,105,310	14	8¼

NATIONAL DEBT.

June 8, 1799.			
To the Bank of England, to be by them placed to the account of the commissioners for reduction of the national debt	200,000	0	0

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

June 8, 1799.			
To make good the sums paid for principal and interest of certain exchequer-bills, charged on the supplies of 1797	153,148	10	7
Ditto, the interest paid on exchequer-bills, raised on the credit of the loan of 18,000,000*l.* granted for 1797	114,037	16	3½
Ditto, the sums paid for Interest on exchequer-bills, granted for 1798	210,071	5	11½
June 13			
For payment of interest due to the bank, on sundry exchequer-bills, and for advances on bills of exchange drawn on the lords of the treasury	465,759	16	11¼

June 18.

For paying off exchequer-bills, made out by virtue of act of last session, for raising 3,000,000*l.* thereby	3,000,000	0	0
Ditto, by virtue of act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of 1,000,000*l.*	1,000,000	0	0
Ditto, by virtue of act for raising an additional sum thereby	3,500,000	0	0
£.	8,443,017	9	9¼

VOTE OF CREDIT.

June 8, 1799.

To enable his majesty to enter into such farther engagements, and take such measures, as may be best adapted to the exigency of affairs	3,000,000	0	0

RECAPITULATION.

Navy	13,654,013	6	7
Army	7,277,319	8	2
Militia and fencible corps	4,532,434	19	2
Ordnance	1,570,827	5	0
Miscellaneous services	6,105,310	14	8¼
National Debt	200,000	0	0
Exchequer-bills	8,443,017	9	9¼
Vote of credit	3,000,000	0	0
Total supplies £.	44,782,923	3	4½

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

ANNUAL GRANTS.

November 30, 1798.

For continuing certain duties on sugar, malt, tobacco, and snuff: and for raising four shillings in the pound upon pensions, offices, and personal estates	2,000,000	0	0
For continuing the duties on malt, mum, cider, and perry	750,000	0	0

June 18, 1799.

That the charge of pay and clothing of the militia be defrayed out of the land-tax.

That the allowances to certain subaltern officers of the militia be defrayed out of the same.

£. 2,750,000 0 0

EXTRAORDINARY AIDS.

December 11, 1798.

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by annuities - - 3,000,000 0 0

February 23, 1799.

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills - 3,000,000 0 0

April 8.

For raising 1,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills - 1,500,000 0 0

April 18.

For applying 521,890*l.* 16*s.* 7½*d.* being part of the surplus of the consolidated fund on the 5th of April, 1799 - - - - - - 521,890 16 7½

May 2.

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills - 3,000,000 0 0

June 8.

For raising 15,500,000*l.* by annuities - - 15,500,000 0 0

June 13.

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by exchequer-bills - 3,000,000 0 0

June 17.

For raising 703,541*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* by a lottery - 703,541 13 4

June 18.

For applying 3,229,000*l.* out of the moneys that shall arise of the surplus of the consolidated fund - - - - - - - 3,229,000 0 0

June 20.

For raising 3,500,000*l.* by exchequer-bills - 3,500,000 0 0

For raising 3,000,000*l.* by ditto - - - 3,000,000 0 0

June 25.

For applying 34,145*l.* 2*s.* 9*d.* remaining in the hands of the paymaster-general of the forces,

out of the sum granted for defraying the extraordinary expenses of the army, for 1799 -	34,145	2	9
	39,988,577	12	8½
Annual grants - - - - - - - - - -	2,750,000	0	0
Total of ways and means - - £.	42,738,577	12	8½

TAXES.

1. INCOME DUTY.

December 4, 1798.

Charging annually, during a term to be limited, certain proportional duties upon income from 60*l.* to 200*l.*; whether any such income shall arise from lands, tenements, or hereditaments, or from any kind of personal property, or other property whatever; or from any profession, office, employment, trade, or vocation: and one-tenth part of such income, if the same shall amount to 200*l.* and upwards.

2. DUTIES ON SUGAR AND COFFEE.

June 8, 1799,

For charging an additional duty of 8*d.* per cwt. on brown and muscovado sugar, of the British plantations, imported.

Ditto of 4*s.* per cwt. on white, or clayed sugar, ditto.

Ditto of 2*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. on sugar, not of the British plantations, imported and warehoused, upon the delivery of the same, out of warehouse, for exportation.

Ditto of 6*s.* 6*d.* per cwt. on sugar imported by the East-India company, ditto.

That 2*s.* 6*d.* part of the drawback now allowed on the exportation of every hundred weight of sugar exported in the same state in which it was imported; and also on the exportation of every hundred weight of sugar called bastards, and ground or powdered sugar, and refined loaf sugar broken in pieces, and all sugar called candy; be no longer paid or allowed.

That 4*s.* part of the drawback now allowed on the exportation of every hundred weight of any other refined sugar, be no longer paid or allowed.

For charging an additional duty of 4*s.* per cwt. on coffee, imported and warehoused, upon the delivery of the same, out of warehouse, for exportation.

June 13.

For charging an additional duty of 8*d.* per cwt. on brown and muscovado sugar imported by the East-India company.

3. DUTIES ON BILLS OF EXCHANGE, AND NOTES.

June 8, 1799.

For charging a duty of 2*d.* on bills of exchange, and notes, where the sum expressed therein, or made payable thereby, shall not amount to forty shillings.

June 11.

For charging a duty of 2*d.* upon notes under forty shillings, which may be re-issuable from time to time, after payment at the place where first issued.

Ditto of 4*d.* upon notes under forty shillings, which may be re-issued from time to time, after payment at the same or any other place than where first issued.

Abstract of the total amount of the Loans raised by the British Government since the Year 1750.

1750 - - 1,000,000	1767 - - 1,500,000	1784 - 6,000,000
1751 - - 2,000,000	1768 - - 1,900,000	1785 - - none.
1752 - - none.	1769 - - - none.	1786 - - none.
1753 - - none.	1770 - - - none.	1787 - - none.
1754 - - none.	1771 - - - none.	1788 - - none.
1755 - - 1,000,000	1772 - - - none.	1789 - 1,002,500
1756 - - 2,000,000	1773 - - - none.	1790 - - none.
1757 - - 3,000,000	1774 - - - none.	1791 - - none.
1758 - - 5,000,000	1775 - - - none.	1792 - - none.
1759 - - 6,600,000	1776 - - 2,000,000	1793 - 4,500,000
1760 - - 8,000,000	1777 - - 5,000,000	1794 - 11,000,000
1761 - - 12,000,000	1778 - - 6,000,000	1795 - 18,000,000
1762 - - 12,000,000	1779 - - 7,000,000	1796 - 25,500,000
1763 - - 3,500,000	1780 - 12,000,000	1797 - 32,500,000
1764 - - - none.	1781 - 12,000,000	1798 - 17,000,000
1665 - - - none.	1782 - 13,500,000	1799 - 20,500,000
1766 - - 1,500,000	1783 - 12,000,000	

STATE PAPERS.

Message from His Majesty to the House of Commons, 22d of January.

G. R.

His Majesty is persuaded, that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament; and his Majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of counteracting, and finally defeating, this design; and he trusts that a review of all the circumstances which have recently occurred, (joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest) will dispose the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide in the manner which they shall judge most expedient for settling such a complete and final adjustment as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential for their common security, and to augment and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire.

Message from His Majesty to the House of Commons, 1st of March.

G. R.

His Majesty being desirous of making competent provision for the honourable support and maintenance of his dearly beloved sons, Prince Edward, and Prince Ernest Augustus, which the money applicable to the purposes of his Majesty's civil government would be insufficient to defray; and being also desirous of being enabled to extend to his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia, the provision which he has been enabled to make out of the hereditary revenue for the other branches of his royal family, desires the assistance of parliament for this purpose; and his Majesty relies on the affection of his faithful commons, that they will make such provision as the circumstances of the case may appear to require.

Protest against the Bill enabling his Majesty to arrest and detain Persons suspected of conspiring against his Person and Government.

DISSENTIENT,

1st, Because the existence of a conspiracy, of an extent so formidable, and of a nature so complicated, that the public disclosure of the evidence necessary to the conviction of one conspirator might enable his accomplices to ascertain the information of government, and to elude the justice of the country, can alone constitute a necessity sufficient to justify a peer of Parliament in assenting to any suspension of the habeas corpus.

2dly, Because no measures have been taken to make such necessity apparent.

3dly, Because if, from private information, or from the general circumstances of the country, the House were convinced that such necessity did actually exist, it would, nevertheless, be more consonant with the usages, and less derogatory to the dignity of Parliament, to produce substantial documents, rather than the suggestions of ministers, or the vague suspicions of individuals, in justification of so extraordinary a measure.

4thly, Because the alarms of ministers are always to be received with mistrust by the legislature, when the remedy proposed is an extension of their power, and a diminution of the liberty of the subject.

5thly, Because these principles of jealousy, applicable to all times, appear to me to be peculiarly so to the present, when a system of government by alarm has been resorted to year after year, and powers, similar to those required by this bill, been obtained on the score of allegations which subsequent events have refuted; a memorable example of which occurred in the years 1794 and 1795, when a number of persons detained under the provisions of a bill similar to this, were all either liberated without trial, or acquitted by a verdict of their country.

6th, Because the danger of an invasion (the pretence for suspending the habeas corpus last session) exists no longer. And it is subversive of that mutual confidence which should subsist between the government and the governed, to requite with distrust in their dispositions, and a continual suspension of one of the most essential safeguards of their liberty, the affections of the people, manifested in their late exertions at the moment of alarm, and in the cheerfulness with which they have submitted to burdens unparalleled in their pressure, and now confessedly unequal in their operation.

(Signed) Holland.

March 16.

By the King. A Proclamation.

G. R.

Whereas we have reason to apprehend that divers persons, engaged in the treasonable conspiracy against us in our kingdom of Ireland, which lately manifested itself in open acts of rebellion and war against us in our said kingdom, have not abandoned their treasonable designs against us; and, acting in concert with our foreign enemies, are preparing to assist our said enemies in an invasion of our kingdoms, and for that purpose are endeavouring

to incite and stir up rebellion and war against us in this kingdom: we have, therefore, thought it necessary, for the safety of our kingdoms, to prevent all persons engaged in such treasonable designs from passing from our said kingdom of Ireland into this kingdom: and we do, for that purpose, by and with the advice of our privy council, order, and do hereby strictly charge and command, that, from and after the 20th day of March, instant, no person whatsoever be permitted to pass from our said kingdom of Ireland into this kingdom, except such persons as shall be in our service, and actually so employed; and such persons as shall obtain a passport for that purpose from our lord-lieutenant of our said kingdom of Ireland, his chief or under secretaries, the mayor, or other chief magistrate of some city or town in Ireland, or one of our general officers commanding our forces within the several districts in our said kingdom: and, by and with advice aforesaid, we do further order, and hereby strictly charge and command, that no person whatsoever (except as aforesaid), coming from our said kingdom of Ireland, be permitted to land in this kingdom, without our licence for that purpose first obtained; and that all such persons (except as aforesaid), who shall land, or attempt to land, in this kingdom, without such licence as aforesaid, shall be forthwith taken into custody, and detained in custody until our pleasure shall be further known: and we do further order and require, that all persons having such passports as aforesaid shall produce the same to some officer of our customs, at the port or place to which such person shall come, before such persons shall be permitted to land at such port or place: and we do hereby, by and with the advice aforesaid, strictly enjoin, require, and command all and singular justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and all other our officers and subjects, to use their utmost endeavours for the due execution of these our commands.

Given at our court at St. James's, the 15th day of March, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-nine, in the thirty-ninth year of our reign.

God save the King.

Protest entered on the Journals of the House of Lords, against the Address in favour of an Union with Ireland, 11th of April.

1st, Because the measure of a legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, the policy of which is highly questionable, and the importance of which demands the most calm, dispassionate, and deliberate examination, is persisted in and urged forward in compliment to his majesty's ministers, under circumstances which ought imperiously to have deterred us from the prosecution of it.

The moment of civil disturbance and division, when the necessity of military law is alleged by ministers, and acknowledged by parliament, seems ill calculated for ensuring the full and unequivocal consent of the Irish people,

without which even the supporters of the measure must confess it to be illusory and dangerous in the extreme. And to commit the parliament of Great Britain to the wisdom of a project which the Commons of Ireland have rejected, and to which the inhabitants of that kingdom are disinclined, appears to us a whimsical expedient for securing the connection of the two countries, and consolidating the strength of the empire.

2ndly, Because, as no jealousy or division has existed between the two legislatures, the present dangers and discontents in Ireland cannot be attributed to the independence of parliament, but must rather be considered as the bitter fruits of a coercive system of policy, suggested by his majesty's advisers, and enforced under the sanction of the executive power with unconstitutional and wanton severity.

3rdly, Because, though the possibility of a different will, in the two separate legislatures, cannot be controverted, yet possible inconvenience in remote and extreme cases from supposed legislative measures, or possible instances of additional embarrassment to the executive government, are no arguments for the subversion of a system in which no such inconveniences have been experienced, and no such difficulties encountered. For the consequences of such reasoning would lead us to consolidate into one the different branches of our own excellent constitution; to remove all the checks which the jealousy of our ancestors has imposed on the executive government; to condemn whatever theory might suppose difficult, though practice had shewn it to be easy; and to substitute hypothesis and speculation for history, fact, and experience.

4thly, Because, the notion, that a legislative union will either conciliate the affections of the discontented in Ireland, or furnish more effectual means for defeating the design of the enemy in that country, seems unsupported by reasoning and in direct contradiction to analogy and experience. Were we to admit the beneficial consequences of an union, yet the benefits which, according to such hypothesis, are likely to result to Ireland from the measures, are, at least, progressive and distant, and can therefore furnish no reasonable hope of allaying immediate discontent, suppressing actual rebellion, or defeating designs already on foot. If, indeed, the enemies of the connection endeavoured to effectuate a separation of the two kingdoms, by sowing jealousies and dissentions between the two parliaments, (as was the case in Scotland, immediately previous to the union), the measure proposed would manifestly be an effectual, it might be represented as the only, remedy for the evil: but if it be true that their object is to disseminate jealousy, and foment discontent, not between the distant legislatures and governments of England and Ireland, but between the people and parliament, between the governed and the government of that country; and if, by representing their legislature as the corrupt agent of British ministers, and slavish engine of British tyranny, they have succeeded in

alienating a large portion of his majesty's subjects; and if it be farther true, as stated in the report of the committee of secrecy of the Irish parliament, that the misrepresentations of a few individuals have been found sufficient to seduce the allegiance of one whole province of Ireland; we are indeed at a loss to conceive how the danger of such designs is to be averted, or the force of such misrepresentations diminished, by a measure, which reduces the number of representatives of the Irish people, tranfers the legal organ of their will out of the bosom of their own country, and annihilates all independent and exclusive authority in that kingdom.

An examination of the immediate consequences which the union formerly produced in Scotland, and a contemplation of the recent effects of its discussion in Ireland, suggest yet stronger reasons for doubting its efficacy either in healing discontents, or furnishing the means of resistance to any attempt of the enemy. We learn from the most authentic documents of those times, that in Scotland its agitation produced disorder and tumult; that, six years after it passed, nearly all the Scotch peers voted for its dissolution, and founded that vote on the discontents it had occasioned; that it remained for a long period a subject of sullen discontent; that a promise of its dissolution was considered by the agents of the Pretender, as advantageous to his cause in Scotland; and that two rebellions broke out in that kingdom, subsequent to its accomplishment.

Furthermore, from what information we have been able to procure, we observe, with the deepest concern and alarm, that its discussion in Ireland has already been attended with the most fearful symptoms. From the encreased powers with which it has recently been deemed necessary to arm the executive power, we cannot but infer, that the prospect of an incorporating union has failed to conciliate the minds of the disaffected; and, from the ferment occasioned by its discussion, it is evident that all other parties in Ireland are alienated or divided, and the means of resistance in case of insurrection or foreign invasion thereby materially weakened.

We thought it therefore more prudent in this moment of alarm, to desist from the prosecution of a measure, which might become a subject of complaint, and a new source of discontent and division. And we were more disposed to seek for the re-establishment of mutual confidence, in the adoption of conciliatory laws, in the removal of odious disabilities, in the redress of grievances, and the operation of a milder system of policy on the affections of the Irish people, than in any experiment of theory and nominal union of governments.

5thly. Because, at a time when the danger of innovation has been deemed a sufficient pretext for the continuation of abuses, the suspension of improvement, and the preservation of a defective representation of the people, we cannot regard without jealousy and alarm, an innovation of direct contrary tendency, viz. the intro-

duction of a number of members into the British parliament, from a legislature, one branch of which has acknowledged the imperfecfection of its own constitution: and against the other branch of which the sale of peerages has been publicly alleged, and as publicly offered to be proved.

And, however invidious it might be to cite any example in confirmation of such opinion, we are not so blind to matters of notoriety, or so deaf to the lessons of experience, as not to apprehend, from a measure of this nature, an enormous increase of the influence of the crown; neither could we perceive, either in the present temper of the Irish people, inflamed by civil animosity, and exasperated by recent rebellion, or in the general moderation of his majesty's present advisers, any thing to allay our apprehensions, or remove our jealousies; and we were unwilling to give our consent, at a period when new burdens are every day imposed, and new sacrifices every day required of the people, to a measure which must supply additional reasons for doubting the adequacy of their representation, and suspecting the independence of parliament.

(Signed) Holland.
Thanet.
King.

Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, 6th June.

His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint this house, that he had some time since concluded an eventual engagement with his good brother the Emperor of Russia, for employing forty-five thousand men against the common enemy, in such manner as the state of affairs in Europe at that period appeared to render most advantageous. The change of circumstances which has since arisen, having rendered a different application of that force more desirable, his majesty has recently had the satisfaction to learn that the views of the Emperor of Russia in that respect are entirely conformable to his own. But his majesty has not yet received any account that the formal engagements to that effect have been regularly concluded. He has, however, the satisfaction of knowing that the same promptitude and zeal in support of the common cause, which his ally has already manifested in a manner so honorable to himself, and so signally beneficial to Europe, have induced him already to put this army in motion towards the place of its destination, as now settled by mutual consent. His majesty therefore thinks it right to acquaint the house of commons, that the pecuniary conditions of this treaty will oblige his majesty to pay the sum of two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds in stipulated instalments, as preparation money; and to pay a monthly subsidy of seventy-five thousand pounds, as well as to engage for a farther payment of thirty-seven thousand five hundred pounds per month; which payment is not to take place till after the conclusion of a peace made by common consent.

His majesty relies on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful

commons, to enable him to make good these engagements.

And his majesty being desirous of continuing to afford the necessary succours to his ally, the Queen of Portugal, as well as to give timely assistance at this important juncture to the Swiss Cantons, for the recovery of their ancient liberty and independence, and to make every other exertion for improving to the utmost the signal advantages which, by the blessing of God, have attended the operations of the combined armies on the continent, since the commencement of the present campaign; recommends it also to the house of commons to enable his majesty to enter into such farther engagements, and to take such measures, as may be best adapted to the exigency of affairs, and most likely, by continued perseverance and vigour, to complete the general deliverance of Europe from the insupportable tyranny of the French republic.

Protest entered in the House of Lords against committing the Treason Forfeiture Bill, 4th July.

Dissentient,

First, because the statute, which it is by this bill proposed to make perpetual, appears to us to be unjust and impolitic, and contrary to the mild spirit of the laws of England — unjust, because it reduces to poverty and ruin children for the crimes of their ancestors; impolitic, because, instead of healing the divisions and animosity occasioned by civil war, it tends to make them continue.

It appears to us to be contrary to the express declaration of Magna Charta, which says, that no person shall be disinherited or deprived of his franchises unless he be heard in his defence; for in this case we disinherit persons who cannot be heard, and who have committed no crime.

Secondly, Because it does not appear that any urgent necessity calls for the immediate adoption of this law at this late period of the session, when it cannot receive the due consideration which a question of this sort deserves, and when the attendance is so thin in this house.

Thirdly, Because we have the satisfaction of thinking it is not necessary for the preservation of his majesty, whose throne cannot be more secure by severe penal statutes. We therefore will not agree to destroy that hope which Sir William Blackstone exultingly says our posterity may entertain —that corruption of blood may one day be abolished and forgotten.

Ponsonby.
Holland.

Protest against the third Reading of the Militia Reduction Bill.

Dissentient, *July* 10.

Because the measures prescribed by the bill are destructive of the constitutional force of the country, by making the militia ballot a fund for the supply, and its discipline a drill for the accommodation of other corps, and by degrading its officers to the humiliating situation of commanding the miserable remnants of their

regiments rejected by recruiting serjeants of the line.

Because the subversion of this constitutional force must be the inevitable consequence, as it is probably the object of these measures; for it cannot be imagined that gentlemen of property (such as are required by the still remaining wreck of the militia laws) should hereafter come forward in times of difficulty and danger, with a zeal and patriotism so much applauded, and so bitterly insulted; that men of the highest consideration and fortune, such as alone can form a constitutional force, should quit their domestic comforts and family occupations without personal views, or professional allurements, to fill a station so degrading to them as that of drill serjeants to the army; but exclusive of this great and insuperable objection, we consider this bill as framed under circumstances of gross inattention to the public interest, to private rights of various descriptions, and to the clearest and most important principles of the constitution; and we should esteem ourselves neglectful of our own characters, as well as deficient in public duty, if we did not record our marked and unreserved reprobation of a measure of such dangerous tendency: first, because the promoters of this bill have, contrary to every principle of common justice, established an arbitrary proportion, by which the respective counties are hereafter to be burthened with the expense of raising their future militia, deviating from the established scale, approved and sanctioned by the act of the twenty-sixth and thirty-seventh of the king, without any grounds laid before parliament, by which the justice of such deviation could be estimated, though in a few days, and with no expense. The annual list for the county ballots returned to the lieutenants of each county, and directed (by the twenty-sixth of Geo. III. chap. 107, clause 50.) to be transmitted to the secretary of state, would, without error, have produced a correct scale.

Secondly, Because all militia men, not arriving (after their inrolment) at their respective regiments at the exact time, contained in any order which may be given to them, are declared to be deserters, liable to be taken from service in the militia for five years within the kingdom, and condemned to serve in regiments of the line for life in any part of the world, by sentence of a regimental court-martial, where neither the judges nor witnesses are upon oath; and by an additional injustice, the county which paid the service of the man is liable to the further charge of supplying his place.

Thirdly, Because the difficulties and embarrassments which men inrolled to serve in the militia are exposed to by this bill, are so obviously cruel and unjust, that it affords no slight ground of suspicion that they are intended to promote the recruiting the regular forces from the militia, by the forced desertions of the unfortunate individuals who shall be engaged in the militia service; for the man, as soon as he is inrolled, perhaps many hundred miles from his regiment, is ordered to join it; but by this bill no pay is to

commence, nor allowance to be granted, till he actually joins his regiment; he is deprived of all former sources of subsistence, and is not entitled to the means of present support; plunder or charity alone can maintain him on the road, and if, under all these unsurmountable difficulties, he does not arrive within the time limited in his orders, he is liable to be treated as a deserter.

Fourthly, Because by this bill the regiments of militia are invited to a state of disorder and mutiny by anticipation, as the bill has publicly declared that desertion before the period of its passing into a law was to be made an offence not necessarily followed by punishment, but that every man may, by such desertion, take leave of absence till August, if by that time he shall inlist in the public service; the bill encourages immediate desertion from a service to which the man had sworn fidelity; and the king is empowered to authorise the deserter's entrance into another service discharged from any claim by the militia regiment to which he belongs.

Fifthly, Because by this bill the most important and incontrovertible principle of the constitution is flagrantly impeached. Whether it is legal or not to appropriate public money by an order of the commissioners of the treasury, and levy money on the land owners by a similar order, without consent of parliament, is stated by the bill as a matter of doubt entertained by parliament; and on the grounds of this pretended doubt, a clause of indemnity is introduced, of which the title of the bill gave no intimation, and to which the attention of the legislature had not been directed.

In this general neglect, overthrow, and denial of private justice, public principles, and national rights, it is not to be wondered at that little attention should be paid to the feelings of individuals, however called by their country to stations of considerable confidence and trust; yet we cannot but express our disapprobation of the granting directions to commanding officers of militia regiments to crimp for another service their associates and fellow soldiers, and become at once the instruments both of their own disgrace, and of that of the militia establishment to which they are zealously attached.

Carnarvon.
Radnor.
Wentworth Fitzwilliam.

The Speech of the Speaker of the House of Commons at the Bar of the House of Lords, July 12.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

In the name of the Commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, it is my duty humbly to tender to your majesty the bills by which their grants are completed for the public service of this year. The magnitude of the supply, and the cheerfulness with which it has been given, combined with the flourishing state of commerce; and of the revenue, and with the manifestations of zeal and public spirit which universally prevail, may justly be considered as indications the most encouraging,

and decisive of the abundant and unimpaired resources of the British empire, and of the unshaken firmness of your faithful people. To your Commons it is a subject of pride and satisfaction to reflect, that in providing for the exigency of the present conjuncture, they have been enabled to adopt a measure, which though attended with sacrifices unprecedented in their amount, is eminently calculated to administer effectual support to public credit; upon the depreciation and failure of which, the enemy have long been induced to found the vain hope of destroying the liberties and independence of these kingdoms. The conduct, however, of your Commons has not been influenced by a limited and partial view of the situation and circumstances of the country, and of the causes which operate upon its welfare and security; they know that its interests are closely connected with those of other states, and they have accordingly conformed to the principles of a sound and enlarged policy, by affording to your majesty the most ample means of promoting and assisting the exertions of those powers, who, justly estimating the danger with which they are threatened, are convinced that a fatal aggravation of it would be the probable consequence of compromise and supineness; and that, to be successfully repelled, it must be opposed by such efforts as will be sufficient to prove to the enemy that their system of ambition and conquest is equally nefarious and extravagant, and that its objects are unattainable. Your Commons, sire, are deeply sensible of the importance of the stake for which your majesty is still unavoidably contending, and of the duties which they are bound to discharge. It is, they are persuaded, upon the wisdom and fortitude of the British parliament, that, under the favour of Divine Providence, must chiefly depend the preservation of whatever is truly valuable in civil society, and of all that constitutes the happiness of private life. Actuated by these sentiments, and relying with perfect confidence upon the justice and the moderation of your majesty's views, your Commons have not hesitated to continue to your majesty that cordial and decided support in the prosecution of the contest, which can alone justify the hope of concluding it by a safe and durable peace.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on closing the Session, 12th July.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The favourable appearances which I announced to you at the commencement of the present session, have been since followed by successes beyond my most sanguine expectations.

By the progress of the imperial arms, under the command of the Archduke Charles of Austria, a great part of Swisserland has already recovered its ancient religion, laws, and liberties: and the uninterrupted and brilliant victories of the combined armies under the command of Field-marshal Suwaroff, have, in the short period which has elapsed since the open-

ing of the campaign, nearly accomplished, the deliverance of Italy from the degrading yoke of the French republic.

The decision and energy which distinguish the councils of my ally the emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert happily established between us, will enable me to employ to the greatest advantage, the powerful means which you have entrusted to me, for establishing on permanent grounds, the security and honour of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe.

I have the satisfaction of seeing, that internal tranquillity is in some degree restored in my kingdom of Ireland.

The removal of the only remaining naval force of the enemy to a distant quarter must nearly extinguish even the precarious hope which the traitorous and disaffected have entertained of foreign assistance.

But our great reliance for the immediate safety of that country, must still rest on the experience, zeal, and bravery of my troops of all descriptions, and on the unshaken loyalty and voluntary exertions of my faithful subjects in both kingdoms.

Its ultimate security can alone be insured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain: and I am happy to observe that the sentiments manifested by numerous and respectable descriptions of my Irish subjects justify the hope that the accomplishment of this great and salutary work will be proved to be as much the joint wish, as it unquestionably is the common interest, of both my kingdoms. The provisions which you have made for suppressing those dangerous and seditious societies, which had been formed for the purpose of disseminating the destructive principles of the French revolution, are peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of the times, and have furnished additional security to the established constitution.

Gentlemen of the House of Com-Commons,—The unusual sacrifices which you have made in the present moment in behalf of my subjects, are wisely calculated to meet effectually the exigencies of this great crisis. They have, at the same time, given additional security to public credit, by establishing a system of finance, beneficial alike to yourselves and to posterity; and the cheerfulness with which these heavy burdens are supported, evinces at once the good sense, the loyalty, and the public spirit of my people.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is impossible to compare the events of the present year with the state and prospects of Europe at the distance of but a few months, without acknowledging in humble thankfulness, the visible interposition of divine providence, in averting those dangers which so long threatened the overthrow of all the establishments of the civilized world.

It may be permitted us to hope that the same protecting Providence will continue to us its guidance through the remainder of this eventful contest; and will conduct it finally to such an issue as shall transmit to future ages a memorable example of the instability of all power founded on in-

justice, usurpation, and impiety; and shall prove the impossibility of ultimately dissolving the connection between public prosperity and public virtue.

His Majesty's Speech to both Houses at the Meeting of Parliament, 24th September.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have called you together at this unusual season, in order to recommend it to you to consider of the propriety of enabling me, without delay, to avail myself to a farther extent, of the voluntary services of the militia at a moment when the increase of our active force abroad may be productive of the most important and beneficial consequences.

We have seen the happy effects of the measure which you adopted on this subject in the last session; and the forces which I was thereby enabled to employ, have already displayed, in the face of the enemy, a courage, discipline, and steadiness, worthy of the character of British soldiers.

In the short interval since the close of the last session, our situation and prospects have, under the blessing of Providence, improved beyond the most sanguine expectation. The abilities and valour of the commanders and troops of the combined imperial armies, have continued to be eminently displayed. The deliverance of Italy may now be considered as secured by the result of a campaign, equal in splendour and success to any of the most brilliant recorded in history: and I have had the heart-felt satisfaction of seeing the valour of my fleets and armies successfully employed to the assistance of my allies, to the support of our just cause, and to the advancement of the most important interests of the British empire.

The kingdom of Naples has been rescued from the French yoke, and restored to the dominion of its lawful sovereign, and my former connections with that power have been renewed.

The French expedition to Egypt has continued to be productive of calamity and disgrace to our enemies, while its ultimate views against our eastern possessions have been utterly confounded. The desperate attempt which they have lately made to extricate themselves from their difficulties has been defeated by the courage of the Turkish forces, directed by the skill, and animated by the heroism, of a British officer, with a small portion of my naval force under his command; and the overthrow of that restless and perfidious power, who, instigated by the artifices, and deluded by the promises of the French, had entered into their ambitious and destructive projects in India, has placed the British interests in that quarter in a state of solid and permanent security.

The vigilance, decision, and wisdom of the governor-general in council on this great and important occasion, and the tried abilities and valour of the commanders, officers, and troops employed under his direction, are entitled to my highest praise.

There is, I trust, every reason to expect that the effort I am making for the deliverance of the united provinces will prove suc-

cessful. The British arms have rescued from the possession of the enemy, the principal port and naval arsenal of the Dutch republic; and although we have to regret the loss of many brave men in a subsequent attack against the enemy, whose position enabled them to obstruct our progress, I have the strongest ground to expect that the skill of my generals, and the determined resolution and intrepidity of my troops and those of my allies, will soon surmount every obstacle; and that the fleet which, under the usurped dominion of France, was destined to co-operate in the invasion of these islands, may speedily, I trust, under its ancient standard, partake in the glory of restoring the religion, liberty, and independence of those provinces, so long in intimate union and alliance with this country.

While you rejoice with me in the events which add so much lustre to the British character, you will, I am persuaded, as cordially join in the sentiments so justly due to the conduct of my good and faithful ally the emperor of Russia. To his magnanimity and wisdom, directing to so many quarters of Europe the force of his extensive and powerful empire, we are in a great measure indebted for the success of our own efforts, as well as for the rapid and favourable change in the general situation of affairs. I have directed copies to be laid before you of those engagements, which have consolidated and cemented a connection so consonant to the permanent interests of my empire, and so important at the present moment to every part of the civilized world.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—The ample supplies which you have granted to me in the course of the last session will, I trust, so nearly provide for the exigencies of the public service, even on the extensive scale which our present operations require, as to enable me, without further aid, to continue those exertions to the close of the present year; but, in order to afford you the convenience of a longer recess, I recommend it to you to consider of providing for the expense which will be necessary in the early part of the ensuing year, and with this view I have ordered the proper estimates to be laid before you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—In pursuance of your recommendation, I judged it proper to communicate to my two houses of parliament in Ireland, at the close of their last session, the sentiments which you had expressed to me respecting an incorporating union with that kingdom.

The experience of every day confirms me in the persuasion, that signal benefit would be derived to both countries from that important measure; and I trust that the disposition of my parliament there will be found to correspond with that which you have manifested for the accomplishment of a work which would tend so much to add to the security and happiness of all my Irish subjects, and to consolidate the strength and prosperity of the empire.

Protest on the Bill for enabling his Majesty to accept the Services of

an additional Number of Volunteers from the Militia, under certain Restrictions.

DISSENTIENT,

1. Because, by this bill, and by the recited act of the last session, whose powers are by this bill aggravated and extended, the constitutional purposes of the militia establishment are totally and finally subverted.

2. Because all the purposes of procuring men for the army might have been easily obtained, by disbanding the Supplementary War Militia (which, by its extraordinary increase, had confessedly occasioned a scarcity of men), without reducing the permanent militia establishment to a service, in which no gentleman could hereafter hope that his patriotic and disinterested industry would enable him to form his county regiment to a continued state of discipline, at the head of which he might, with credit and honour to himself, answer the purpose of his institution in the defence of his country against invasion.

3. Because by this measure, all that system and arrangement which nourished the zeal of independent country gentlemen is irrecoverably done away in the existing pressure of a formidable and alarming war, and the peace establishment of militia (if, mangled as it is by this bill, it can survive the war) will necessarily be reduced to a mere standing army of the worst sort; independent of an annual vote of parliament, deprived of all its former constitutional advantages, connected with the people by nothing but the unequal and oppressive burthens it imposes on them, and commanded by such persons as may be procured to be regulating officers to a mere drill army of recruits.

4. Because the landed interest of England and Wales, already so heavily burthened, is most materially affected by this total revolution in the militia system; inasmuch as the peculiar expenses of a militia, originally formed for our unalienable domestic defence and insular garrison, are unjustly continued on the oppressed owners and occupiers of land in England and Wales, when they are by this measure deprived of the advantages which they had purchased, namely, those of security, resulting from a permanent domestic protection for their wives and children, which, under the faith of parliament, was held out to them as the valuable consideration for heavy taxes imposed solely on them.

5. Because this bill operates with most unjustifiable partiality; it does not fairly and equally extend to Scotland; Scotland is still protected in the enjoyment of a constitutional militia; neither reduced to the disgraceful condition of a drill for the army, nor liable to be employed in the defence of England; from its services (confined and limited solely to the boundaries of Scotland) England and Wales can derive no protection; whilst the reduced remnants of the militia of England and Wales may be removed from the defence of their own homes, to that of the most remote parts of Scotland.

Carnarvon.
Wentworth Fitzwilliam.
All but the second reason.
Buckinghamshire.

Speech of the Lord Lieutenant 22d January 1799, *at the Meeting of the Irish Parliament.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received his majesty's commands to meet you in parliament.

I congratulate you upon the unparalleled achievement of the detachment of his majesty's fleet under the command of Rear-Admiral Lord Nelson; on the total defeat of the French squadron off the coasts of this kingdom by that under the command of Sir J. B. Warren; and on the brilliant and important conquest of Minorca. Those events, while they afford to us in common with every other description of his majesty's subjects, matter of just pride and satisfaction, must at the same time, give confidence to other powers, and shew to all Europe the beneficial effects of a system of vigour and exertion directed with manly perseverance against the destructive projects of the common enemy.

I feel much concern in being obliged to acquaint you that a spirit of disaffection still prevails in several parts of this kingdom; and that the secret agents of the enemy are active in raising an expectation of fresh assistance from France.

In this situation, and under the evident necessity of continuing the war with vigour, his majesty firmly relies upon that spirit of magnanimity which has hitherto marked all your exertions in support of the honour of his crown, of the interest of this kingdom, and of the general cause of the Empire.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—I have ordered the public accounts and estimates to be laid before you; and as I am confident your wisdom will raise the supplies which may be necessary, in the manner least burthensome to the subjects, so you may depend upon my attention to their prudent and economical application.

It is with great satisfaction I observe, that, notwithstanding our internal calamities, this kingdom, blended as its interests are in the general prosperity of the empire, has participated in the effects of the encreasing wealth and commerce of Great Britain, and that our revenues and trade have encreased.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal regulation which have so long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and support. Your agriculture, your manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the Protestant charter schools, and other charitable institutions, will require, and will, I am sure, continue to receive that aid and encouragement which they have uniformly experienced from the liberality of parliament. I am confident you will feel a particular anxiety to give farther attention to the just and honourable claims of those who have suffered for their loyalty during the rebellion.

His majesty depends upon your persevering energy to repress by every wise effort the spirit of disaffection which still requires the exercise of extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects. In recurring, where the occasion has required it, to acts of indispensa-

ble severity, I have not been inattentive to the suggestions of mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the effects of penal justice, and the necessary exertions of the powers of the state, with as much forbearance and lenity as could be consistent with the public safety.

In the general cause which engages the empire our prospect is highly encouraging; but in proportion as a successful termination of the war becomes probable, our efforts should be redoubled in order to secure it.

The zeal of his majesty's regular and militia forces, the gallantry of the yeomanry, the honourable co-operation of the British fencibles and militia, and the activity, skill, and valour of his majesty's fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the situation and circumstances of this kingdom, considering on the one hand the strength and stability of Great Britain, and on the other, those divisions which have shaken Ireland to its foundation, the more anxious I am for some permanent adjustment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our sister kingdom to every part of this Island.

The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope, that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources, of the British empire.

His Excellency's Speech to both Houses on proroguing the Parliament 1st June.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have received his majesty's commands to release you from your farther attendance in parliament, in order that the various parts of the kingdom, which are still agitated by the projects of the disaffected, may reap the advantage of your more immediate vigilance and protection.

I am at the same time to thank you in his majesty's name, for the continued and undiminished zeal which you have manifested for counteracting the wicked plots of internal conspirators, and for the defeat of every hostile attempt which the desperation of the enemy may meditate. The situation of affairs on the continent has been materially improved in the period which has elapsed since the commencement of the session. The signal advantages already obtained by the Austrian arms, and the vigorous and decisive exertions on the part of Russia must be subjects of great joy and congratulation to all who can estimate the value of established order and legitimate government. I know the pleasure

you must derive from the consoling prospect, that Europe may be ultimately rescued from the ravaging arms and the desolating principles of France.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—I thank you in his majesty's name, for the large and extraordinary supply which you have so honourably voted to meet every wish of the government and every exigency of the state. You must reflect with the highest satisfaction on the liberal co-operation which, in every moment of difficulty, you have experienced from the British parliament; and I have the fullest confidence, that the public spirit of this country will not be found inferior to that of Great Britain, in submitting to such temporary burdens as the safety of the community may require. I sincerely regret that so extensive a demand should be made on your liberality; but when no measure has been left untried by the malice of our enemies to sever this kingdom from the British empire, and to involve you in all the horrors of rebellion and massacre, you have displayed true wisdom in proportioning your exertions to the blessings you have to preserve, and the miseries you have to avert.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—I am to return you his majesty's acknowledgements for the many important measures you have accomplished this session. Your liberality and justice to those who have suffered from their loyalty will confirm the exertions of the well-disposed; and your judicious provisions for the regulation of paper currency are calculated to preserve its credit from depreciation, without diminishing the necessary circulation.

I am sensible of the confidence you have reposed in me, by enabling me to exercise the powers of martial law in the manner best adapted to the present circumstances of the country. It will be my care to employ those powers for the purposes for which they were given, by taking the most effectual and summary measures for the suppression and punishment of rebellious proceedings, interfering as little as possible with the ordinary administration of justice among his majesty's peaceable subjects.

I have his majesty's particular commands to acquaint you that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain has been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of the parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of the laws, constitution and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections. His majesty will receive the greatest satisfaction in witnessing the accomplishment of a system, which by allaying the unhappy distractions too long prevalent in Ireland, and by promoting the security, wealth, and commerce of his respective kingdoms, must afford them at all times, and especially in the present moment the best means of jointly opposing, an effectual resistance to the destructive projects of foreign and domestic enemies; and his majesty, as the

common father of his people, must look forward with earnest anxiety to the moment, when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his subjects in Great Britain and Ireland, they may all be inseparably united in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution, in the support of the honour and dignity of his majesty's crown, and in the preservation and advancement of the welware and prosperity of the whole British empire.

I feel most sensibly the arduous situation in which I am placed, and the weight of the trust which his majesty has imposed upon me at this most important crisis; but if I should be so fortunate as to contribute in the smallest degree to the success of this great measure, I shall think the labours and anxieties of a life devoted to the service of my country amply repaid, and shall retire with the conscious satisfaction, that I have had some share in averting from his majesty's dominions those dangers and calamities which have overspread so large a portion of Europe.

TREATY OF CAMPO FORMIO.

Secret Articles and additional Conventions of the Treaty of Campo Formio, of the 20th of Vendémaire, 6th Year (Oct. 17, 1797). Published at Rastadt, April 18, 1799.

Art. 1. His majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, consents that the boundaries of the French republic shall extend to the undermentioned line; and engages to use his influence, that the French republic shall, by the peace to be concluded with the German empire, retain the same line as its boundary: namely, the left bank of the Rhine from the confines of Swisserland, below Basle, to the branches of the Nette above Andernach; including the head of the bridge at Manheim, the town and fortress of Mentz, and both banks of the Nette from where it falls into the Rhine to its source near Brugh. From thence the line passes by Scheuscherade and Borley to Kerpees and thence to Ludersdorf, Blantenheim, Marmagen, Coll, and Gemund, with all the circles and territories of these places, along both the banks of the Olff, to where it falls into the Boer, and along both banks of the Boer, including Heinbach, Nideggen, Duren and Juliers, with their circles and territories; as also the places on the banks with their circles to Linnig included. Hence the line extends by Hoffern and Kylensdalen, Papelernod, Lutersforst, Rodenberg, Haversloo, Anderscheid, Kaldekuchen, Vampach, Herrigen, and Grosberg, including the town of Venloo and its territory. And if, notwithstanding the mediation of his imperial majesty, the German empire shall refuse to consent to the above-mentioned boundary line of the republic, his imperial majesty hereby formally engages to furnish no more than his contingent, which shall not be employed in any fortified place, or it shall be considered as a rupture of the peace and friendship which is restored between his majesty and the republic.

2. His imperial majesty will employ his good offices in the negotiation of the peace of the empire to obtain, 1st. that the navigation of the Rhine from Humisgen to the territory of Holland shall be free both to the French republic and the states of the empire, on the right bank. 2d. That the possessors of territory near the mouth of the Moselle, shall never, and on no pretence, attempt to interrupt the free passage and navigation of ships and other vessels from the Moselle into the Rhine. 3d. The French republic shall have the free navigation of the Meuse; and the tolls and other imposts from Venloo to Holland shall be abolished.

3. His imperial majesty renounces for himself and his successors the sovereignty and possession of the county of Falkenstein and its dependencies.

4. The countries which his imperial majesty takes possession of, in consequence of the 6th article of the public definitive treaty, this day signed, shall be considered as an indemnification for the territory given up by the 7th article of the public treaty and the foregoing article. This renunciation shall only be in force when the troops of his imperial majesty shall have taken possession of the countries ceded by the said articles.

5. The French republic will employ its influence that his imperial majesty shall receive the Archbishopric of Saltzburg, and that part of the circle of Bavaria which lies between the Archbishopric of Saltzburg, the river Inn, Salza and Tyrol, including the town of Wasserburg on the right bank of the Inn, with an arrondissement of 3000 toises.

6. His imperial majesty, at the conclusion of the peace with the empire, will give up to the French republic the sovereignty and possession of the Frickthal, and all the territory belonging to the house of Austria, on the left bank of the Rhine, between Zurgach and Basle, provided his majesty, at the conclusion of the said peace, receives a proportionate indemnification. The French republic in consequence of particular arrangements to be made, shall unite the above-mentioned territory with the Helvetic republic, without further interference on the part of his imperial majesty or the empire.

7. The two contracting powers agree, that when, in the ensuing peace with the German empire, the French republic shall make an acquisition in Germany, his imperial majesty shall receive an equivalent: and if his imperial majesty shall make such an acquisition, the French republic shall in like manner receive an equivalent.

8. The prince of Napau Dietz, late stadtholder of Holland, shall receive a territorial indemnification; but neither in the vicinity of the Austrian possessions, nor in the vicinity of the Batavian republic.

9. The French republic makes no difficulty to restore to the king of Prussia his possessions on the left bank of the Rhine. No new acquisition shall however be proposed for the king of Prussia. This the two contracting powers mutually guarantee.

10. Should the king of Prussia

be willing to cede to the French and Batavian republics some small parts of his territory on the left banks of the Meuse, as Sevenaer and other possessions towards the Yessel, his imperial majesty will use his influence that such cessions shall be accepted and rendered valid by the empire.

11. His imperial majesty will not object to the manner in which the imperial fiefs have been disposed of by the French republic, in favour of the Ligurian republic. His imperial majesty will use his influence, together with the French republic, that the German empire will renounce all feodal sovereignty over the countries which make a part of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics; as also the imperial fiefs, such as Laniguiana, and those which lie between Tuscany and the states of Parma, the Ligurian and Lucchese republics, and the late territory of Modena, which makes a part of the Cisalpine republic.

12. His imperial majesty and the French republic, will in concert employ their influence, in the course of concluding the peace of the empire, that such princes and states of the empire who, in consequence of the stipulations of the present treaty of peace, or in consequence of the treaty to be concluded with the empire, shall suffer any loss in territory or rights, particularly the electors of Mentz, Treves and Cologn, the elector palatine of Bavaria, the duke of Wurtemberg and Teeke, the margrave of Baden, the duke of Deux Ponts, the landgraves of Hesse Cassel and Darmstadt, the princes of Nassau-Saarbruck, Salm, Koburg, Lowenstein, Westheim, and Wied Runckel, and the count de Leyn, shall receive proportionable indemnifications in Germany, which shall be settled by mutual agreement with the French republic.

13. The troops of his imperial majesty, twenty days after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaties, shall evacuate the towns and fortresses of Mentz, Ehrenbreitstein, Phillipsburg, Manheim, Konigstein, Ulm, and Ingolstadt, as also the whole territory appertaining to the German empire, to the boundaries of the hereditary states.

14. The present secret articles shall have the same force as if they were inserted word for word in the public treaty of peace this day signed, and shall in like manner be ratified at the same time by the two contracting powers, which ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Rastadt.

Done and signed at Campo Formio, the 17th of October 1797; 26th of Vendémaire, in the 6th year of the French republic one and indivisible.

(Signed)
Bonaparte.
Marquis De Gallo.
Louis Count Cobenzel.
Count Meerfeldt, Maj. Gen.
Count Degelmann.

Treaty of Alliance concluded between the Emperor and the King of the Two Sicilies.

The emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, and the king of the two Sicilies, having taken into consideration the rapidity with

which events have succeeded to each other for some time, the urgent necessity of providing against the baneful consequences of new troubles which might agitate Europe and Italy in particular, their imperial and Sicilian majesties, united besides by the strictest ties of consanguinity, have thought fit to concert with each other in this situation, measures relative to the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the common safety of their people and states. For this purpose their majesties have named as plenipotentiaries, that is to say, his majesty the emperor, baron Thugut, grand cross of the royal order of St. Stephen, minister of conferences of his imperial and royal apostolic majesty, his commissary-general and minister plenipotentiary in Italy, Dalmatia, &c.; and his Sicilian majesty, D. Ottavio Mormile, duke of Campochiara and of Castelpagano, marquis of Repalimosano and d' Albidona, lord of Feudi Valleroberto, Coppone and Santangeloradaginosa, knight of Malta, noble Neapolitan, actual gentleman of the chamber and an officer in the service of his majesty the king of the two Sicilies: who, after having conferred with each other, have agreed to the following articles:

1. There shall be between the two sovereigns a close and indissoluble alliance, which shall have for its object the common defence of their people and their states, against all hostile aggression.

2. In consequence of this alliance, and to prevent being surprised by unforeseen events, the two high allies shall keep on foot, each on his part, until a continental peace, and the complete re-establishment of public tranquillity, a determinate number of troops, constantly provided with every thing necessary for entering upon a campaign, and always ready to march, at a moment's notice.

3. Conformable to the preceding article, the emperor promises to keep on foot, until a continental peace, and until the period when tranquillity shall be solidly re-established in Italy, a corps of at least 60,000 effective men, always disposable, in his new possessions in Italy and the Tyrol. The king of the two Sicilies, on his part, shall maintain until the same period on the frontiers of his kingdom next to the Austrian possessions in Italy, a corps of at least 30,000 effective men, always prepared to act, at the first order for that purpose.

4. In consideration of the great difference between the land-forces, which the two powers bind themselves to employ, as necessity shall require, for the support of the common cause, his Sicilian majesty farther undertakes, until such time as the affairs of Italy shall have assumed a stable and tranquil state, to keep three or four frigates cruising in the Adriatic sea, for the purpose of clearing it of Barbary cruisers and other pirates, or to serve in any other operation interesting to the common advantage, and particularly for convoying and facilitating the passage of provisions and other articles, which his imperial majesty, in case of a new rupture, may draw by sea from his other states, for the supply of his army in Italy.

5. The moment that the one or

the other of the two high contracting parties shall be attacked in his present possessions, upon the first advice which it shall give to its ally of the commencement of hostilities, the latter shall, without the least delay, cause its troops to advance, for the purpose of acting against the power which, by unjustly attacking one of the two contracting parties, should be considered as having become the enemy of the other.

6. It is by active and vigorous diversions, that the two allies shall principally apply themselves to the reciprocal support which is the object of this defensive alliance. Should the events and the danger in which one of the two high contracting parties should find itself involved, require it, the other party shall not confine itself to the number of troops stipulated in the third article, but shall augment them; and in this case the emperor shall increase his corps to 80,000, and the king of the Two Sicilies to 40,000 effective men.

7. The generals of the two armies shall correspond with each other, for the purpose of combining the respective operations in the manner most suited to the common good, and to the success of the armies of both allies.

8. As the two corps of the contracting parties ought mutually to aid each other, principally by the means of diversions, calculated to divide the forces of the enemy, each of the two high allies shall provide for the maintenance and support of his own troops; and should unforeseen circumstances oblige the respective troops to join, for certain operations, the two generals commanding shall amicably concert the mode of securing, for these troops, the means of subsistence.

9. The two allies finding themselves at war with a power, in consequence of a hostile aggression, on its part, against one and the other of the two contracting parties, they shall not be at liberty to lay down their arms, except with common consent; and neither of them shall enter into a negociation, for a particular or separate peace, without having obtained the consent of its ally, express and in writing, and especially without having stipulated in favour of its ally, for the entire restitution of every part of its territory, which the enemy may have seized during the war.

10. The present defensive convention shall be ratified by the two courts, within the term of six weeks, or sooner, if it can be done. The exchange of the ratifications shall be made at Vienna in the usual form. In faith of which, we, the plenipotentiaries of his imperial majesty, and his Sicilian majesty, have signed the present act, and thereunto put our seals with our arms.

Done at Vienna, 19th May, 1799.
(L. S.) Baron Thugut.
(L. S.) The duke of Campochiaro.

Message from the French Directory to the Counsils of Elders and Five Hundred, October 25th 1799.

Citizens representatives,

The executive directory hasten to announce to you that the projects of the Anglo-Russians, land-

ed on the territory of the Dutch republic, have failed, and that a capitulation demanded by them was signed at Alkmaar, on the 26th of last Vendémaire (Oct. 18).

By the conditions imposed upon them, they are to re-embark as soon as possible, and to evacuate entirely by the 9th Freinaire next, (Dec. 1), the Dutch territory, the coasts, isles, and internal navigation depending on them: the reinforcements that may arrive are not to be landed, and are to return immediately.

The batteries of the Helder are to be restored, and the damages repaired, and the parts which have been improved are to remain as they are; all the pieces of artillery which were there are to be given up; there is to be no injury, either by making inundations, cutting the dikes, or obstructing the navigation.

Finally, 8000 prisoners of war, French and Dutch, taken anterior to the expedition, and detained in England, are to be given up, independently of the cartel of exchange, which shall continue to be executed.

Such are to England the fruits of this grand expedition, which was in a short time to invade the Batavian republic, and menace even the territory of the French republic. Gohier, president.

(Signed)

La Garde, sec. gen.

Proclamation of General Bonaparte.

Nov. 10th. eleven o'clock at night.

On my return to Paris, I found a division reigning amid all the constituted authorities. There was no agreement but on this single point—that the constitution was half destroyed, and could by no means effect the salvation of our liberties. All the parties came to me, confided to me their designs, unveiled their secrets and demanded my support. I refused to be a man of any party. The council of elders invited me and I answered to their call. A plan of general restoration had been concerted by men in whom the nation is accustomed to see the defenders of its freedom and equality, and of property. This plan demanded a calm and liberal examination, free from every influence and every fear. The council of elders resolved in consequence, that the sittings of the legislative body should be removed to St. Cloud, and charged me with the disposition of the force necessary to secure its independence. I owed it, my fellow citizens, to the soldiers who are perishing in our armies, and to the national glory acquired at the price of their blood, to accept this command. The councils being assembled at St. Cloud, the republican troops guaranteed their safety from without; but within assassins had established the reign of terror. Several members of the council of five hundred, armed with poniards and fire-arms, circulated around them nothing but menaces of death. The plans which were about to be developed were laid aside, the majority was disorganized, the most intrepid orators were disconcerted, and the inutility of every wise proposition was made evident. I bore

my indignation and my grief to the council of elders, I demanded of them to ensure the execution of their generous designs. I represented to them the maladies of their country from which those designs originated. They joined themselves with me, by giving new testimonies of their uniform wishes. I then repaired to the council of five hundred, without arms and my head uncovered, such as I had been received and applauded by the elders. I wished to recall to the majority their wishes, and to assure them of their power. The poniards which threatened the deputies were instantly raised against their deliverer. Twenty assassins threw themselves upon me and sought my breast. The grenadiers of the legislative body whom I had left at the door of the hall, came up and placed themselves between me and my assassins. One of these brave grenadiers named Thome, had his clothes struck through with a dagger; they succeeded in bearing me away. At this time the cry of "Outlaw" was raised against the defender of the law. It was the ferocious cry of assassins against the force that was destined to restrain them. They pressed around the president, threatened him to his face and with arms in their hands, ordered him to decree me out of the protection of the law.

Being informed of this circumstance, I gave orders to rescue him from their power, and six grenadiers of the legislative body brought him out of the hall. Immediately after the grenadiers of the legislative body entered at the *pas de charge* into the hall and caused it to be evacuated. The factious were intimidated and dispersed themselves; the majority, released from their blows, entered freely and peaceably into the hall of sitting, heard the propositions which were made to them for the public safety deliberated, and prepared the salutary resolution which is to become the new and provisional law of the republic. Frenchmen! you will recognize without doubt, in this conduct the zeal of a soldier of liberty, and of a citizen devoted to the republic. The ideas of preservation, protection, and freedom, immediately resumed their places on the dispersion of the faction who wished to oppress the councils, and who, in making themselves the most odious of men never cease to be the most contemptible.

(Signed) Bonaparte.
(Countersigned) Berthier.

Letter from the Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the Foreign Agents of the Republic.

Paris, November 12.

In transmitting to you, citizens, the law enacted by the legislative body, in its late sitting of the 10th November, I announced to you that the consuls of the French republic immediately took into their hands the reins of government.

The constitution of the third year, the produce of very imperfect experience; and of the influence of some transient circumstances, was on the point of perishing under its internal defects and the passions of men. Too often

violated by the highest authorities, solicited by every passion in its turn, and incessantly infringed by them all, it had ceased to command the respect of Frenchmen, and to prove salutary for the republic. It therefore became necessary to save the principles on which it rested from perishing altogether.

A grand impulse on every mind could alone rally round the same object, the wishes and hopes of citizens, harmonize all the powers, revive all the sources of the public strength, and excite an energy unanimous, vigorous, and truly republican, for its direction. That impulse has been given; and all the authorities, now of a proper temper, powerful from their consort, and the confidence reposed in them by the nation, are going to labour efficaciously in the execution of the grand work which the destinies of the republic impose upon them, to organize order in all the parts of the administration, restore internal tranquillity, and procure a solid and beneficial peace.

The oath, citizens, prescribed for you to take, is a proof that the basis on which the hopes of Frenchmen and the happiness of future generations repose, remain untouched. The men placed at the head of government have given sufficient pledges to liberty: their names command respect and confidence enough to convince Europe and France, that these bases will be guaranteed, both against the attempts of external enemies and the shocks of faction.

The consuls of the republic, in authorizing you to continue the functions which you now fill, have charged me to inform you, that I have notified their installation to the foreign agents resident at Paris. You will find subjoined a copy of my circular note. They have also charged me to desire you to address to the government at which you reside, a notification of the powers with which they are invested, and of the hopes of wisdom and concord with which they are animated. You will take care to add, that to procure for Europe a solid and honourable peace it is necessary that the declaration with which I conclude my circular note to the foreign agents should be strongly felt, and that the faith in the loyalty, power, and justice of the republic, should be every where equal to the sincerity of the wishes which it will not cease to entertain for peace, and to the fidelity with which it is unalterably determined to fulfil its engagements.

I transmit to you the formula of an oath to be taken by all the agents, political and consular of the republic, and also by the French citizens resident in foreign states, or temporarily absent from their country. I invite you to communicate to the agents in concert with whom you act, the letter which I write to you. They will administer the oath to such of their fellow citizens as shall be found within their jurisdiction, and will despatch an answer to you, which you will transmit to me by express with your own.

Health and fraternity.

(Signed) Reinhard.

Proclamation of the Consuls to the French.

Paris, 21st Brumaire, Nov. 12.

The constitution of the third year has perished. It knew not how to protect your rights, or to support itself. Multiplied attacks deprived it for ever of the respect of the people. Heinous and ambitious factions divided the republic between them. France at length approached to the last term of a general disorganization.

The patriots have made themselves heard. Every thing that could injure you has been removed. Every thing that could serve you, every thing that remained pure in the national representation, is united under the banners of liberty.

Frenchmen! the republic, thus re-established and replaced in Europe in the rank which she never should have lost, will proceed to realize all the hopes of citizens, and will accomplish its glorious destinies.

Take with us the oath which we have made, "to be faithful to the republic one and indivisible; founded on equality, liberty, and the representative system."

By the consuls of the republic.

(Signed) Roger Ducos.
Bonaparte.
Sieyes.

(True copy.)

Hugues Bernard Maret, Secretary-general.

Imperial Aulic Decree to the Diet of Ratisbon on the 12th of July.

The preliminaries of peace between the Austrian and French plenipotentiaries were signed at Leoben, on the 13th of April, 1797: and at the earnest solicitation of his imperial majesty, it was resolved on that remarkable day, that all hostilities should be suspended between the emperor and the French republic, that a peace might be securely negociated. But this desirable work accomplished so ineffectually the paternal views of his majesty the emperor, that on the part of the French (notwithstanding the empire's constant desire of peace,) almost every day was marked with acts which removed to a greater distance the object so anxiously wished for. In contempt of the just remonstrances of the states of the empire, and of the deputation, they not only made the severest military exactions, and seized the fortress of Ehrenbrietstein (contrary to a former convention,) but incorporated with the new Helvetic republic which they created, those territories and fiefs of the empire, situated in Swisserland, and, overturning it by the vilest machinations, they carried throughout Helvetia the destructive torch of their revolution to the frontiers of Germany. The French government, always true to the spirit of the revolution, was constantly occupied with plans to destroy the political relation of the empire with Italy. Amidst the negotiations for peace, it strove to strengthen its formidable power by new abettors and alliances, and by a levy of 200,000 men. In short the French government, in all its political relations with the empire, without examining the evils it hath caused, and in defiance of the truce and negotiations for peace, only sought to render its condition the worst

possible by the numerous evils it committed.

Even this state, however quiet, could only be considered as a state of war; yet from a humane disposition for peace, representations were the only arms opposed to the domineering arrogance of the French directory, which had, however, no other effect (as their rash plans had hitherto succeeded) than the perpetration of fresh acts of injustice and violence. No other arguments are necessary to confirm these facts, than the facts themselves, viz. the orders given to repair the fortress of Ehrenbrietstein; and supplying that place with provisions, by extorting them from the neighbouring subjects of the empire; and the avowed will of the French government seriously declared, to keep possession of that fortress against the law of nations, and in contempt of solemn conventions: the occupation of Manheim, and the disarming of the garrison; the prevention of the exercise of their official functions, which was only provisionally granted to the magistrates of that city, by way of a revolutionary prelude to the bold menaces made by the French plenipotentiaries, in an official note of the 3d of October last year, to introduce the destructive principles of France into Germany: the memorable, but not dissembling letter, of the French executive Directory, addressed in the same revolutionary spirit to the French Commander-in-chief Jourdan, on the 15th of May 1799, the rapid advancing of the French troops, by several directions, into the very heart of Germany, even without giving due notice of the truce with the empire being broken off, and with a visible violation of the laws of armistice. The summons sent in the most singular manner and expressions on the 1st of March to the imperial fortress of Philipsburg, to surrender and with violent and shocking threats against its commandant, for him to give up the fortress from terror: the immoral written invitation to treason against the emperor, and the empire addressed to the civil magistrates on the 14th of March: the batteries raised close to the fortress, and the unjust attempt made to seize the fortress by offers of subornation; the exciting of all Germans to rebel against their lawful chief, contained in the horrid proclamation of Bernadotte, together with several other occurrences of the same pernicious tendency, remarked in the imperial decree of commission, of the 4th of April of the present year: all these are deeds of such a nature, as to combine all the attributes of an actual state of warfare; and which can never be reconciled by smooth professions of pacific intentions and by unnatural and contradictory discriminations of ideas.

The war therefore actually exists against Germany by facts—war! the sole terrible work of the ambitious, revolutionary, and all-confounding politics of the French government. And the late political relations of the German empire with Italy and Swisserland, would be irretrievably lost; the standard of revolution would already be hoisted in a great part of the German empire, as it has been in other subjugated states and

provinces, and, the brighter prosperity of Germanic freedom be persecuted by the ungrateful French system of liberty and equality, had not the prudence and heroism of the imperial generals, and the victorious armies, put a stop to the incursions of the daring enemy. Thus, while hostilities have been renewed, and the prospect of a successful negotiation for peace, so much desired by the empire, is vanished, the former state of warfare between the Germanic empire and France actually exists; and, according to the public declarations forced from the empire by this state of war, it must still combat, at the highest price, for the inviolability of the clearest treaties, for religion, property, the maintenance of social order, and constitution, the honour, liberty, dignity, existence, and preservation of the Germanic empire; and must still combat for an acceptable, just, becoming, and lasting peace, agreeably to the spirit of the former resolutions of the Germanic diet.

His imperial majesty, therefore, places his confidence, as chief, in the electors, princes, and states, and deems himself entitled to expect from them, in the sacred name of their common country and constitution, and by virtue of the manifold assurances given, that no state of the empire will recede from the most conscientious execution of the duties which are imposed upon it against the common enemy, by the very nature of the ancient Germanic constitution, the ancient positive statutes and the conclusions of the empire, promulgated since the present war has been declared; especially that conclusion of the empire which relates to the augmentation of the armament to a quintuple; and in conformity to which his majesty the king of Sweden has lately declared himself in his quality of a state of the empire, to the diet, with as much cordiality as generosity to revive German patriotism in general. It is equally urgent and proper, and the particular wish of his imperial majesty, that the diet do direct its deliberations towards granting a sufficient number of Roman months to defray the expense of the war, and that it do accelerate, as much as possible, its approbation, to be transmitted to the chief of the empire.

Conclusion adopted by the Diet at Ratisbon, 7th of September, 1799, containing a Declaration of War against France.

The three colleges of the empire, after having deliberated on the gracious decree of the imperial committee of the 13th June, have determined and decreed, that there shall be addressed to his imperial majesty, in the name of the empire, lively and sincere thanks for the paternal and constant solicitude, with which the committee has been occupied for the welfare and preservation of Germany, and for the new proofs of energetic protection which it has afforded the empire. It has been resolved besides in conformity with the considerations stated in the decree of the committee, to make the following declaration.

The empire, in the full conviction that it is placed anew in a

state of war, in consequence of the hostilities exercised by France against Germany, during, and since the negotiations of Rastadt, and which are every day pushed farther; that consequently all the resolutions taken by the Diet, since the war has broken out anew, resume at this day all their force; and these decisions impose upon each state of the empire the strict obligation of contributing with the greatest zeal to the defence of the country surrounded with dangers, of making the most vigorous efforts, of laying aside all private considerations, and sparing no sacrifice; that in execution of measures prescribed by these decisions of the Diet, every member of the empire shall hasten with patriotic zeal to raise to a quintuple the contingent which it ought to furnish, to the end, that by an energetic co-operation, all the enterprises of the enemy may be arrested, and that the exertions of the empire combined with those of its supreme chief, may lead to a peace, just, honourable, and lasting, which they have not yet been able to obtain, notwithstanding the ardour with which it has been sought on the part of the empire.

For the attainment of this great end, the empire grants 100 Roman months for the expences of the war, to be paid in three equal terms of six weeks each, from the date of the day when his imperial majesty's ratification shall be published.

Note from the French Ministers at Rastadt, to the Deputation of the Empire.

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, do make this formal declaration to the deputation of the empire, that if the Diet of Ratisbon should consent to the entry of the Russian troops on the territory of the empire, or if even it does not effectually oppose it, the march of the Russian army through the German territory will be regarded as a violation of neutrality on the part of the empire; that the negotiations of Rastadt will be broken off; and that the republic and the empire will thus be in the same relative situation in which these two powers were, previously to the signing of the preliminaries at Leoben and the conclusion of the armistice.

To this declaration, dictated by the importance of the circumstances, the undersigned add with pleasure, the express assurance of their government, for the tranquillity and satisfaction of the empire, both of the sincere desire it has that an incident so unforeseen as that which is the object of this note, and which might become so destructive of the tranquillity of the interior of Germany, may not take place to destroy the hopes almost realized, of a perfect reconciliation and of a perpetual peace between the two nations.

No one can be deceived as to the motives and the aim of the cabinet of St. Petersburgh; the deputation of the empire particularly is too well acquainted with the affairs of Europe, not to perceive clearly that Russia, after having promoted the war six years, without taking a part in it, now takes such open measures of aggression against

France, for the purpose of interrupting the pacification of the Continent, and with a view not less evident, of covering the grand usurpation she has so long meditated.

The undersigned, therefore, do not doubt that the deputation will see, in this proceeding, on the part of the French government, a farther proof of its pacific sentiments, and an opportunity for the empire, in avoiding a personal danger, to acquire additional claims to the friendship of the republic.

(Signed) Bonnier.
Jean Debry.
Roberjot.

Rastadt, 13 *Nivose*, (*2nd Jan.* 1799) *of the French Republic.*

Substance of the Emperor's Answer relative to the march of the Russian Troops.

1. His imperial majesty is surprised that the French ministers should have addressed themselves to the deputation for the pacification of the empire, upon a subject with which it has no concern.

2. His imperial majesty testifies his satisfaction that the deputation has unanimously referred this affair upon which it was not competent to decide, to those whom it concerns, and who ought to be acquainted with it.

3. His imperial majesty will, however, wait for the report which shall be made to him on this subject by the Diet of Ratisbon.

Note of the French Ministers to the Deputation of the Empire.

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, for the negociations for peace with the German empire, declare to the Deputation, that they have orders not to receive or to transmit any note, upon any of the points of the negociation, until a categorical and satisfactory reply has been given to the note sent on the 13th Nivose last (2d January.)

(Signed) Bonnier.
Jean Debry.
Roberjot.

Rastadt, 31*st January.*

Note of the French Ministers to the Ministers of the King of Hungary and Bohemia.

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic express to the Count de Lehrbach, minister plenipotentiary of his majesty the emperor, king of Hungary and Bohemia, minister of Austria, their astonishment at not having received a reply respecting the march of the Russians; a circumstance which announces loudly that it is against the French republic they are directed. The French government can no longer bear an uncertainty, which compromises the dignity and interests of the republic. The undersigned have been ordered to demand from his majesty the emperor through the medium of the Count de Lehrbach, his minister plenipotentiary, a positive assurance that the Russian troops are evacuating the territory of his majesty the emperor and king, and that orders have been given in consequence. They desire, that in the space of fifteen days, reck-

oning from this day the 12th Pluviose (31st January) this assurance be given them; declaring that the farther progress of the Russians will be considered by the French government as aggressive; and that silence, or the want of the assurance demanded by the present note, being a manifest proof that the emperor has acceded to the enterprises of Russia, will be of necessity considered by the French government as an act of hostility.

The executive directory, would receive, with the greatest pleasure, both from the empire and the emperor, such a proof of the evacuation of the Austrian territory by the Russians, which could alone announce a frank and firm disposition, both to observe treaties concluded, and to hasten in common the conclusion of that which is negociating at Rastadt.

(Signed) Bonnier.
Jean Debry.
Roberjot.

Rastadt, 12th Pluviose, (January 31st.)

Note of the French Ministers, declaring their determination to leave Rastadt.

The undersigned ministers plenipotentiary of the French republic, for negociating a peace with the German empire, having been officially informed by the Baron D'Albini, the directorial minister, of the result of the sitting held the day before yesterday by the deputation of the empire, of which a certified copy has been transmitted to them, cannot but see with great regret, that arbitrary acts, equally contrary to the rights of nations, and the express declaration of the letter to his majesty the emperor, of the date of the 13th Brumaire, 6th year, together with the mournful prospect of the continuance of these vexatious proceedings, have compelled the deputation to suspend for the present the negociations for peace.

The undersigned could the less expect such a conduct, as a totally different example had been given by the General of the French army, who passing the Rhine on the 11th Ventose, to resume his former position, in conformity to the orders of the French government, paid the most inviolable respect to the place where the Congress was held, the freedom of its deliberations, the safety and inviolability of its members, and deprived calumny of every pretext.

The undersigned have seen with the greatest astonishment, the deputation reduced to less than two-thirds of its members, by several of the states having recalled their envoys, so that it was impossible it should come to any resolutions agreeable to the terms of its instructions. They had supposed, that though the states of the empire had the undoubted right of changing their sub-delegates at the Congress, it only appertained to the Diet, considered as a body to withdraw the powers of the states themselves.

In this situation of things and persons, the undersigned, to whom the executive directory, ever disposed to peace, has recommended not to leave the place of Congress

till the last extremity, eager to seize the hope offered to them by the deputation of resuming the course of the negociations, since they are only momentarily suspended; persuaded that the excesses which impeded them, will serve to convince the states of the empire of the lively interest which they have taken to remove the scourge of war, and in general, all the obstacles which violence or ill faith may oppose to the peace; considering besides,

1. That the deputation has formally declared in its conclusion, and made it the principal motive of its resolution to quit Rastadt, that there was no longer either tranquillity or safety for the Congress, whence it results that it was in an actual state of oppression.

2. That the existence of a Congress between two free states ought to depend upon the will of the contracting parties, and can never be subordinate to the intervention of any foreign force. They therefore remit to the deputation of the empire the following protestation and declaration:

The undersigned protest, 1st, against the violation of the rights of nations committed, with respect to them by the Austrian troops, and of which the object is positively announced in their note of the 30th Germinal.

3dly, Against the answer which the commander of the Austrian troops, stationed at Germsbach, has returned to the directorial letter of the first of Floreal: an answer which the deputation, by making it the ground of its deliberation the day before yesterday, has considered as the expression of the general orders of the Austrian army, and which is conceived in these terms:—

'To his Excellency the Baron D'Albini, intimate Counsellor of his imperial majesty, and electoral minister of Mentz, Rastadt.

'I regret much to be under the necessity in conformity with my duty, of stating in answer to your letter remitted to me by Counsellor Baron Munich, that in the present circumstances of the war, in which the safety as well of the military as of the country, requires that patroles should be placed at Rastadt and in the environs, it is impossible to make any satisfactory declaration relative to the maintenance of the diplomatic body now there. Since the recall of his excellency the imperial plenipotentiary, we can no longer, on our part, consider Rastadt as a place which the presence of a Congress protects against hostile events; and that city, after this, must feel the necessity of conforming to the laws of war like any other place.

'I entreat your excellency, however, to be assured, that except in the case of necessity imposed by the events of war, our military will consider personal inviolability as sacred; and that on my part, I will continually, to my utmost, testify to you the profound respect with which I am your excellency's most humble servant.'

(Signed) Barbacsy, Colonel.

They call in the name of the French republic, insulted in its rights, the serious attention of the Diet to an act equally contrary to its own independence, and subversive of all the principles hi-

therto practised among civilized nations. They expect a full and just redress.

In fine, in consequence of what has been stated, the undersigned inform the deputation of the empire that in three days they will quit Rastadt; but wishing to give to Germany a last and signal proof of the forbearance of the French government, and its wish for peace, they declare that they will repair to Strasburgh, where they will wait the recommencement of the negociations, and attend to such propositions of peace as shall be made.

(Signed) Bonnier.
Jean Debry.
Roberjot.

Rastadt, 6th Floreal (April 25th) 7th year of the French Republic.

The Executive Directory of the French Republic, to all People and all Governments.

The news of an excessive outrage has already resounded in Europe; and the circumstances of a crime the most unheard of, with which the pages of the history of civilized natious have been stained, are now collecting with horror from all parts. It was at the gates of Rastadt, on the territory of an independent and neutral prince, and in the sight of all the members of the Congress, violently detained in that town, and forced to be no less impotent than indignant spectators of a crime, which affected them in the deepest manner, and threatened them all,—that in contempt of a sacred character, in contempt of assurances given, in contempt of every thing which constitutes humanity, justice, and honor, the plenipotentiaries of the republic, victims ever to be regretted of the mission of peace with which they were intrusted, and of the unlimited devotion with which they fulfilled the instructions of government and maintained the national dignity, were massacred in cold blood by a detachment of Austrian troops. But how much more detestable do all the circumstances of this detestable affair render it!

Already in the first days of the month Floreal, the communication of the French legation with the republic had been intercepted, one of its couriers had been carried off, and the spirited remonstrances of the Congress had only produced an insolent declaration which made its separation necessary.

On the 9th Floreal (23d of April) at 7 o'clock in the evening, the colonel of the regiment of Szeklers caused a declaration to be made by a captain to Baron Albini, the directorial minister, that the French legation might leave Rastadt in security. The same captain proceeded afterwards to the French ministers, and signified to them an order to depart from Rastadt in 24 hours. At 8 o'clock they got into their carriages, and were stopped at the gates of the town. So sudden a departure, no doubt, had not been expected, and the assassination was not completely organized. Another hour was still wanting. At 9 o'clock the prohibition against passing the gates was taken off with respect to the French legation only. The

French minister demanded an escort, but the Austrian commander refused to grant it, and answered in the following terms :—'You will be as secure on your journey as in your apartments.' But the legation had scarcely advanced 50 paces, when it was surrounded by a numerous detachment of the same corps, whose commander had just before promised every kind of security. The carriages are stopped; citizen Jean Debry, who was in the first, is forced to alight, and he is asked, 'Are not you Jean Debry?'—'Yes,' he answers, 'I am Jean Debry, minister of France.' He instantly falls to the ground pierced with wounds. The citizens Bonnier and Roberjot are stopped in the same manner, and interrogated. They tell their names, and are killed; Roberjot is massacred in the arms of his wife. The crime being perpetrated, the papers of the legation are carried off and conveyed to the Austrian commander. In considering these faithful details, who is there that cannot perceive the premeditation of this assassination, and its first author?

Such a sacrilege will doubtless only tend to the accumulation of infamy and execration, and should any other punishment be wanting, history reserves one for those who have been guilty of the crime. It would be in vain for the court of Vienna to attempt to shake off the dreadful responsibility that attaches to this accusation. All its previous conduct now comes forward in evidence against it. It will be recollected, that it commenced hostilities by an outrage of a similar nature, in causing two French ambassadors to be arrested on the territory of the Confederacy, who were afterwards thrown into the dungeons of Mantua. It will be remembered that the prisons of Olmutz also received and confined for three years, representatives of the people, and a minister who was delivered up by treachery. It will be remembered that Austria was not unacquainted with the assassinations committed at Rome on the French, and that it received and protected the authors of them. It will, finally, be recollected, that the first ambassador of the republic at Vienna experienced only outrages and affronts there; these statements are sufficient to impress conviction that the assassination, recently perpetrated at Rastadt, is but the consequence and the horrid completion of the series of atrocities with which Austria has astonished Europe, since Charles the Fifth first furnished the example of stepping beyond all social laws, by causing the ambassadors whom Francis the First sent to Venice and to Constantinople, to be massacred.

The proofs existing in history of the indignation which was manifested at that period by all the European powers, convince us that a crime still more execrable will also excite more horror and detestation.

And when the constant moderation and boundless generosity of the French republic shall be compared to the crimes of Austria, when it shall be considered, that even in the midst of the most violent storms of the revolution, the law of nations has not received

the slightest injury in France; that the envoy of the Britannic government entered twice into the territory of France, and departed from it free and respected, although justly suspected to have come rather to excite troubles than to negociate peace; that the minister of Naples obtained permission to return to his master, and to continue his journey in a secure and uninterrupted manner, at the very moment when the French general had repulsed the Neapolitan troops, and when he was informed, that the ambassador of the republic had been refused passports to retire by land, and had been compelled to embark at Naples, with a certainty that such a measure was but to deliver him into the hands of the African states; that the cruel treatment to which the French have fallen victims in the dominions of the grand seignior, however great and just the national resentment on that account may have been, has not given rise to any reprisals; when the Congress at Rastadt, peaceable and respectable, as long as the French armies were near it, shall be compared with the Congress thrown into confusion, and dissolved on the approach of the Austrians; when the voluntary departure of M. M. de Lehrbach and de Metternich, protected by French passports, shall be compared with the premeditated massacre of the ministers of the republic;—these different contrasts, already so odious, will become still more dishonorable for Austria, by the comparison which must be made between its satellites, whose cowardly ferocity is a subject of astonishment even to the people of the North, who have been called upon to co-operate with them, and the agents of the government of England, who, though it is the most essential enemy of the French government, and the most determined to injure it, have recently given proofs, at Constantinople, that they understand the law of nations, and set a value upon preventing the violation of it. Is it possible then that any people, that any government who may not have abjured every principle of civilization and of honor, can hesitate for a moment to declare itself in favor of good faith against perfidy; in favor of continued moderation against unmasked ambition; in favor of abused confidence against atrocious and premeditated crimes?

It is therefore with the just hope of being attended to with effect, and of obtaining, for the illustrious victims, who have been immolated at Rastadt, a deep regret; for the French Republic an honourable approbation, and an union of execration against Austria; that the Executive Directory now addresses this solemn appeal to the conscience and honour of every people and every government, accepting thus early, as a pledge of the generous determination which will be formed by them, the particular indignation which has been expressed with so much energy at Rastadt by all the members of the Congress, and at Paris by the ambassadors and ministers of friendly or neutral powers.

The Executive Directory decrees, that the preceding manifesto shall be transmitted to all govern-

ments, by the minister of the foreign department; that it shall be printed in the bulletin of the laws, and solemnly read, published and affixed in all the Communes of the Republic, and be inserted in the orders of all the armies.

(Signed) Barras, President.
La Garde, Sec. Gen.

May 7.

Imperial Aulic Decree to the Germanic Diet, respecting the late Catastrophe at Rastadt.

His Imperial Majesty received on the 3d ult. the melancholy intelligence, in a report signed by the Margrave of Baden himself, that the French minister's plenipotentiary, sent to the Congress of Peace with the empire, were stopped late in the evening of 28th of April, on their departure in the night from Rastadt, (against which they had been advised by several different persons,) at a small distance from the said city, by a troop of people dressed in the imperial military uniform; and that the ministers Bonnier and Roberjot were murdered by many cuts of sabres, but that the minister Jean Debry, who escaped from death only by a happy accident, had been much wounded, and all of whom were robbed of a great part of their effects.

His Majesty is scarcely able to express by words, the great shock his sentiments of justice and morality have received, and the whole force of impression of abhorrence, which has been excited in him, on the first account of this act of barbarity committed on the territory of the German empire, upon persons whose inviolability was under the special guarantee of the rights of nations; nor can his Majesty express the indelible impression which this disastrous catastrophe has left upon his revolting mind, which always entertains the most inviolable respect for the dignity of man, for morality, and the sacred principles of the law of nations.

It is not by illiberal suspicions and rash conjectures, not by calumnious imputations and partial reports of audacious fictions, nor by the passionate sallies of a depraved heart, and the licentious fabrications of foreign and domestic editors of public journals, it is not by inimical representations, calculated for an increase of power, for exactions of money, or for other secret designs, nor by the furious speeches in conventions, and vindictive proclamations to the French nation and all other states; but only by a conscientious, fair, and impartial inquiry, instituted according to the prescription of the laws, and conducted with judicial rigour, that the horrid act may be traced in all its circumstances, its authors and accomplices be truly discovered, and the imputations of the offence be properly fixed both in a subjective and objective view.

To this end the most eligible directions and orders have accordingly been given; and his Imperial Majesty, doth at the same time most solemnly declare before the General Diet of the Empire, of the whole public of Germany, and all Europe together, that nothing short of the most perfect satisfaction, regardless of all other con-

siderations, shall gratify the just feelings of the chief of the empire, respecting him whom the impartial sentence of avenging justice may pronounce guilty.

But it is also the will of his Majesty the Emperor, that the manner in which this melancholy event happened, an event which his Majesty considers in various respects as a national concern of Germany, be not only examined with the most conscientious impartiality, and that the most perfect satisfaction be given; but his Imperial Majesty farther cherishes the most lively wish, and feels himself partly, and most urgently, induced to it, by the domestic and foreign opinions encroaching upon the legal inquiry, whose decision is thereby prejudged; that even the possibility of contrivance be removed, so that in this respect no sort of blame, owing to a want of the most deliberate attention, shall be attributed either to the chief of the empire himself, or to the empire collectively taken.

In order to accomplish this design most effectually, the General Diet is hereby charged, upon mature deliberation, to appoint deputies of their own, who are to be present at the inquiry which has been opened, and to advise every thing with a patriotic and noble frankness as to the steps which are to be taken as soon as possible, with regard to whatever the importance of so unheard of and detestable an event may, in its wisdom and prudence, seem to require: and thus farther to convince the whole impartial world, by giving its conjoint advice, that both the Emperor and the empire are animated with the same uniform sentiments of the execution of the most rigorous justice, and the granting of the most perfect satisfaction, and by an equal and just abhorrence of so infamous and ruthless an act, as well as by an equal and dutiful respect to morality and the sacred principles of the law of nations.

His Roman and Imperial Majesty expects, therefore, the advice of the empire with all possible speed; and with all the fervency of his wishes as chief of the empire, his Majesty remains in other respects, &c.

(Signed) Francis. Mod.

Done at Vienna, June 6, 1799.

Conditions of the Treaty of Union between the Country of the Grisons and the Helvetic Republic.

Art. I. The people of Rhetia acknowledge and accept, without reserve, the Helvetic constitution.

II. They submit themselves to all the laws of the Helvetic republic, as well those now in being as those which shall be hereafter enacted.

III. All the debts of the ci-devant Grison state, contracted legally and according to the ancient constitution of the country, are acknowledged debts of the Helvetic republic.

IV. On the contrary, they declare as national goods all the goods belonging to the ci-devant state of the Grisons, and generally all the funds, which, according to the law of the 3rd of April, 1799, on the difference between goods of the state and goods of the

communes, are in the class of national goods.

V. Rhetia shall constitute a canton of the Helvetic republic, under the denomination of the canton of Rhetia.

VI. From the day that the present treaty of union shall have received the sanction of the executive directory and legislative councils of the Helvetic republic, the people of Rhetia shall enter into the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges which the Helvetic constitution secures to every Helvetic citizen; and they, on their part, bind themselves, from the same day, to the same imposts, and generally to the faithful observance of the same duties of citizen, without the least exception, in like manner as all Helvetic citizens.

So concluded under the reserve of the sanction of the Executive Directory and Legislative Councils of the Helvetic Republic, one and indivisible.

At Coire, 21st April, 1799.

In the name of the Executive Directory of the Helvetic Republic, Commissioners of Government,

Sghwaller.
Herzog.

President of the Provisional Government, Spzegher.

Secretary-general, Otto.

Note transmitted by the Sublime Porte to the Ambassador from the Republic of Holland.

The present government of France, entirely disregarding every law of nations, having adopted as a principle to attack all powers without distinction, whether friends or enemies, and every where to disseminate disturbance and confusion, in consequence of this principle secretly prepared the means to subjugate Egypt, the most valuable province of this sublime empire, and which is the gate of the two sacred and revered cities, Mecca and Medina. In vain was it officially declared, that if such a project were engaged in, it must inevitably produce a sanguinary war between every Mussulman nation and France; the republic still persisted in its base design, suddenly attacked, and Egypt was plunged into confusion and anarchy. The sublime Porte has, in consequence, found itself under the absolute necessity of repelling force by force, as it had previously and solemnly declared to the Directory all these facts; and the measures taken by the sublime Porte to resist these unjust and shameful proceedings are of public notoriety. The Republic of Holland is the ancient friend of the Sublime Porte; no cloud until the present day had ever overcast this friendship on either side; and it is certain, that the Dutch, who maintain a very lucrative commerce with the Ottoman empire, have always endeavoured, during the time of their independence, to render themselves agreeable to the Sublime Porte. But, since the entrance of the French into Holland, two parties have arisen, who have submitted to the French, the one voluntarily, and the other by force. The former of these, under the phantom of a perfidious alli-

ance, have seized on the maritime force, and all the revenues of the country, which they employ to ruin, and plunge it into the most disastrous condition. Holland is, therefore, now deprived of its independence, and reduced beneath the yoke of the five French Directors, like the provinces of France; its inhabitants are, in fact, become their subjects.

The Sublime Porte is, without doubt, animated with the desire of maintaining its ancient friendship with this republic: but it is evident, that the reason above alleged renders it improper that the ambassador of Holland should continue to reside near it. He is, therefore, hereby enjoined to quit this residence within a week, and informed, that the ancient amity and most perfect good understanding will be re-established between the Sublime Porte and the republic of Holland, as soon as the latter shall be separated from the French, a separation which will promote its true interests, and restore it to its former dignity.

January 16, 1799.

Note sent to the Spanish Charge d'Affaires, Don Joseph de Boligni; on the 1st of October, 1799, ordering him to leave Constantinople.

Though it is the maxim of every state not to suffer its enemies to remain within its territories, yet I (the Grand Seignior) confided in the treaties of amity which your sovereign had promised not to interrupt by any public action, I have, therefore, not only suffered you to remain within my dominions, but even to reside in the heart of my metropolis, in the capacity of a public representative: but you could not keep within bounds; you have not merely obeyed the commands of your king, but you have gone beyond them, by manifesting too much in favour of the enemies of my states and of good order. Though I was acquainted with your behaviour and your sentiments, yet I thought my moderation would serve you as an example; but, on the contrary, you have only been a spy of the French, and found fault with every thing that was done on our part against the general disturbers of public tranquillity. This was not all; you have not only given instructions to your agents to act as spies, but also to supply the enemy of the whole world with provisions from our dominions. I cannot, therefore, suffer you to remain any longer in my capital and in my dominions, for which reason I have ordered my Sublime Porte to acquaint you, by this present decree, to quit my capital within a fortnight, and to communicate it to your sovereign, that he may become acquainted with your behaviour.

The Ministry of the Sublime Porte to the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers of the French Army in Egypt.

The French Directory, forgetful of the rights of nations, has deceived you, surprised your good faith, and in contempt of the laws of war, sent you to Egypt, a

country subject to the dominion of the Sublime Porte, by persuading you that the Sublime Porte itself had consented to the invasion of his own territory.

Can you entertain any doubts but that the only object of the Directory in sending you to a remote country was to banish you from France, and to plunge you into an abyss of dangers? If, completely ignorant of the truth you have invaded the territory of Egypt, and are made the instruments to violate treaties of the most solemn kind, must you not attribute this to the perfidy of your directors? Egypt must, however, be freed from so iniquitous an invasion, and vast armies are now in march, and the sea is covered with formidable squadrons for the attainment of that object.

Those among you of whatever rank they may be, who wish to extricate themselves from the imminent peril to which they are exposed, are called upon to signify their intentions without delay, to the commanders of the land and fea forces of the allied powers. They may be confident of a safe conduct to whatever place they may be desirous to proceed to, and they shall receive passports to protect them on their voyage from the squadrons and cruisers of the Allied Powers. Let them then hasten to take advantage of the benignant disposition of the Sublime Porte, and let them consider it as a propitious occasion for extricating themselves from the horrible gulf into which they have been precipitated.

Done at Constantinople, the 11th of the moon Ramazan, in the year of the Hegira 1213, the 5th (16th) Feb. 1799.

From the Royal Printing Office, at Haskeng, in the environs of Constantinople.

Protest of the King of Sardinia against the Conduct of the French in driving him from his Dominions, dated from the Road of Cagliari, 3d of March.

His Majesty declares that the honour of his person, the interest of his family and of his successors, his connections with friendly powers, impose it on him as a duty to protest loudly, and in the face of Europe, against the proceeding by which he has been compelled to quit his territories on the Continent, and to abandon for a time the exercise of his power. He declares, upon the faith and word of a king, that not only he never infringed, even in the slightest degree, the treaties made with the French republic, but, on the contrary, that he observed them with such scrupulous exactness, with such demonstrations of amity and condescension, that he far exceeded the obligations contracted with the Republic. It is notorious that all the care and solicitude of his Majesty were continually directed to secure respect to every French citizen, particularly the troops stationed in his territory and passing through it, to repress and punish those who insulted them, to obviate even the well-grounded resentment of those who, outraged by military licentiousness, might have been led to violence. He protests likewise upon the faith and word of a king

against any writing wherever published, insinuating that his Majesty carried on any secret intelligence with the powers hostile to France. In proof of this he refers not only to the accounts transmitted to the French government, and to what has been advanced by its generals, but the impartial evidence which the ministers and public representatives who were at Turin, have given to their respective courts. It is easy for any one to decide, from the facts before the public, that the adherence of his Majesty to whatever was imposed upon him, by the superior forces of the French Republic, was only temporary, and could have no object but to save his subjects in Piedmont the evils which a just resistance would have occasioned, his Majesty being surprised by an unexpected attack, which he could never have suspected from a power his ally, and at a moment when, in consequence of an application from the agents of the Republic, his forces were put upon the footing of the most profound peace. Impelled by all these motives, his Majesty resolved, whenever it was in his power, to make known to all the powers of Europe the injustice of the proceedings of the French generals and agents, and the nullity of the reasons urged in their manifestoes, and at the same time to reclaim his reinstatement in the dominions of his ancestors.

Acknowledgment of the New Pope by Louis XVIII.

Letter from Louis XVIII. by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, &c. To our dear and well-beloved Cousins, the Cardinals, Bishops, Priests, Deans, &c. of the Holy Roman Church, greeting,

Dear and well-beloved Cousins,

We knew and lamented already the death of Pius VI. before we received your letter from Venice of the 8th of October last.

None more than ourselves could deplore the ill treatment which this aged and venerable Pontiff has endured from the French rulers; and we have found some consolation from the sensible though silent interest which the French people have manifested in his fate, by going in crowds to receive his benediction with the greatest respect, and by having endeavoured to console him, in the captivity he endured from his cruel oppressors. That conduct of our subjects gives us a fresh proof that the many crimes committed in our kingdom, are not the work of our people, but of a small number of criminals. It is moreover a proof that the divine Providence has preserved in the hearts of Frenchmen, the respect and love for their religion, in spite of all the efforts of impiety to destroy it; and this grace of Providence is a security to us and to our people for the approaching return of God's former bounty, who will doubtless direct your proceeding in restoring a head to the Church; for we hope the best choice from an assembly so distinguished for piety, wisdom, and true doctrine. It is in this firm confidence that we acknowledge the holy Father of your choice; and we hope from Him, by whom all kings reign on earth, to be replaced on the throne of our ances-

tors. We shall cause his legitimate rights to be respected throughout our dominions, and shall thereby justify our title of Most Christian King, and the eldest son of the Christian Church.

Meanwhile, dear and beloved cousins, we ardently pray to God to take you under his divine protection.

Given at our palace of Mittau, under our hand and seal, the 24th of November, 1799, and the 5th of our reign,

Your good Cousin,
Louis,
Count of St. Priest.

Proclamation of General Suwarroff to the Inhabitants of Lucerne and St. Martin in the West of Piedmont.

People, what part have you taken? Seduced peasants, you support the French, the disturbers and enemies of public tranquillity, while tranquillity can alone secure your existence and your happiness. The French have declared themselves the enemies of Jesus Christ; and the ancient attachment of your fathers to the precepts of Christianity has procured you the protection of England. The French are now the enemies of that power, your benefactress, our ally at this very moment. Supported by our forces and animated by our victories as well as by the assistance which the God of the Christians deigns to grant his warriors, we are arrived at the foot of your mountains, and on the point of entering them, if you continue to persist in your blindness. Inhabitants of the vallies of Lucerne and St. Martin, the time of repentance is not yet passed: hasten to join our banners; for they are blest by heaven and victorious on earth. The fruits of the plain are at your disposal, if you become our friends; and the mighty protection of England shall be continued to you; the more so, as your conscience will never permit you to expose yourselves to the galling reproach of having been the satellites of your tyrants and seducers; in uniting with us you will become the defenders of true liberty and tranquillity.

(Signed)
Suwarroff Bimnisky.

Manifesto addressed to the Roman Nation, on the approach of the Combined Armies.

Worthy descendants of Romulus, the dawn of peace at length opens upon your horizon. The happy days of Numa Pompilius, of Augustus, and of Trajan, are about to return. Impiety and fanaticism give place to true religion and virtue. The mask of wantonness and libertinism is about to fall. The tree of discord is rooted out of your soil; the tricoloured standard will no longer dishonour the capital. Remember that you are Romans, and your breasts will glow with indignation against a race which has constantly been your enemy, which persecuted Rome, both in its infancy and in its state of maturity, and which at all times was averse to its prosperity; which at this juncture has robbed it of its treasures,

its monuments, its many rarities, and violated its religion; which has overthrown its good order, and deprived it of that dignity and consequence which all nations of the universe were wont to ascribe to it. Romans! where are the statues collected with so much danger and fatigue from the most distant regions? Where are your famous pictures and those celebrated manuscripts which you have preserved with so much care from the ravages of time? Where are your vessels of gold and silver, your precious jewels and rich ornaments? All are become the prey of the French nation which had promised and undertaken to guarantee your property. Where are the decorations and magnificent attributes of your Churches? Where is the supreme Pontiff, the sacred pledge, whose honorable custody was committed to your charge for the general interest of the Catholic Church? All have been barbarously torn from you by those French commissioners and generals, who had solemnly contracted with you for the protection of your public worship.

Where is your liberty? that liberty which was deceitfully held out to you as the basis of your revolution, and the dearest wish of your hearts. The most oppressive tyranny, the most humiliating despotism, has fettered you and still afflicts you. Some vile Frenchmen, without honesty, without birth, without education have annihilated the Roman name, and with their impure and deceitful breath have profaned the lasting fame of your noble ancestors, Curtius, Horatius, Fabius, Brutus, and Cassius; they have plundered you of your inheritance, your authority, and your tranquillity. But, people of Rome! you shall be avenged: the imperial eagle has again directed its flight towards the Italian shores; it is guided by the valiant Suwarroff, the hero of Russia, the hero of Italy, whose name resounds from the Euxine to the Vistula and the Volga, on the banks of the Po, the Adige, and the Trebbia, and who is immortalized by the victories he has gained. The united forces of the two empires, and the greatest powers in Europe are conducted by the greatest commander, the terror of whose name alarms the enemy. Victory accompanies his standard and overthrows every bulwark; the humble Frenchman flies at his approach and seeks to save himself in the Alps; but there is no retreat nor safety for him; pursued, beaten, discomfited, he abandons Italy, and is detested and abhorred by all its inhabitants, who sound the alarm to destroy and annihilate him.

People of Rome! you likewise ought to follow this laudable example; you have your vengeance to claim and should participate in the common glory. In the name of General Suwarroff, I invite you to do it; he is persuaded that you will not hesitate to unite yourselves with the victorious armies of the two empires, and doubts not but, with that force and energy which has always distinguished your illustrious nation, you will yourselves expel from your city and the Roman state, the small remainder of Frenchmen who still keep you under subjection and oppress you; and that you will

liberate your families from such dangerous and unwelcome guests.

Let no apprehensions deter you from this resolve. A total oblivion of what is past, and an absolute pardon for all who may return to their duty is promised you by the allied Princes and guaranteed by their general. He cannot suppose you blind enough to be attached to your enemies and the enemies of Heaven—the foes of all the human race; or that you would wish to retard the general peace of Italy, by abusing the bounty of so many sovereigns. He loves you, and dreads the thought of being obliged, if you continue refractory, to consider you as the enemies of religion and the Allied Powers; in which case he would be under the painful necessity of fighting and exterminating you with the common enemy. May God avert such a calamity from you, and inspire you for the public good, to act in such a way as to merit his grace, the praises of Suwarroff, and the commendations of Europe.

George, Count of Zouccato,
Lieutenant-colonel in his imperial Russian Majesty's service, volunteer in the army of Italy, knight of the orders of St. George, St. Valodemir, and the Prussian order of merit.

Note sent to all the foreign Ministers resident at Petersburgh, February.

His majesty the emperor, having deigned to comply with the wishes expressed by the bailiffs, grand crosses, and commanders of the grand priory of Russia, by accepting the title of Grand Master of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem, which was solemnly agreed to by their act of the 13th of October, 1798, and the plurality of tongues having recognised his imperial majesty in that eminent quality, his minister has received orders to notify it to M.——, for the information of his court; and at the same time to make known, that St. Petersburgh shall be the seat and chief residence of the sovereign order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Orders have been also issued to the ministers of Russia, not to receive any letters addressed to his imperial majesty, in which the title of Grand Master of the Sovereign Order of St. John of Jerusalem shall be omitted.

Treaty of defensive Alliance between the Emperor of all the Russias, and her Most Faithful Majesty, signed at St. Petersburgh, the 28th (17th) of September, 1799.

Don Juan, by the grace of God prince of Portugal, and Algarves, &c. &c. be it known to all those who shall see the present act of confirmation, approbation, and ratification, that on the 28th (17th) of the month of September past, there has been concluded and signed, at St. Petersburgh, a treaty of defensive alliance between me and the most puissant seignior Paul the First, emperor and autocrat of all the Russias, my brother and most dear friend: the following persons being furnished with full powers for that

purpose; on my part, Joseph de Horta, and on the part of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, the chevalier de Kotschubey, vice-chancellor, and the count de Rostopschin, privy counsellor, grand chamberlain and grand cross of the order of Saint John of Jerusalem: the tenour is as follows:

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity:—

Her most faithful majesty, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, wishing to draw closer the bonds of friendship and good understanding, which already subsist between them, have judged that nothing would contribute more efficaciously to this salutary end, than the conclusion of a treaty of defensive alliance.

In consequence of which their said majesties have chosen and nominated as above; who, after the mutual communication of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:

1. There shall be a sincere and constant friendship between her majesty the queen of Portugal, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, their heirs and successors; and, in consequence of this intimate union, the high contracting powers shall have nothing more zealously at heart, than to advance, by all possible means, their mutual interests, to ward off from each other every thing that might cause to either any wrong, damage, or prejudice, and to maintain each other reciprocally in the quiet possession of their estates, rights, commerce, and prerogatives whatever, guaranteeing to themselves, for this purpose, reciprocally, all their countries, estates, and possessions, such as they at present possess them, as well as those which they may acquire by treaties.

2. If, notwithstanding the efforts which they should employ with one common accord to attain this end, it should happen that one of them should be attacked by sea or by land, the other shall lend to it at once, and as soon as demand shall be made, the succours stipulated by the subsequent articles of this treaty.

3. Her most faithful majesty, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, declare, once for all, that, in contracting the present alliance, they by no means wish to offend thereby, nor to do any wrong to any person whatever, but that their sole and only intention is to provide, by these engagements, for their mutual advantage and security, as also for the re-establishment of peace, and the maintenance of the general tranquillity of Europe.

4. As the two high contracting parties profess the same desire to render their mutual succours as advantageous as possible, it is agreed, that her most faithful majesty, should she be attacked or disturbed by any other power, and in any manner whatsoever, in the possession of her estates and provinces, so that she may judge it necessary to call for the assistance of her ally, his imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias shall send her, in the first instance, 6000 infantry; if, on the other hand, his imperial majesty of all the Russias should find himself attacked or disturbed in the possession of his estates and provinces by any other power and in

any manner whatsoever, so that he may judge it necessary to require the assistance of his ally, her most faithful majesty shall send him, in the first instance, a squadron of six ships of war; viz. five ships of from 64 to 74 guns, and a frigate of from 32 to 40 guns. This squadron shall be duly equipped and armed for war, having on board a number of officers, sailors, soldiers, and gunners, fixed by the regulations of her most faithful majesty; which succours shall be respectively sent to the places which shall be appointed by the party requiring them, and shall remain at the free disposal of the said party during the continuance of hostilities.

5. But should the nature of the attack be such that the party attacked should not find it its interest to demand the effective succours as stipulated in the preceding article, then the two high contracting parties have agreed to convert the said succours into a subsidy in money; that is to say, should her most faithful majesty come to be attacked, and prefer assistance in money, his imperial majesty of all the Russias, upon demand previously made, shall pay her a sum of 250,000 roubles a year, during the whole term of hostilities, to assist her to support the expenses of war; and should his imperial majesty of all the Russias come to be attacked, and prefer succours in money, her most faithful majesty shall furnish him with a like sum every year, as long as hostilities shall continue.

6. Should the party called upon, after having lent the succours stipulated by the fourth article of this treaty, be itself attacked, so as to be reduced to the necessity of recalling its troops for its own security, it shall be at liberty to do so, after having given two months previous notice to the party requiring aid. In like manner, should the party called upon be itself at war at the time of the requisition, so as to be obliged to retain near it, for its own defence and safety, the forces which it should send to its ally by virtue of this treaty; in such case, the party called upon shall be dispensed from furnishing such succours during the whole time such necessity shall continue.

7. The auxiliary troops of Russia shall be provided with field-artillery, military stores, and every thing necessary, in proportion to their number. They shall be recruited and paid annually by the court called upon. With respect to the rations and other ordinary proportions in provisions and forage, and also with respect to quarters, they shall be supplied by the court requiring aid, and all on the same footing on which it keeps and shall keep its own proper troops in the field and at quarters.

8. In case the said Russian auxiliary troops should repair to the succour of her most faithful majesty, the court of Lisbon should undertake to procure transports to carry them, or means to furnish the expenses of their conveyance; the same is to be understood of all recruits which his imperial majesty shall be obliged to send to these troops, as well as of the return of the same into Russia, when they shall be either sent back by her most

faithful majesty, or recalled by his imperial majesty for his own defence, according to the sixth article of this treaty.—It is farther stipulated, that in case of the recall or sending back of the said troops, the two high contracting parties shall communicate with their friend and ally, the king of Great Britain, for the purpose that the troops should have also, on his part, a sufficient convoy of ships of war for their protection.

9. The officers commanding, whether the squadron which her most faithful majesty should send to Russia, or the auxiliary troops of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, shall retain the command which shall have been confided to them; but the general command shall belong to him whom the party requiring aid shall have appointed for that purpose, under the restriction however, that nothing of importance shall be undertaken which shall not have been previously regulated and determined in a council of war, in presence of the general and commanding officers of the party called upon for aid.

10. And to prevent all disputes about rank, the party calling for aid shall make known in time the chief to whom it shall give the general command, whether of the fleet or the land troops, in order that the party called upon may be able to regulate, in consequence, the rank of the officer it shall appoint to command the ships of war or the auxiliary troops.

11. Farther, those auxiliary forces shall be allowed their own chaplains and the entire free exercise of their religion, and shall not be tried in any thing respecting military service, except by the laws and articles of war of their respective sovereigns. The general and also all the rest of the auxiliary forces shall be permitted to maintain a free correspondence with their country, either by letters or expresses.

12. The auxiliary forces, on the one part and the other, shall continue together as much as possible, and, to avoid their being subjected to more fatigue than the others, and in order that there may be in all the expeditions and operations a perfect equality, the general-in-chief shall be bound to observe, upon all occasions, a just proportion according to the force of the fleet or army.

13. The squadron which her most faithful majesty is to furnish, in virtue of this alliance, shall be received into all the ports of his imperial majesty, where it shall receive the most friendly treatment, and shall be provided with every thing of which it shall stand in need, on paying for it at the same price charged to the ships of his imperial majesty; and the said squadron shall be permitted to return, every year, to the ports of Portugal, as soon as the season shall not suffer it to continue at sea. But it is formally, and from the present moment, stipulated, that this squadron shall return every year to its destination, towards the beginning of the month of May, and not leave it again until the month of October, and this as often as the stipulation of the treaty shall require it. The auxiliary squadron of Portugal shall always be employed conjointly with the squadrons of his imperial majesty, or with those of

their friend and ally, the king of Great Britain.

14. The party calling for assistance, or demanding the succours stipulated by this treaty, shall point out, at the same time, to the party applied to, the places to which it shall wish them to repair in the first instance; and the party requiring aid, shall be at liberty to avail itself of the succours during the whole time they shall remain with it, in such manner and places as it shall judge most proper for its service against the aggressor.

15. The case of this treaty of alliance shall not be applicable to wars which may arise between his imperial majesty of all the Russias, and the powers and nations of Asia, with respect to which, her most faithful majesty shall be dispensed from lending the succours stipulated by the present treaty, except the case of an attack made by any European power whatever against the rights and possessions of his imperial majesty of all the Russias; as also, on the other side, his imperial majesty of all the Russias shall not be bound to furnish the succours stipulated by this same treaty in any case whatever, except that of an attack made by some European power against the rights and possessions of her most faithful majesty.

16. It has been also agreed, that in regard of the great distance of places, the 6000 infantry whom his imperial majesty of all the Russias shall furnish, by virtue of this alliance, for the defence of her most faithful majesty, shall not be sent out of Europe.

17. If the succours stipulated in the fourth article of this treaty should not be sufficient, then the contracting parties reserve to themselves an opening for agreeing upon such farther succours as they ought to afford.

18. The party requesting aid shall make neither peace nor truce with the common enemy, without comprising in it the party called upon, in order that the latter may not suffer any injury or hatred on account of the succours which it shall have lent to its ally.

19. The present defensive alliance shall not in any wise injure the treaties and alliances which the high contracting parties may have with other powers, as far as the said treaties shall not be contrary to this, or to the friendship and good understanding which they are resolved to preserve between them.

20. If any other power should be willing to accede to the present alliance, their said majesties have agreed to concert between themselves, on the admission of such power.

21. The present treaty of defensive alliance shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged, at St. Petersburgh, within the space of five months, reckoning from the day of the date of signature, or sooner, if it can be done. In faith of which the aforesaid ministers plenipotentiary of both parties have signed the present treaty, and thereunto put their seals and coats of arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 28th (17th) Sept. 1799.

(L.S.) Francis Joseph de Horta Machado.

(L.S.) Le comte de Kotschubey.

(L.S.) Le comte de Rostopschin.

And the aforesaid treaty having been presented to me, and having seen, weighed, and examined all the points and articles therein contained, I approve it, ratify it, and confirm it, in all and every of its clauses and stipulations, promising, on my faith and royal word, to observe and keep it, without ever infringing or permitting that it should be infringed in any manner. In testimony and assurance of which, I have caused the present act, signed with my hand, and the impression of the seal of my arms, to be despatched and sent back by my minister, counsellor, and secretary of state for foreign affairs and of war, who has countersigned it.

Done at the palace of Quelus, the 31st of December, from the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1799.

The Prince.

Underneath,

Luiz Pinto de Souza.

Treaty of Friendship and Amity between his Majesty and the Crown of Sweden on one side, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and the Russian Empire, on the other; negotiated and concluded at Gatschina, the 18th (29th,) of October, 1799, and ratified at the Palace of Stockholm, on the 30th of November, and at Gatschina, on the 14th (25th,) of December, in the same Year.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity.

The treaty of Drotningholm being expired, and the treaty of peace of Werele having thus become the only public act subsisting between the two countries, his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, animated by a similar desire to consolidate their union, have resolved to give a fresh sanction to the treaty of peace above mentioned, by the present treaty of alliance. They have, for that purpose, chosen and appointed their plenipotentiaries, viz. his majesty the king of Sweden, the baron Curt de Steding, his ambassador extraordinary to the emperor of all the Russias, lieutenant-general of his armies, chamberlain of the queen dowager, colonel of a regiment of infantry, knight and commander of his orders, grand cross of the order of the sword, knight of the French order of military merit, and M. John Christopher de Toll, lieutenant-general of his armies, adjutant-general, colonel of a regiment of cavalry, and commander and grand cross of the order of the sword; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the Count Theodore Rostopschin, privy counsellor, first minister of the department for foreign affairs, director-general of the posts of the empire, grand-chancellor and grand-cross of the sovereign order of Saint John of Jerusalem, knight of the orders of Saint Andrew, Saint Alexander Nefsky, and Saint Ann, of the first class, and the Count Nikita Panin, privy-counsellor, vice-chancellor *ad interim*, chamberlain, and knight of the orders of Saint Alexander Nefsky, Saint Ann, of the first class, and of the Prussian red eagle — who, after exchanging their respective powers, have a-

greed upon the following articles:

1. The principal object of his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in forming this alliance, being mutually to secure to each other a quiet and undisturbed possession of their respective states, they guarantee to each other, in the most solemn and binding manner it can be done, all their territories, states, and provinces in Europe, as they are at present in the possession of his majesty the king of Sweden, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias.

2. Farther to extend the confidence which at present subsists between his majesty the king of Sweden and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, they will carry on the most intimate correspondence, to inform each other, speedily and faithfully, of all damage, disadvantage, danger, or external troubles, which might threaten the states of either of the contracting powers, timely to employ the most vigorous measures for preventing the consequences, or for repairing them.

3. If, contrary to all expectations, and notwithstanding the amicable sentiments of the two contracting powers, one of them should be attacked in his dominions, states, and provinces, in Europe, the other, as soon as it shall be required of him, will employ his good offices to terminate hostilities, and to procure proper satisfaction for his ally. Should these remonstrances prove fruitless, he will furnish to the party requiring it, at the time stated, and without the least difficulty, the troops stipulated hereafter. These troops shall assemble in such harbour or frontier town of the party of whom they are required, as shall be most contiguous to the theatre of war; their farther transport shall be at the expense of the party requiring them. To obviate any misunderstanding, with respect to the period in which such succour is to be furnished, their majesties are reciprocally of opinion, that the said succour should be left at the disposal of the requiring party, two, three, or at farthest four months after such requisition shall have been made. In this, the time will be faithfully and conscientiously regulated, which, from the distance of places, shall be necessary, and according as the season, shall be more or less favourable for the marching of troops, or the fitting out of ships of the line, or other auxiliary vessels.

4. The succour stipulated in the preceding article, if that case of the treaty should happen, shall consist, on the part of his Swedish majesty, in 8000 men, infantry; 2000 cavalry, or dragoons, as it shall best suit the party of whom they are required, and in six sail of the line, from 60 to 70 guns, and two frigates, of 30 guns each; on the part of his imperial majesty of all the Russias, in 12,000 men, infantry, and 4000 cavalry, or dragoons, as it shall best suit the party of whom they are required, and in nine sail of the line, from 60 to 70 guns, and three frigates, of 30 guns each. The auxiliary troops shall be provided with ammunition, and with the necessary field-artillery; and the ships of the line, frigates, and other vessels, fitted out, armed, clothed,

and provisioned, as is usual in time of war, and in the same state as the party of whom they are required would have put them for combating an attacking enemy. If that case of the treaty should happen, and either the party requiring them, or of whom they are required, should wish to have, or to furnish infantry instead of cavalry, and if that should be agreed upon, two men infantry, shall be furnished for one man cavalry. If one or other of the high contracting parties mentioned should not deem such change suitable, it shall not take place, and the formation of the auxiliary corps shall remain as stipulated in the present article.

5. The auxiliary troops shall be paid by the party of whom they are required; but they are to be provided by the requiring party with the usual rations, and the necessary forage and quarters, on the same footing as their own master furnishes and provides them when in the field.

6. The ships of the line, or armed vessels, sent by one of the high contracting parties to the assistance of the other, shall be fitted out, armed, and provisioned, for four months, which term shall commence from the moment of the sailing of the ships of the line, frigates, or auxiliary vessels, from the harbours and roads of the respective dominions of the two contracting powers. Should the result of the operations, or other circumstances, render it necessary for the requiring party to employ them after that period, he shall be at liberty to do so; but in that case he will be obliged to maintain them at his own expense, and to supply the men with the same quantity of provisions as they receive from their own sovereign when in the field; the party of whom they are required will then merely be obliged to pay the officers and men of the ships of the line, frigates or other vessels. Should the high contracting parties deem it more suitable to their interest and to the result of the operations, instead of the ships of the line, frigates, or other vessels, to use the vessels of the fleet of the Shears, the same number of men shall be furnished in such vessels, as would otherwise have been furnished in ships of the line, or frigates.

7. Though every officer will retain the command of the auxiliary troops under him, yet the chief command shall unquestionably be in the hands of the officer intrusted with it by the party requiring those troops in the field, and during the combined operations by land or sea. Not any important expedition shall, however, be undertaken, nor any plan of consequence carried into execution, unless the commander of the auxiliary troops has previously been consulted upon, and given his consent to it.

8. To obviate every error or misunderstanding respecting the rank of officers, who have the respective commands, the sovereign requiring the succour will give timely notice of the officer whom he intends to intrust with it, to enable the other party to fix the rank of the officer who is to command the auxiliary troops or vessels.

9. The auxiliary troops shall have their own priests, and enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

They shall be tried by their own officers, according to the laws and articles of war which are in force with them. Should any differences arise between the officers and troops of the party requiring succour, and the auxiliary troops, an equal number of commissioners shall be appointed by both parties, to investigate the case, and to pronounce judgment; and those who, by a majority of votes, are found guilty, shall be punished according to the articles of war of their own sovereign. If there should be an equal number of votes, the sentence of that party shall be valid, which declares for the mildest punishment. The correspondence, which the generals or officers of the auxiliary troops may wish to carry on with their own country, by the post or by expresses, shall not be impeded.

10. The auxiliary troops, ships of the line, or other ships of war, shall not be exposed by too great a distance, on their marches, in detachment, and actions, or in quarters. Care shall be taken, on the contrary, as much as possible, to unite them in a centre of sufficient force. And to prevent in all cases, that the auxiliary troops, ships of the line, or other ships of war, are not fatigued or exposed more than those of the party requiring succour the commander-in-chief shall be obliged, on all occasions, to make a just and equitable distribution of the combined forces.

11. Should the auxiliary troops have suffered considerable diminution, of 1000 men at least, exclusive of the sick and wounded, during the campaign, the party which furnished them will complete them by recruiting, at its own expense; these recruits shall be sent to the harbour or the frontiers of the requiring party, which is nearest to the theatre of war (within two months from the day on which the party of which succours have been required shall have been informed of such diminution,) from whence they are afterwards to be transported to the army, at the expense of the party requiring them. A ship of the line, frigate, or other vessel, of the auxiliary fleet, which shall have been lost, is to be replaced by the party furnishing the succour by another ship of equal force, within two months, or sooner, if possible, from the day above mentioned, provided such ship of the line, frigate, or vessel, can join the fleet of the party requiring it, without being evidently exposed to danger; it is to be well understood, however, that such recruiting and replacing of troops shall not take place, unless the troops or ships are able to join their respective corps previous to the end of the campaign.

For every fresh campaign, the recruits, the ships of the line, frigates, or other vessels, shall be furnished complete, regardless of the amount of their diminution. It is likewise agreed upon, that if, during the march, or when the auxiliary troops are returning from the dominions of the party by which they had been required, any of the officers, soldiers, and sailors, should be obliged to remain behind, on account of sickness or wounds, that party binds himself to provide for them, and on their recovery to march them to the frontiers of the dominions

of the party that furnished them, at his own expense.

12. In case the succours stipulated in the 4th article, for the defence of the high contracting party which shall have been attacked, should be insufficient, the other, after a consideration, in which the mutual situation of the two high contracting powers shall be investigated, is to furnish more troops and ships of war, provided his own situation allows it. These additional troops, or ships, are to be furnished on the same conditions as above mentioned.

13. Both parties shall be at liberty, while one of them is engaged in a war, to draw from the states of the other the necessary materials and articles for carrying on war, at the current price at the place where they are bought.

14. At the end of the war, the auxiliary troops shall be farther maintained, by the party that required them, upon the same footing as stipulated in article 5, till they shall have returned to the states of their sovereign. Their return shall be effected at the expenses of the party that required them

15. Should the party, of which the succour has been required, be attacked on account of having furnished it, and the two high contracting powers thus be engaged in a common war, they shall not enter singly into negotiations for peace or for a cessation of hostilities, much less conclude a peace or an armistice, without the consent and full participation of both parties, or before the aggressed party shall have been properly indemnified for the damages suffered. It is also well understood, that the requiring party cannot conclude an armistice or a peace, without conscientiously observing the interest of the other party.

16. To enable their subjects to enjoy those advantages which a well established commerce offers to both nations, from the proximity of their states, the two high contracting parties have agreed to make this the basis of a particularly solid and permanent treaty, which shall be drawn up immediately. Till such treaty can be concluded, the two high contracting parties agree that their respective subjects shall enjoy all the advantages in their respective states which are enjoyed in them by the most favoured nations. The better to secure the liberty of commerce, the two high contracting parties will give orders to the commanders of their ships, whatever sea they may be in, to protect and assist every Swedish and Russian ship that may stand in need of it.

17. The two high contracting parties having also observed the necessity to regulate the frontiers of Finland, for the better security of tranquillity and good neighbourhood, they engage, as soon as possible, to occupy themselves with that important subject, and to commence negotiations respecting it at St. Petersburgh, through the ministers of the two courts. Till that shall be effected, the two high contracting parties have agreed to let things remain, in that respect, as they were at the conclusion of the peace of Werele.

18. To render still stronger the harmony, and to suppress the disorders which might result from impunity, a cartel shall be con-

cluded between both states. Until this shall be effected, the two high contracting parties agree not to grant any protection to criminals and deserters who shall seek an asylum in their states, but to arrest and deliver up on the frontiers, to the officers appointed for that purpose, all such runaways, as soon as intelligence shall have been received. It is also agreed on, immediately after the ratification of the present treaty, and previously to the cartel being established, to exchange all the deserters in both countries. From this regulation shall only be excepted prisoners of war, naturalized in either of the two countries, and the deserters who shall have married or settled, out of their country, previous to the ratification of the present treaty.

19. This alliance shall be in force during eight years, and the two high contracting powers reserve to themselves to declare and to agree upon the prolongation of it, at least six months before the expiration of that term.

20. The ratifications of this treaty shall be exchanged within six weeks, or sooner, if possible, at St. Petersburgh. In the faith of this, we, the undersigned, in virtue of our full powers, have signed the present treaty of alliance, and sealed it with our arms.

Done at Gatschina, the 18th (29th) of October, 1799.

(Signed) Curt Steding.
J. C. Toll.
Count Rostopschin.
Count Panin.

Separate Article.

His Swedish majesty shall be at liberty, annually, to buy 50,000 chetwerts of corn in the harbours of the Gulf of Finland, and of the Baltic, belonging to his Russian majesty; but it must be proved that it is for account of Swedish subjects particularly, by his majesty for that purpose; which corn may be exported to Sweden duty free.

Barren years, shall, however, be excluded from this regulation. If this case should happen, his majesty of Sweden shall be at liberty, as soon as the exportation is again allowed, to export, besides the annual quantity stipulated above, the quantity which should have been exported during the prohibition.

This separate article shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted word for word in the treaty of alliance signed this day, and shall be ratified at the same time.

In faith of which we, the undersigned, by virtue of our full powers, have signed the present separate article, and thereunto put our seal with our arms.

Done at Gatschina, the 18th (29th) October, 1799.

(L.S.) Curt Steding.
(L.S.) Count Rostopschin.
(L.S.) J. C. Toll.
(L.S.) Count Panin.

Declaration of War of the Emperor of all the Russias against Spain.

We, by the grace of God, Paul I. &c. &c. do hereby make known to all our faithful subjects, that we, and our allies, having resolved to overthrow the lawless government

now ruling France, and we have, therefore, risen against it with all our forces. The Almighty has blessed our arms to this very day, and crowned all our enterprises with victory and success. Among the small number of European powers, apparently attached to the French government, but, in fact, powers that are only afraid of the vengeance of this government, the outcast of God, struggling with the last agonies of dissolution, Spain has, more than all the rest, shown her fear of, or attachment to France, not by giving her actual succours, but by armaments. In vain have we made use of all our resources to open to that power the real path to honour and glory, by combining with us; she has persisted obdurately in measures and wanderings destructive of herself; and thus have we at last found ourselves under the necessity of sending back her *chargé d'affaires* at our court, Ode. But having since that received information, that our own *chargé d'affaires*, too, counsellor, Butzow, has been compelled to quit the king of Spain's dominions within a term unto him limited, we deem this an insult committed upon our imperial dignity, and do hereby declare war; giving orders at the same time to impose sequestration on all Spanish ships in our harbours, and to confiscate the same, and to send orders to the commanders of all our land and sea forces, to act with hostility every where against all the subjects of the king of Spain.

Done at Peterhof, July 26, 1799.

(Signed) Paul.

Answer of the King of Spain to the Manifesto of the Emperor of Russia.

Madrid, Sept. 11.

The religious exactness with which I have endeavoured, and shall endeavour, to maintain the alliance which I have entered into with the French republic, and the bonds of friendship and of good intelligence which subsist between the two countries, and which are cemented by the evident analogy of their common political interests, have excited the jealousy of some powers, particularly since the formation of the new coalition, of which the object, instead of the chimerical and ostensible desire of re-establishing order, is only to disturb it by despotizing over those nations who will not submit to their ambitious views. Among them, Russia has thought proper to appear very prominent with respect to me. The emperor, not content with arrogating to himself titles which cannot in any sense belong to him, and with thus manifesting his views, has just published a decree declaratory of war against me, in consequence, as he says, of not having experienced from me the condescension which he expected. The publication of this decree may alone suffice to prove his want of justice. The translation of it is literally as follows: [Here the manifesto of the emperor is recited.]

I have seen, without surprise, this declaration of war, because the conduct observed towards my *chargé d'affaires*, and other proceedings not less extraordinary on the part of this sovereign, some time since, informed me what I was to expect. In dismissing, therefore, from my court and do-

minions, the Russian *chargé d'affaires*, M. le conseiller Butzow, I have not been so much governed by motives of resentment as by the imperious considerations of my dignity.

In consequence of these principles, I am far from intending to examine at length the inconsistent and offensive contents of the Russian manifesto—offensive not only to me, but to other European powers; and well knowing the nature of the influence of England upon the reigning czar, I consider it below me to answer this manifesto, being accountable for my political connections, to none but the Almighty, by whose aid I shall be able to repel every unjust aggression, which the presumption of a system of false combinations may direct against me and my subjects, for the protection and security of whom I have taken and am taking the most efficacious precautions; and in making known to them this declaration of war, I authorize them to act hostilely against Russia, its possessions, and its inhabitants.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of the Batavian Republic to the Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Paris, 21st July, 5th Year of Batavian Liberty (3d Thermidor.)

Citizen Minister,

I have received orders from my government to submit the following reflections to the French directory. The new efforts of despotism against the representative government, the sentiment of duty, and even of necessity, which results from thence for the allied republics, to strengthen the bands which ought to unite them for the safety of the common cause, have dictated this frank and amicable communication, this explanation of the salutary and protecting principles which should actuate all republicans, inflamed with the love of their country, and only directed by that sentiment they owe a people who have intrusted their dearest interests to them. Since the formation of the Batavian constitution, the legislative body, the directory, the tribunals, the departmental administrations, in short, every authority generally composed of men most remarkable for their patriotism and understanding, have strove to assure the stability of that constitution, and to procure their fellow-citizens all the happiness that had been promised to them. The immense majority of the Batavians, attached by sentiment to the laws which have been given them, impressed with a generous esteem for the magistrates honored by their choice, will second by every means in their power, with the whole strength of their ability, the painful labours of their delegates. This union between the nation and its magistrates present to the philosopher and the friends of humanity the consoling hope of being soon able to prove, by an eloquent example, the excellence of a well-tempered democracy, and of establishing by facts, that the practical execution of this system is as easy and as simple, as the conception of its theory is grand and sublime. But this example of a happy republic,

without patricians, without privileges, exercising the rights of its sovereignty with dignity, must be too flattering to the people, too alarming to kings. England, dreading its power, has hitherto directed its artificial and criminal policy, in endeavouring to weaken and destroy it. The cabinet of Saint James's has seen with affright the fall of the stadtholder. Thus the cabinet has calculated the fatal consequences to its commerce, which must be produced by the alliance between the Batavian and the French republics. Its menaces, its arms, not having been able to prevent that alliance, it endeavours to defeat the benefits resulting from it. Force having become useless in the accomplishment of its plans, it has established itself as the banker of intrigue, and by dark manœuvres and machiavelian combinations has attempted to sow jealousies between the two nations, to destroy those sentiments of mutual benevolence which subsisted between them, to divide and to exasperate them against each other. It is thus, on the one hand, to alienate the Batavians, that the disguised emissaries of that cabinet report, with as much affectation as insolence, that the French government will have only tributary republics near it; slaves rather than allies; people vainly decorated with the title of sovereigns, geographically independent, but politically enchained; and that at a peace, Holland, parcelled out and abandoned to a foreign yoke, will leave to Europe only the remembrance of its name and its virtues. It is thus that in France the disguised apostles of tyranny essayed to surprise the confidence of the directory; to inspire it with fears as to the fidelity of the Batavians; to raise doubts as to their patriotism; to call in question their known attachment to the republican system, by describing as suppliers of England, as engrossers on the account of England, as partisans of England, those who are the implacable enemies of the Britannic government, and the eternal rivals of that haughty ruler of the main. Alas! who are the organs of these horrible blasphemies? Men rendered infamous by the most culpable excesses; men who, having shaken off the restraint of the laws, and renounced all morality, all idea of social organization, set up as the only patriots and privileged defenders of liberty, and, under pompous titles, endeavour to submit all to their fury and despotism. They are men, who, establishing themselves as the disposers of character, describe as a stadtholderian the citizen who obeys the laws; as a tyrant, the functionary faithful to his duties; and as an egotist and friend to England, the merchant, who by his indefatigable industry is able to pay the enormous contributions which circumstances have rendered necessary, and which have hitherto saved the republic. It is by fomenting hatred, and exasperating republicans, that these promoters of civil discord daily bring down new misfortunes on their country, and insensibly prepare the ruin and overthrow of the state. Indifferent as to the means, they indiscriminately embrace all those they think likely to favour their de-

signs; sometimes humble, sometimes insolent, but always perfidious, they flatter or destroy; informers by profession, infamous in character, they calumniate those they cannot corrupt; and, after having mysteriously fabricated pretended plots, and feigned treasons, they loudly invoke the vigilance of the French agents, in order to avert evils which never had any existence, except in their disordered imagination, and their fantastic projects. By what fatality is it they have preserved the appearance of good faith, when they have been spreading their snares? How have they been able so easily to affright us with vain fears? How have they been able to circulate such unfounded reports, such sinister predictions, such denunciations, as ridiculous as impudent, and render themselves the echoes of them to the French government? How is it we have not foreseen the diastrous effects which must necessarily be produced by the suspicions with which they have surrounded a rising administration? How is it that it has not been felt that the insinuations of a violent and unruly patriotism may destroy the confidence and esteem which the chief magistrates of two friendly and independent nations ought reciprocally to possess? How is it they have not felt, that to annihilate the credit of the Batavians, already so much impaired by the shocks inseparable from a great revolution, was serving the most ardent wishes of the British minister; and that, from the day on which its credit, the very principle of its existence, strength, and power, should be destroyed, the republic would present nothing to its allies but fœtid marshes, and to Europe the dreadful spectacle of a nation cruelly disappointed in its hopes, and writhing in the convulsions of a horrible agony? Yes, it is to the infernal system of informers—to the odious proscription of whatever is good, honest, and upright, to that perfidious art of altering and corrupting every thing, that crafty England owes its successes, republics their losses, republicans their misfortunes, and Batavians that want of regard and deference, that offensive behaviour, which has so often occasioned their deep regret, and been the subject of their complaints. The Batavian government is so intimately persuaded of having pointed out the source of all its evils, that it is convinced of the necessity of a prompt and efficacious remedy. It is time to prove to England and to Europe that the French republic is too generous, too magnanimous, to adopt a system of making republics tributary; on the contrary, it acknowledges that it wishes, in its full extent, the equality of the people; and, rich in its own resources, it only desires friends, powerful and faithful friends. The Batavian government, confiding in the purity of its intentions, neither has nor can have any secrets which it wishes to conceal from the French directory. It knows that by fate the two nations are inevitably united with each other; that they must triumph or perish together; destroy the same enemies, or be destroyed by them; that they must inspire respect for republics by a manly energy, and

the example of their internal happiness; that they must suppress factions; and that in the bloody contest of republicanism against royalty, it is necessary that republicans should unite to prudence and prodigies of valour the courage to make every sacrifice. The Batavian nation will not be behind in this perilous struggle. During the storms which have preceded the establishment of its constitution, it has learnt to distinguish its real friends from its vile seducers. It will honour the one, and punish the disturbers of its repose, whatever disguise they may assume. Fatigued with the long commotions which have shaken its credit and annihilated its commerce, it feels that it is only by internal peace that it can repair its losses; that new revolutionary tempests will wreck the vessel of the state; and that the general safety demands general order, calmness, and wisdom. For these considerations the Batavian directory, jealous of dissipating the clouds by which the enemies of the two nations have endeavoured to obscure the first days of a sworn alliance, calculated for the prosperity of the two republics; jealous also of destroying every pretence of calumny, of obviating all suspicion, of establishing those legitimate relations which ought to subsist between the two governments, is eager to make a profession of its faith, and to explain publicly the whole of its policy and system. This system, which will ever actuate the Batavian government, is the result of its inviolable attachment to the democratic constitution and republican principles; to the faithful accomplishment of the engagements of the Batavian republic towards the French republic; to the firm resolution of rigorously repressing Orangism and public disturbers; of restraining and chastising the factious; to its deep-rooted hatred against the government of England; to the direction of its resources, in order to second the measures which the French government may adopt against the enemy; to place upon the most respectable footing, and to the full extent of its means, the forces of the Batavian republic by sea and land; to offer its forces in aid of the common cause; to concert with the French republicans as to their destination and employment; and to leave France, in the combination of its military plans, that ascendancy which it naturally derives from its situation.

Doubtless, the directory, convinced of the sincerity of the Batavian government, by the rigorous execution of its solemn promises, will hasten to second its intentions. Doubtless it will shew, that the independence of its ally is dear and sacred to it; that it will make it respected by respecting it itself; that it will instruct its agents in Holland, that there can be no durable influence but that which is founded on esteem and public opinion; that it is upon these principles they should regulate their conduct in their relations with different authorities; and that it is the more necessary to conform to these principles, inasmuch as the Batavian nation, long characterised by its noble frankness, by its hatred of pride and haughtiness, by its extreme sensibility to the slight-

est marks of benevolence, only distinguishes and appreciates men according to their virtues, their talents, the amenity of their deportment; their modesty with regard to social relations, and their inflexible severity against the enemies of public order. It will, doubtless, instruct them, that Batavia is not a conquest; that its ancient history attests the undaunted firmness it has ever opposed to tyranny; that its inhabitants, long previous to the arrival of the French, combated against the stadtholder; and that the reception they gave them has proved, to the whole world, they were received rather as brethren than conquerors, rather as friends than oppressors .....; but what chiefly cannot escape the sagacity of the directory is, the necessity of restoring and protecting the commerce of the Batavians in its ancient splendour. The directory will then convince its agents, what they have not sufficiently been impressed with, that commerce is to Holland what agriculture is with respect to France; and that, as without agriculture, the colossal size of the republic would soon be a skeleton, without vigour and without life; so also the Batavian republic, without commerce, would disappear: that England alone desires to behold such a catastrophe; that its policy and its jealousy, its luxury, and its taxes, its avarice and its prodigality, its ambition and its pride, its factitious existence and its vanity, its expenses and its paper credit; that all these circumstances impose upon it the execrable duty of aspiring to an exclusive commerce, an exclusive navigation, a monopoly of the universe; that it is this monopoly which includes the secret of the resources, and the means of England; that to the dominion it exercises over the seas, the misfortunes which, in the cause of the present war, have been heaped upon all neutral nations, are to be attributed; that it is to the violation of this neutrality it is indebted for the gold with which it pays its taxes; and that, proud of such advantages, it will constantly oppose the efforts of an active and industrious republic, which, independent of its influence, too well understands its own interests, ever to become the instrument of its domination and caprice.

Such is the fertile system from which glory and happiness must result. Such is the system which becomes two generous nations, which alone is worthy their honour and their loyalty. England wishes to disunite, in order to subject them. England can only be conquered by their union. May the most perfect confidence succeed the efforts of malevolence; may they rival each other only in good offices, and in mutual sacrifices for their common good; may our energy redouble with our dangers; may the French and Batavians compose but one family under different titles; and may they soon appreciate according to its just value the friendship of a nation, as jealous of its rights as its independence, and as respectable by its manners and its industry, as distinguished by its courage!

Inviting you, citizen minister, immediately to lay this note be-

fore the directory, permit me to applaud myself for being, upon this occasion, the solemn interpreter of a government which manifests the purest intentions and most liberal ideas. You know with what constancy, I may say with what tenacity, since my arrival in this capital, I have discussed with you plans equally salutary to both nations, and calculated more closely to cement that union which ought to exist between them.

May the fraternal conduct which I have this day adopted in its name, unite every mind and every heart! May the destinies of our two republics dissipate every storm! May a glorious and speedy peace, hastened by a redoubled increase of our efforts and energy, procure to the French and to the Batavians all that prosperity which they have a right to hope for from an alliance founded upon sentiment and reason!

Receive, citizen minister, the homage of my high consideration.

(Signed) R. J. Schimmelpenninck.

As an attested copy.

(Signed) J. M. Smits.
C. G. Hultman.

Decree of the Prince of Brazil, declaring himself Regent of Portugal.

Taking into consideration that, in virtue of the laws on which is founded the Portuguese monarchy, all the rights of sovereignty have devolved on my person, on account of the melancholy, verified, and very notorious infirmity of the queen my mother, and her incapacity of continuing to exercise them; and finding myself convinced (by the prolonged experience of seven years, in which the care and assistance of the most reputed physicians have been entirely ineffectual) that the same infirmity, in common language, would be considered an insanity; it has appeared to me, that in the actual circumstances of public affairs, as well as to what respects the foreign concerns, as to the internal administration of the kingdom, the good of the faithful Portuguese subjects, and my personal honour, are equally interested, in that (by my revoking my decree of the 10th of February, 1792, which was solely dictated by the sentiments of respect and filial love, of which I have always desired, and do desire, to give to the queen my sovereign and mother the most superabundant proofs) the government of these kingdoms and their dominions should continue from this day forward under my proper name and supreme authority; on which account, without withdrawing myself from the said sentiments, but acknowledging that they, from their nature, ought to be subordinate to the good of the people, and to the honour of the sovereignty, I have resolved that, from the date of the present decree, all laws, acts, decrees, resolutions, and orders, (which ought to be made out in the name of the queen my sovereign and mother, if she was actually govering this monarchy) shall be formed and made out in my name, as prince regent, which I am during her actual impediment; and that, in

like manner, shall be addressed to me all consultations, petitions, requests, and representations, which in future may ascend to my presence.

Joseph Sierra de Sousa, counsellor of state for the affairs of the kingdom, shall make it to be so understood, and cause it to be executed, sending copies of this decree to those parts whereto they belong.

Done at the palace of Quelez, on the 15th of July, 1799.

(Signed) J. S. De Sousa.

(The prince's seal, &c.)

Message of the Executive Directory of the French Republic, to the Councils, February 16.

The Ottoman Porte, informed that the expedition to Egypt was only directed against its real enemies, had begun to look upon it with a favourable eye; but it was soon led astray by the perfidious insinuations of England and the coalesced powers. The war which it has declared against its ancient and faithful allies has been the fruit of this error, and will lead to its total ruin. It has drawn the Barbary powers into a war with France. The French government has adopted measures of reprisal, and it gives you notice of having done so.

Treaty of Commerce between the French Republic and the Helvetic Republic.

The French republic and the Helvetic republic, in execution of the article XV. of the treaty of alliance concluded at Paris, the 2d Fructidor, in the 6th year of the French republic (19th August, 1798), and being desirous to secure, in a manner the most invariable and reciprocally advantageous, the commercial relations of the two countries, have nominated, for the purpose of carrying a treaty of commerce into completion and effect, to wit, the executive directory of the French republic, on the one part, citizen Charles Maurice Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs; and the executive directory of the Helvetic republic, on the other part, citizens Pierre Joseph Zeltner, and Amedee Jenner, ministers plenipotentiary; who, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed to the following articles:—

Art. 1. Neither of the two republics shall ever be at liberty to prohibit the importation, consumption, or carriage of any merchandise of the growth or manufacture of the other republic its ally, on condition that such merchandises shall be accompanied with certificates of their origin.

2. Neither of the two republics shall ever prohibit the exportation of any produce of its territory or manufactures destined for the republic its ally, except corn or flour, and that only when the same prohibition shall have taken place by a general regulation extending to all nations: and as a prohibition at present exists in France, against the exportation of grain, the French republic, considering the indispensable want of this article under which the Helvetic republic labours, and desirous to give it a particular proof of its affection,

consents that it shall be authorized to export annually, on its own account, from the French territory, a million of myriagrammes of corn or flour, on condition that it shall be carried by the following places, viz. Versoix, Jougnes, Verrieres-de-Joux, and Bourg Libre, on Swiss carriages, conducted by Swiss carriers; and in certain cases when this importation of corn or flour should not be sufficient for the manifest wants of Helvetia, the French republic farther consents that in such case, by particular treaties to be yearly renewed, it should be at liberty to import to the amount of four millions of myriagrammes, but in no event whatever to exceed that quantity.

3. The duties on the import and export of merchandises of the growth or manufacture of the two allied republics, in their passage from one to the other, and which are fixed by the weight according to existing tarifs, shall continue to be collected in the same way, taking, however, for a basis the value of the merchandise, so far that in no case the duty paid shall exceed six per cent. of the value: and for this purpose, invoices of each kind of merchandise shall be made out by the respective governments, who shall transmit a table of the various articles of their growth and manufacture, and regulate the form of the certificates which are to authenticate their origin. And in the mean time, and until the said regulations shall be carried into complete effect, it is agreed that the perception of duties shall take place on the basis of the declared value of the merchandises, saving to the comptrollers the privilege of detaining them, paying their said avowed value, with ten per cent. over, and upon condition that the articles exported from Helvetia shall not enter France except through the offices designated in the preceding article, to which shall be added one of the offices of the department of Mont-Terrible.

4. The duties paid in Helvetia on retailed wines shall be the same on the wines of France as on those of the growth of Helvetia.

5. Whereas the reciprocal liberty of transfer of goods and manufactures is stipulated by the first article, the duty on the transfer shall not exceed one half per cent. of the value of the articles so transferred. The taxes for the maintenance of routes, as well by land as by water, shall not exceed those payable by the citizens of the republic which levies them. Waggoners, carriers, and watermen, on entering the territory of the one republic or the other, shall conform themselves to the laws and regulations respectively established in each of them.

6. The two republics agree that their respective monies shall be struck after the same model, and that then they shall have a legal circulation in the two countries, reciprocally.

7. If a merchant or any other French citizen shall die in Swisserland, the Helvetic republic undertakes to treat heirs, or other persons having a right to his property, as if they were natives, and so reciprocally in France, in case of the demise of a Swiss citizen.

8. French citizens domiciliated in Helvetia, and Helvetic citizens domiciliated in France, shall have

their passports verified by the consuls of their respective nations.

9. French citizens and Helvetic citizens, who shall travel for an unlimited term in the states of either allied republic, shall be at liberty to leave them with passports of their nation, on having them verified by the respective legations or consuls, and conforming to the police-laws in force in the countries in which they shall so travel.

10. It is agreed that the treaties or conventions, which the French and Helvetic republics shall make with other states, shall never injure in any respect the execution of the present, but, on the contrary, that each of them, on such occasions, shall use its efforts to secure the commercial advantages hereby stipulated to its allied republic.

11. Nothing herein contained shall change or affect the commercial and political articles of the treaty of alliance.

The ratifications of the present treaty shall take place in the space of three decades, reckoning from the day of its being signed, and its full execution within four decades after the exchange of the ratifications.

Concluded and signed at Paris, the 11th Prairial, 7th year (30th May, 1799).

(Signed) C. M. Talleyrand.
P. J. Zeltner.
A. Jenner.

Message from the Executive Directory to the Councils, proposing to declare War against the Emperor of Germany, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, 13th of March.

Citizens representatives,

Whatever may have been the magnitude of the events that have taken place since the conclusion of the treaty of Campo Formio, we have still the remembrance of those that preceded it. We have not forgotten that it was after five years of triumphs and at the moment in which the French armies were no more than thirty leagues from Vienna, that the republic consented to suspend the course of her victories, and preferred to the success of some last efforts, the immediate establishment of peace. It may be recollected that when the treaty was concluded, the moderation of the conqueror appeared so great, that it wanted, in some sort, an apology.

Could we have foreseen that this compact in which force shewed itself so indulgent; in which the most liberal compensation ought to have silenced all regret, so far from obtaining the promised stability, would have been from the beginning but the deceiving pledge of an ephemeral reconciliation, and that the sudden attacks made against it should all come from a power which was indebted to it for an ample indemnification for the losses she had experienced by the war. What a strange contrast! Whilst the republic fulfils with constant care every stipulation of a treaty which is in proportion neither with her successes, nor with what she might deduce as legitimate revenge for the plans of destruction formed and pursued against her. Austria instead of shewing herslf satisfied with an approximation which has spared her the greatest misfortunes, appears to be only occupied with

deteriorating and destroying the compact that formed her safety.

Among the violations of the treaty which that power has been guilty of, some have been so manifest that they have already excited the surprise of Europe, and the indignation of republicans:—others, less public or less perceived, have yet not been less hostile; and the directory can no longer defer marking out to the legislature the circumstances of the conduct of the cabinet of Austria; a conduct truly offensive, invasive of the state of peace, and which no effort nor example has been able to bring back to the observance of engagements contracted.

At the period of the concluding of the treaty of Campo Formio, it was reciprocally stipulated, by an additional act to the treaty, that all that part of the German territory, extending from the Tyrol and the frontier of the Austrian states to the left bank of the Mein, should be evacuated at once by the French and imperial troops, except the post of Kehl, which was to remain with the republic. A convention still more particular, concluded and signed at Rastadt, the 11th Frimaire, 6th year, renewed that engagement and marked a fixed term for its execution. On the part of the republic that execution was prompt and entire. On the part of Austria it was deferred, eluded, and is not yet obtained. In Philipsburg the emperor has kept a garrison and provisions which belong to him in spite of the pretence which covers them. In Ulm and Ingoldstadt he has not ceased to keep troops, and an etat major to receive more. All the places of Bavaria have remained at his disposal; and so far from that duchy having been evacuated according to the terms of the treaty, we see that it contains 100,000 Austrians, destined at once to resume hostilities against the republic, and to invade a country so long coveted by the court of Vienna. If that court had intended to have shewn itself faithful to the treaty, the first effect of this disposition would without doubt have been to press the reciprocal establishment of the respective legations; but so far from Austria having entertained a wish of making a beginning upon this head, what was the surprise of the directory when they were informed it was considered at Vienna that the plenipotentiaries sent on both sides to the Congress at Rastadt were sufficient to keep up the communications between the two states, and that the treaty of Campo Formio, was to receive, by the treaty with the empire, ulterior developements before the habitual relations of perfect understanding could be entirely established! So cold an interpretation of the treaty, so formal a distance, did not presage that it would be long respected.

In the mean time a government whose existence attested also the moderation of the republic, dared to provoke anew her vengeance by the most horrible attacks. The Pope expiated his crime and Rome acquired liberty; but the directory foreseeing that persons would not fail to alarm the imperial court, and to give to the most just reprisals the aspect of ambitious aggression, thought proper to wave all considerations of eti-

quette, which might have prevented them, and to send to Vienna citizen Bernadotte as ambassador from the French republic, to make it understood that the destruction of the pontifical government at Rome would make no change in the limitations of the states of Italy; that the existing and recognised republics would not be increased by any part of the Roman territory, which left the treaty of Campo Formio in all its integrity, since by fixing the extent of the Cisalpine republic, it could not foresee nor prevent, with respect to their result, the events which might change the form of other states of Italy, on account of their own aggressions. Yet the ambassador of the republic was received with coldness at Vienna. This mark of the most loyal eagerness, this sending of an agent invested with the most august character, was without reciprocity: and soon an event less injurious by the circumstances that accompanied it, than by the impunity which it has obtained; manifested the secret sentiments of the court of Vienna. If at the first news of this event, the directory had not had some foundation for seeing in it only the work of two courts eager to revive the war upon the continent; if they could have believed that the emperor knew the plot woven under his own eyes; they would not have hesitated a moment in inciting the national vengeance against so outrageous a violation of the state of peace and the rights of nations, so religiously respected by the republic, in the midst even of the most violent storms of the revolution. But it was possible that the cabinets of London and Petersburgh might have prepared and directed, by their agents, a tumult neither known nor approved by the emperor. The expressions of regret conveyed, in the first moment, to the ambassador of the republic by M. de Colloredo, the announced appointment of M. Degelmaun to Paris, were the motives for thinking that the imperial court would hasten to pursue and punish an attack, whose existence it acknowledged, and of which it feared to appear an accomplice. When it was known besides, that the minister who was accused of having seconded the fury of England and Russia, had given up his place to the Count de Cobenzel, and that the latter was going to Seltz to make reparation, the directory could not repent having incited these conferences, by showing herself less ready to follow the first impulse of a legitimate resentment, than eager to do away, by common explanation, every thing that might oppose the establishment of the most perfect harmony.

Such was their desire to produce conciliation, that the envoy extraordinary of the republic had for his definitive instruction to content himself, in reparation for the event at Vienna of the 21st Germinal, with a simple disavowal and a declaration that the guilty should be sought after. But scarcely had the conferences been opened at Seltz, when the imperial court altered its tone and its conduct. Baron Degelmaun did not proceed to Paris, — M. de Thugut returned to the ministry. The informations commenced remained unavailing and ineffectual.

The Count de Cobenzel, instead of offering or giving the reparation which was the principal object of his mission, affected a wish to direct the discussion to other points; and concluded by declining all satisfaction, even that with which the republic would have contented herself, when he was convinced that the directory would not listen to the insinuations by which the court of Vienna wished to render her, in the midst even of peace, an accomplice in the most strange spoliation.

The negotiators separated, and soon afterwards the negociator who had been sent to Seltz by his imperial majesty to make profuse and vain protestations of peace, received a mission to Berlin and Petersburgh, to connect himself with all the incitements of the British government to revive the war. The directory must have been animated with a profound love of peace, not to have yielded from that time to the evidence of the hostile dispositions of the house of Austria, and to have avoided answering the provocations received. They saw that at Rastadt, from the very opening of the Congress, both the imperial minister and the minister of Austria had incessantly shown themselves adverse to all the propositions of the republic, and to all those which might lead to a definitive and stable pacification. They knew the difficulties made at Vienna to the acknowledgment of the Cisalpine minister; a circumstance calculated to bring in question points decided by the treaty of Campo Formio. They were informed that the Austrian cabinet (whatever might be the personal opinion of the emperor) yielding more than ever to the impulses of England, gave to the cabinet of Naples a confidence which led it into the most extravagant measures; directed in a more secret manner, Piedmont, which a short time before it had devoted to dismemberment; and endeavoured to wrest from its neutrality the Prussian government, which it wished to arm against France, after having endeavoured to arm France against the Prussian government.

What motives for abjuring a treaty not acknowledged, violated by Austria, and which ceased to be binding upon the republic! But the patience and the resolution of the directory were to show themselves superior even to a provocation more direct. At the moment in which the factions who had usurped the power in the Grison league, testified some uneasiness at a French army being near, and at the projects which they supposed to be formed against their independence and neutrality; affecting at the same time, a perfect security with respect to Austria, from whom they said they had received the most encouraging protestations, the directory thought proper to make known to the inhabitants, that their territories would be respected as long as they were respected by Austria. Some months only had elapsed since that declaration was made, when a corps of Austrian troops invaded and established themselves in the country of the Grisons. Nothing that was hostile in that invasion, nothing of secret machinations that was included in it, escaped the executive

directory. It was evident that Austria was thus preparing the means of disturbing Helvetia, of making an irruption into the Cisalpine, and of giving at the decisive moment her aid to the King of Sardinia, in order to attempt, in concert with him, to cut off all retreat to the French, who were to be attacked by 100,000 Neapolitans, and whom they dared to suppose conquered.

The directory were not blind to all these pernicious combinations, but they avoided seeing in them a formal aggression; and it was not till the moment in which the premature attack of the King of the two Sicilies opened a new war, that the directory having the full proof of the King of Sardinia being an accomplice, and wishing to turn aside the effect of it, seized his strong places, thus getting the start by some days of the Austrians, who were to have occupied them themselves; the anterior invasion of the Grison territories being but the prelude to such a step.

But at the same time that the republican armies repelled the aggression in Italy, and prevented the perfidy, the directory, though they had intelligence of the treaty between Vienna and Naples, though they saw an Austrian general at the head of the Neapolitan army, though they knew the movement of troops that had taken place in the Tyrol and the north of Italy, persisted still in professing a desire to remain at peace with the emperor; and the sincerity of their wishes was sufficiently apparent by their conduct to Tuscany; for a long time had elapsed since they had found it impossible to make a distinction between the court of Florence and the court of Vienna.

The directory had known that the journey of M. Manfredine to Vienna related to the same object that had brought the Prince of Montechiaro from Naples; and had usefully prepared the success of his mission, by contributing to give the emperor the desire of increasing his influence in Italy, of seeking a new aggrandisement, under the pretence of indemnity, of checking the establishment of the Cisalpine republic, and of opposing, above all, the existence of the Roman republic. The directory knew also, that at the epoch in which the King of Naples was making dispositions to march his army to Rome, the grand duke was himself employed in making preparations for war, accelerating and extending, in a manner very unusual to the country, and ordering, in addition to the complete armament of the troops, voluntary enrolments in every town and village; establishing a forced loan, demanding from the churches, monks, and nobles, their plate; and taking in short all the measures that denoted a secret participation in the greatest enterprises: yet, notwithstanding the art with which these traces of hostility were sought to be concealed, the directory obtained proofs that the grand duke relied so much on the defeat of the French, that he shut up all the passes by which they might have retreated through his states, and fortified them with a numerous artillery which was to have completed the destruction of the remnant of the French army, whilst

on another side a troop of Neapolitans and some English ships took possession of Leghorn; an event that would never have taken place, if that prince had only declared he would never consent to it.

Thus the first movement of the French army ought to have been to march to Leghorn and Florence; and if the directory (who only knew since with certainty to what an extent the grand duke, who is still arming secretly, had carried his culpability) suspended the effect of their resolution, it was because, looking upon the court of Tuscany as less immediately connected with the interests and enterprises of the court of Naples than with those of the court of Vienna, they still hesitated in believing that the latter wished to revive the war. Soon, however, a fact more decisive than all the former ones, left no doubt of the disposition of Austria; and consequently afforded a full insight into that of the grand duke. Twenty-five thousand Russians advanced towards Germany; they were to be followed by several corps equally numerous.

The Russian monarch had proclaimed throughout Europe his hostile design against the republic; and whilst his fleets, obtaining leave to pass the Straits, interest the Mediterranean states to attack the possessions of France, his troops sought a passage on the continent to attack the troops of the republic: it was at the moment in which the emperor was still in a state of peace, in which the empire neutralized by a special armistice, was near the period of pacification, that a prince committing an aggression, that an ally of London and Constantinople, wishing to unite his efforts to theirs, appeared upon the limits of the Austrian territory; his army was received without any obstacle; it was evident that it was expected.

The emperor quits his capital, goes himself to meet the Russians, accepts their congratulations, and associates himself with their projects by heaping on them presents and attentions. Struck with the scandal of such a conduct, instructed that the Russians were to pass from the Austrian territory to the territory of the empire, the directory, still repressing the first impulse of the national pride, contented themselves with demanding explanations from the emperor and empire. The emperor was silent; his plenipotentiaries wished to deny that he had received the note of the French republican ministers. The deputation of the empire referred to the diet and the diet to the empire. The march of the Russians continued; they traversed Moravia and Austria; they approach Bavaria; and the amicable representations of the republic have not been listened to more than the interest of Germany, which is against this foreign invasion. The moment was then arrived in which the directory could no longer temporise, and hold a language which might compromise the national dignity and the safety of the state. The republic had given peace as soon as it was asked: she had exhausted herself in efforts to maintain what she had granted: but it was necessary at length that she should know her enemies, and that those

who wished for war should be forced to explain themselves. Such were the spirit and object of the two notes transmitted, on the 12th of last Nivose, to the Austrian minister at Rastadt and to the deputation. A delay was fixed for his imperial majesty to give a categorical and satisfactory answer, in failure of which, his silence or his refusal would be regarded as an hostile act. That delay expired on the 27th Pluviose, and no reply is yet arrived.

Such, citizen representatives, has been the conduct of the court of Vienna. It is by such a succession of facts that the treaty of Campo Formio, not acknowledged from the commencement, unexecuted on the part of Austria in several of its principal parts, compromised and invalidated daily by hostile preparations and actions, is at length sacrificed to the rapacity of the Russian monarch and the perfidious combinations of England. It is thus that the emperor, carried perhaps beyond his own resolutions, compromises at the same time the fate of the empire, deprives himself of the benefits of a peace begun, and gives up Germany anew to all the chances of a war, in which the emperor and the empire are no more than the auxiliaries of Russia. It is thus, that the determination of the court of Vienna, carrying with them those of the court of Tuscany, it is not permitted to the directory to separate one from the other. Forced then, in the terms of the declaration made at Rastadt, to consider the silence of the emperor as an hostile measure; instructed besides, that the Austrian troops have already made aggressive movements in Bavaria towards Suabia, the directory, renouncing with regret the hope of maintaining peace in Germany, but still disposed to listen to suitable propositions for a new and complete reconciliation, inform you, citizens representatives, that they have already taken such measures as they have thought necessary for the defence of the state; and propose to you to declare war against the Emperor, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and against the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

(Signed)

Barras, President.
Lagarde, Sec. General.

Declaration made by the Emperor of Russia, to the Members of the Germanic Empire.

His imperial majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, ever animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and wishing to put a stop to the ravages and disorders which have been spread by the impious government under which France groans, to the remotest countries; being fully determined to despatch his sea and land forces for the support of the sufferers, and to restore royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to reestablish the ancient forms of government in the united Netherlands, and in the Swiss Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German Empire, and to look for his reward in the tranquillity and happiness of Europe: Providence has blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops have triumph-

ed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order.

His majesty the Emperor of all the Russias having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addresses this declaration to all the members of the German Empire, inviting them to unite their forces with his, to destroy their common enemy as speedily as possible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themselves and their posterity.

Should his imperial majesty of all the Russias perceive that they support his views, and rally around him, he will, instead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not sheath his sword before he has seen the downfall of the monster who threatens to crush all legal authorities. But should he be left to himself, he will be forced to recall his forces to his states, and to give up a cause so badly supported by those who ought to have the greatest share in its triumph.

Gatschina, Sept. 15,
(old style), 1799.

A Proclamation by the Prince of Orange.

We William, by the grace of God, Prince of Orange and Nassau, hereditary Stadtholder, &c. &c. To all those to whom these presents shall come greeting;

Dear countrymen,

The long wished for moment, when you are at last to be delivered from so many calamities which you have suffered for more than four years past, is now, we hope, arrived, and we now enjoy the satisfaction again to address you under that pleasing prospect. It would be superfluous to enumerate the different hardships under which you have groaned, ever since the violence you have suffered in consequence of the French invasion, and the events which have followed it. If cruel experience has made you fear them but too severely, and if our ardent wishes could be sooner fulfilled, you would have been relieved, long ago, from that intolerable burden. We have been but too long obliged to confine ourselves to the deploring your fate in silence without having power to alter it. At last, that time is come. His majesty the king of Great Britain, moved by his affection and friendship towards the republic of the United Provinces, and pitying your misfortunes, has taken the generous resolution, as soon as the general circumstances of Europe have allowed it, to employ in concert with his allies, vigorous measures for your deliverance. The military force which is now sent for that purpose is to be followed by still more numerous troops.

The object of this expedition is made known to you in the name of his Britannic Majesty, by the commander-in-chief of the first body of troops which is to open this glorious career. Those troops do not come to you as enemies, but as friends and deliverers, in order to rescue you from the odious oppressions under which you are held by the French government, and by the French troops, and to restore you to the

enjoyment of your religion and liberty, those invaluable blessings for which, with the Divine assistance, your and our own ancestors fought and conquered. Hesitate not, therefore, brave inhabitants of the United Provinces, to meet and to assist your deliverers. Receive them among you as friends and protectors of the happiness and welfare of your country. Let every difference of political sentiments and opinions vanish before this great object. Do not suffer the spirit of party, nor even the sense of the wrongs you have suffered to induce you to commit any acts of revenge or persecution. Let your hands and your hearts be united in order to repel the common enemy, and to re-establish the liberty and independence of our common country. Let your deliverance be as much as possible your own work. You see already and you will experience it still more in future, that you may depend upon being vigorously and powerfully assisted. As soon as the first efforts which are making towards your delivery shall have acquired some consistency, our dearly beloved son, the hereditary Prince of Orange, who is in possession of our entire confidence, and who is deserving of yours, and is perfectly well acquainted with our intentions, will join you, put himself at your head, and following the steps of our illustrious ancestors, spare neither his property nor his life in bringing this great undertaking to a successful issue. We ourselves, also, will then, as soon as circumstances shall allow it, proceed to join you. And as we have always considered our own happiness and welfare as inseparably connected with that of our dear country, we will then, after having seen your laws and privileges restored, and yourselves re-established in the possession of those benefits which belong to a free people under a lawful government, make our greatest and most heart-felt satisfaction consist (under the Divine blessing) in the advancement of the public good, and of that prosperity and welfare which formerly made our once happy country an object of admiration to the surrounding nations.

Done in the Palace of Hampton Court, 28th July 1799.

(Signed)

William, Prince of Orange.

Proclamation of Sir Ralph Abercrombie to the Dutch.

Lieutenant-general Abercrombie, to whom his majesty the king of Great Britain, the ancient ally of the United Provinces, has intrusted the command of a body of troops destined to recover the freedom of the said United Provinces, has, by his majesty's orders, issued the following proclamation, containing the intentions of his Britannic majesty, and of the kings and sovereign princes, his allies, in this great undertaking.

It is not as enemies, but as friends and deliverers, that the English troops enter the territory of the United Provinces. This undertaking has no other object in view, but to deliver the inhabitants of this country, heretofore free and happy, from the oppres-

sion under which they groan, to protect their religious worship against the persecuting intolerance of incredulity and atheism, to rescue their administration from the violence which they experience from anarchy and rapaciousness, and to re-establish them in the possession of their ancient liberty and independence, so closely connected with the privileges of that constitution, by means of which, their ancestors fought and conquered under the standard of the Princes of Orange; privileges whose influence has proved to the United Provinces a perennial source of prosperity, under the auspices of the amity and the alliance of Great Britain.

His majesty entertains no doubt but that, eager to re-assert those privileges, the inhabitants of the United Provinces will rekindle in their bosoms, and with equal success, the courage and self devotion of their ancestors. The hand of Providence has already appeared in the deliverance of a large portion of Europe from those miseries into which it hath permitted that they should for a time be involved, by the arms and principles of the French Republic.

The military forces which his Britannic majesty has assembled, under the command of Lieutenant-general Abercrombie, joined to those which his high allies have destined for the same object, are sufficient fully to protect those who shall stand forward in the cause of their country.

The allied sovereigns are desirous that the deliverance of the Batavian Republic should be principally brought about by its own citizens, in all the deliberations and in all the exertions connected with this interesting object. His majesty recommends to them, in the most pressing manner, to act together with concert and unanimity, to forget and forgive the past, and to form an unshaken determination to protect and defend, against all excesses of revenge, the lives and properties of their fellow citizens, even of those whose errors and whose faults have perhaps contributed to aggravate the sufferings of their country; but who now, reclaimed by the irresisitble conviction of experience, are ready to make common cause with us in this arduous task.

It is consistently with these principles, and agreeable to this spirit, that the British army shall conduct themselves in the midst of a people whom the English nation has been so long accustomed to regard as friends and allies. But if, hereafter, and from the present moment, there should be found Batavians, who at the approach of the deliverance of their country, should still remain devoted to its oppressors, and shew themselves unworthy of the invaluable enjoyment of the tranquillity and security of a legitimate government, as well as of civil and religious liberty, such only shall be looked upon and treated by his Britannic majesty as obstinate and irreconcileable enemies, not only of his said Britannic majesty and his high allies, but also of the happiness of their country, as well as the general interests and security of Europe.

R. Abercrombie, Lieut.-gen.
Fred. Maitland, Sec. of the
Commander-in-chief.

Message of the President of the United States.

Gentlemen of the senate,

I transmit you a document, which seems to be intended to be a compliance with the condition mentioned at the conclusion of my message to congress, of the 21st of June last.

Always disposed and ready to embrace every plausible appearance of probability of preserving or restoring tranquillity, I nominate William Vans Murray, our minister, resident at the Hague, to be minister-plenipotentiary to the French republic.

If the senate shall advise and consent to his appointment, effectual care shall be taken in his instructions, that he shall not go to France without direct and unequivocal assurances from the French government, signified by their minister of exterior relations, that he shall be received in character; shall enjoy the privileges attached to that character by the law of nations; and that a minister of equal rank, title, and powers, shall be appointed to treat with him, to discuss and conclude all controversies between the two republics, by a new treaty.

John Adams.

United States, Feb. 18, 1799.

(Copy.)

Liberty. (L. S.) Equality.—Exterior Relations, 3d Division.

Paris, 7th Vendemaire, 7th Year of the French Republic, one and indivisible.

The Minister of Exterior Relations to Citizen Pichon, Secretary of Legation of the French Republic to the Batavian Republic.

I have received successively, citizen, your letters of the 22d and 27th Fructidor; they afford me more and more reason to be pleased with the manner you have adopted, to detail to me your conversations with Mr. Murray.—Those conversations, at first merely friendly, have acquired consistency by the sanction I have given to them by my letter of the 11th Fructidor. I do not regret that you have trusted to Mr. Murray's honour a copy of my letter. It was intended for you only, and contained nothing but what is conformable to the intentions of government. I am thoroughly convinced, that, should explanations take place with confidence, between the two administrations, irritations would cease, a cloud of misrepresentasions would disappear, and the ties of friendship would be more strongly united, as each party would discover the hand that sought to disunite them.

But I will not conceal from you, that your letters of the 2d and 3d Vendemaire, just received, surprise me much. What Mr. Murray is still dubious of, has been explicitly declared, even before the President's message to congress, of the 3d Messidor last, was known in France. I had written to Mr. Gerry, namely, on the 24th Messidor and 4th Ther-

midor. I did not repeat it to him before he set out. A whole paragraph of my letter to you of the 11th Fructidor, of which Mr. Murray has a copy, is devoted to develope still more the fixed determination of the French government, according to these bases. You were right to assert, that whatever plenipotentiary the government of the United States should send to France, to put an end to existing differences between the two countries, would be undoubtedly received with the respect due to the representative of a free, powerful, and independent nation.

I cannot, citizen, conceive that the American government need any farther declaration from us to induce them, in order to renew the negociations, to adopt such measures as would be suggested to them by their desire to bring the differences to a peaceable end.

If misunderstandings on both sides have prevented former explanations from reaching that end, it is presumable, that those misunderstandings being done away, nothing henceforth will bring obstacles to the reciprocal dispositions. The president's instructions to his envoys at Paris, which I have only known by the copy given you by Mr. Murray, and received by me the 21st Messidor, announcing (if they contain the whole of the American government's instructions) dispositions which could only be added to those which the directory has always entertained; and notwithstanding the irritating and hostile measures they have adopted, the directory has manifested its perseverance in the sentiments which are set forth both in my correspondence with Mr. Gerry, and in my letter to you of the 11th Fructidor, and which I have herein before repeated in the most explicit manner. Carry, therefore, citizen, to Mr. Murray those positive expressions, in order to convince him of our sincerity, and prevail on him to transmit them to his government.

I presume, citizen, that this letter will find you at the Hague; if not, I ask, that it may be sent back to you at Paris.

Health and fraternity.

(Signed) Ch. Mau. Talleyrand.

Gentlemen of the senate,

The proposition of a fresh negociation with France, in consequence of advances made by the French government, having excited so general an attention, and so much conversation, as to have given occasion to many manifestations of the public opinion, by which it appears to me, that a new modification of the embassy will give more general satisfaction to the nation, and perhaps better answer the purposes we have in view.

It is upon this supposition, and with this expectation, I now nominate Oliver Elsworth, esq. chief-magistrate of the United States, Patrick Henry, esq. late governor of Virginia, and William Vans Murray, our minister resident at the Hague, to be envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the French republic, with full powers to discuss and settle, by a treaty, all controversies between the United States and France.

It is not intended, that the two former of these gentlemen shall

embark for Europe until they shall have received from the executive directory direct and unequivocal assurances, signified by their secretary of foreign relations, that they shall enjoy all the prerogatives attached to that character by the law of nations, and that a minister or ministers of equal power shall be appointed and commissioned to treat with them.

John Adams.

February 25, 1799.

Speech of the President of the United States of America to both Houses, assembled in the Representative Chamber at Philadelphia, on the 3d December, 1799.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

It is with peculiar satisfaction that I meet the sixth Congress of the United States of America: coming from all parts into union at this critical and interesting period, the members must be fully possessed of the sentiments and wishes of our constituents.

The flattering prospects of abundance from the labours of the people by land and sea; the prosperity of our extended commerce, notwithstanding interruptions occasioned by the belligerent state of a great part of the world; the return of health, industry and trade to those cities which have been so lately afflicted by disease: and the various and inestimable advantages, civil and religious, which, secured under our happy frame of government, are continued to us unimpaired, demand of the whole American people sincere thanks to the benevolent Deity for the merciful dispensations of Providence.

But while these numerous blessings are recollected, it is a painful duty to advert to the ungrateful return which has been made for them by some of the people in certain counties of Pensylvania, where, seduced by the arts and misrepresentations of designing men, they have openly resisted the law directing the valuation of houses and lands. Such defiance has been given to the civil authority as rendered hopeless all farther attempts by judicial process to enforce the execution of the law, and it became necessary to direct a military force to be employed, consisting of some companies of regular troops, volunteers and militia, by whose zeal and activity, in co-operation with the judicial power, order and submission were restored, and many of the offenders arrested. Of these, some have been convicted of misdemeanours, and others charged with various crimes remain to be tried.

To give due effect to the civil administration of government, and to ensure a just execution of the laws, a revision and amendment of the judiciary system is indispensably necessary. In this extensive country it cannot but happen, that numerous questions respecting the interpretation of the law, and the rights and duties of officers and citizens should arise. On the one hand, the laws should be executed, on the other, individuals should be guarded from op-

pression: neither of these objects is sufficiently assured under the present organization of the judicial department; I therefore earnestly recommend the subject to your serious consideration.

Persevering in the pacific and humane policy which had been invariably professed and sincerely pursued by the executive authority of the United States, when indications were made on the part of the French Republic, of a disposition to accommodate the differences existing between the two countries, I felt it to be my duty to prepare for meeting their advances by a nomination of ministers, upon certain conditions, which the honour of our country dictated, and which its moderation had given it a right to prescribe. The assurances which were required of the French government previous to the departure of our envoys, have been given through their minister of foreign relations, and I have directed them to proceed on their mission to Paris: they have full power to conclude a treaty, subject to the constitutional advice and consent of the senate. The characters of these gentlemen are sure pledges to their country, that nothing incompatible with its honour or interest, nothing inconsistent with our obligations of good faith or friendship to any other nation shall be stipulated.

It appearing probable from the information I received, that our commercial intercourse with some ports in the Island of St. Domingo, might safely be renewed, I took such steps as seemed to me expedient to ascertain that point. The result being satisfactory, I then, in conformity with the act of Congress on the subject, directed the restraints and prohibitions of that intercourse to be discontinued, on terms which were made known by proclamation. Since the renewal of this intercourse, our citizens trading to those ports with their property, have been duly respected, and privateering from them has ceased.

In examining the claims of British subjects by the commissioners at Philadelphia, under the sixth article of the treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation, with Great Britain, a difference of opinion on points deemed essential in the interpretation of that article, has arisen between the commissioners appointed by the United States and the other members of that board, from which the former have thought it their duty to withdraw. It is sincerely to be regretted that the execution of an article produced by a mutual spirit of amity and justice, should have been thus unavoidably interrupted: it is, however, confidently expected, that the same spirit of amity, and the same sense of justice in which it originated, will lead to satisfactory explanations. In consequence of the obstacles to the progress of the commission in Philadelphia, his Britannic majesty has directed the commissioners appointed by him under the seventh article of the treaty relating to British captures of American vessels, to withdraw from the board sitting in London, but with the express declaration of his determination to fulfil with punctuality and good faith the engagements which his majesty has contracted by his treaty with

the United States, and that they will be instructed to resume their functions whenever the obstacles which impede the progress of the commission at Philadelphia shall be removed. It being in like manner my sincere determination, so far as the same depends on me, that with equal punctuality and good faith, the engagements contracted by the United States in their treaties with his Britannic majesty shall be fulfilled, I shall immediately instruct our minister at London to endeavour to obtain the explanation necessary to a just performance of those engagements on the part of the United States. With such dispositions on both sides, I cannot entertain a doubt that all difficulties will soon be removed, and that the two boards will then proceed, and bring the business committed to them, respectively, to a satisfactory conclusion.

The act of Congress relative to the seat of government of the United States, requiring, that on the first Monday of December next, it should be transferred from Philadelphia to the district chosen for its permanent seat, it is proper for me to inform you, that the commissioners appointed to provide suitable buildings for the accommodation of Congress and the President, and for the public offices of the government, have made a report of the state of the buildings designed for these purposes in the city of Washington: from which they conclude that the removal of the seat of government to that place, at the time required, will be practicable, and the accommodations satisfactory: their report will be laid before you.

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

I shall direct the estimates for the appropriations necessary for the service of the ensuing year, together with an account of the revenue and expenditure to be laid before you. During a period in which a great portion of the civilized world has been involved in a war unusually calamitous and destructive, it was not to be expected that the United States could be exempted from extraordinary burthens. Although the period is not yet arrived when the measures adapted to secure our country from foreign attack can be removed, yet it is alike necessary to the honour of the government and the satisfaction of the community, that an exact economy should be maintained.

I invite you, Gentlemen, to investigate the different branches of the public expenditure. The examination will lead to beneficial retrenchments, or produce a conviction of the wisdom of the measure to which the expenditure relates.

Gentlemen of the Senate, and Gentlemen of the House of Representatives,

At a period like the present, when momentous changes are occurring, and every hour is preparing new and great events in the political world; when a spirit of war is prevalent in almost every nation, with whose affairs the

interests of the United States have any connection, unsafe and precarious would be our own situation were we to neglect the means of maintaining our just rights. The result of the mission to France is uncertain; but however it may terminate, a steady perseverance in a system of national defence, commensurate with our resources and the situation of our country, is an obvious dictate of wisdom: for remotely as we are placed from the belligerent nations, and desirous as we are, by doing justice to all, to avoid offence to any, nothing short of the power of repelling aggressions will secure to our country a rational prospect of escaping the calamities of war, or national degradation.

As to myself, it is my anxious desire so to execute the trust reposed in me, as to render the people of the United States prosperous and happy. I rely with confidence on your co-operation in objects equally your care, and that our mutual labours will serve to increase and confirm union among our fellow-citizens, and an unshaken attachment to our government.

JOHN ADAMS.

United States, Dec. 3, 1799.

Declaration between the King of Great Britain and the Emperor of Russia, in addition to the Treaty of December, 1798.

By the provisional treaty concluded between his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the 29th (18th) of December 1798, it is stipulated, that the body of 45,000 men, furnished by his said imperial majesty for the support of the common cause, should be employed in co-operating with the troops of his Prussian majesty, if that sovereign should be induced to join his forces to those of their majesties; but the edeavours which their royal and imperial majesties have employed for this purpose, having been unsuccessful, and that prince persisting in his adherence to his system of neutrality, the two high contracting parties, in order to neglect nothing on their part which may contribute to the success of the good cause, have resolved that the said body of 45,000 men, originally destined to second the hostile demonstrations of Prussia against France, shall be equally employed against the common enemy, in whatever other quarter their majesties may judge to be most advantageous to their common operations.

For this purpose, the plenipotentiaries of their said royal and imperial majesties have signed the present declaration, which is to be considered as forming a part of the provisional treaty above mentioned, concluded between the two courts, the 29th (18) of December.

Done at St. Petersburgh, this 29th (18th) of June, 1799.

(L. S.) Le Compte de Kotschouberg.

(L. S.) Le Compe de Rostopchin.

(L. S.) Charles Whitworth.

Convention between his Britannic Majesty, and the Emperor of

all the Russias, signed at St. Petersburgh the 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

In the name of the most holy and indivisible Trinity.

His majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, in consequence of the friendship and the ties of intimate alliance which exist between them, and of their common and sincere co-operation in the present war against the French, having constantly in their view to use every means in their power most effectually to distress the enemy, have judged that the expulsion of the French from the Seven United Provinces, and the deliverance of the latter from the yoke under which they have so long groaned, were objects worthy of their particular consideration; and wishing, at the same time, to give effect, as far as possible, to a design of that importance, their said majesties have resolved to conclude with each other a convention relative to this plan, and to the most proper means of carrying it into the most speedy execution. For this purpose they have named as their plenipotentiaries, to wit, his majesty the king of Great Britain, Sir Charles Whitworth, his envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the imperial court of Russia, knight of the order of the Bath; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the Count Kotschouberg, his vice-chancellor, actual privy counsellor, actual chamberlain, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newskey, commander of that of St. John of Jerusalem, and great cross of the order of St. Kadimir of the second class; and the count of Rostopchin, his actual privy counsellor, member of the college of foreign affairs, director-general of the posts, knight of the order of St. Alexander Newskey, and of St. Anne of the first class, great chancellor and great cross of that of St. John of Jerusalem; who, after having reciprocally communicated to each other their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

Article I. His majesty the king of Great Britain, thinking that the object above announced cannot be better attained than by the aid of a body of Russian troops, his imperial majesty, notwithstanding the efforts which he has already made, and the difficulties of his employing an additional body of forces to act at a distance from his dominions, has, nevertheless, in consequence of his constant solicitude in favour of the good cause, consented to furnish seventeen battalions of infantry, two companies of artillery, one company of pioneers, and one squadron of hussars, making in all 17,593 men, to be destined for the said expedition to Holland. But as that number of troops, according to the plan proposed by his Britannic majesty, is not sufficient, and as it has been judged that 30,000 men would be necessary for that purpose, his said majesty will, on his side, furnish 13,000 men of English troops, or at least 8,000 men, if that smaller number should be deemed sufficient, and amongst whom there shall be a proportion of cavalry sufficient for the services of such an army.

II. This corps of troops of 17,593 men, together with the necessary artillery, shall assemble at Revel, in order that they may be from thence conveyed to their destination, either in English or other vessels freighted by his Britannic majesty.

III. In order to make his majesty the emperor of all the Russias to afford to the common cause this additional and efficacious succour, his majesty the king of Great Britain, engages to furnish the undermentioned subsidies, upon the condition that his imperial majesty of all the Russias shall have a right to recall into his dominions the above-mentioned corps of troops, if through any unforeseen event such subsidies should not be regularly furnished to him.

IV. The amount and the nature of these pecuniary succours have been settled and regulated in the following manner: 1st. in order to enable his imperial majesty to assemble and expedite this corps as soon and as well equipped as possible, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages, as soon as he shall receive advice that the above-mentioned troops have reached the place of their rendezvous, that is to say, at Revel, and that it shall be declared, that they are ready to embark (whether the transports be arrived or not) to pay for the first and most urgent expenses, the sum of 88,000*l.* sterling, dividing the payments into two parts, to wit, that 44,000*l.* sterling be paid immediately after it shall have been declared, either by the commander-in-chief of that corps to the English commissary, or by the ministry of his imperial majesty to the minister of his Britannic majesty resident at St. Petersburgh, that the said corps is ready: and that the second payment, completing in the whole, the sum of 88,000*l.* sterling, shall take place three months afterwards and the commencement of the fourth. 2dly. His majesty, the king of Great Britain, engages in like manner to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, a subsidy of 44,000*l.* sterling per month, to be computed from the day on which the above-mentioned corps of troops shall be ready. This subsidy shall be paid at the commencement of each month, and destined for the appointments and entertainment of the troops. It shall be continued until they shall return into Russian ports, in English or other vessels, freighted by his Britannic majesty.

V. If this corps of Russian troops should meet with difficulties in procuring, during the expedition to which it is destined, or in case of wintering, as shall be hereafter mentioned, in England, or during the voyages it shall have to make, its necessary subsistence, by means of the measures which the Russian commanders or commissaries may take for that purpose, his Britannic majesty, upon the requisition of the minister of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, residing at his Court, shall furnish whatever may be necessary to the Russian troops; and an exact account shall be kept of all the provisions and other articles so delivered in order that their value may be deducted from the subsidy, such provisions and other articles be-

ing valued at the price paid for them by his majesty for his own troops.

VI. As the transport of the horses necessary for the officers, the artillery, and the baggage, would require a great many vessels, and as that arrangement would lead to many other inconveniences, and more particularly to that of a delay, prejudicial to the above-mentioned expedition, his Britannic majesty engages to furnish at his own expence, the necessary number of horses, according to the statement which shall be delivered, and to have them conveyed to the place where the Russian troops are to act: his said majesty will, in like manner, maintain them at his own expence, during the whole time these troops shall be employed, and until they shall be re-embarked, in order to return to the ports of Russia. His Britannic majesty will then dispose of them in such a manner as he thinks proper.

VII. In case that the Russian troops, after having terminated in Holland the projected expedition, or in consequence of its being deferred through any unforeseen circumstances, should not be able to return into the ports of his imperial majesty during the favorable season, his majesty the king of Great Britain, engages to receive them into his own dominions, to provide them there with good quarters and all other advantages, until the troops shall be able to return on the opening of the navigation, or shall be employed upon some other destination, which shall be previously settled between their royal and imperial majesties.

VIII. As the principal object of the employment of this corps of troops is a sudden attack to be made on Holland, by means of which his Britannic majesty hopes to produce there a favourable change; as, besides, no fixed term for the continuance of the subsidies is stipulated, whilst on the other hand, the said troops after their return to Russia, must be re-conducted to their ordinary quarters, mostly at a great distance; and as the marches they will have to make will require considerable expenses, his majesty, the king of Great Britain, hereby engages to make good this charge by a payment of subsidies for two months, to be computed from the day of the arrival of those troops in Russian ports. In like manner his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, without fixing any term, reserves to himself the right of causing the said corps of troops to return to his dominions, in the spring of the next year 1800; or if any hostile aggression upon Russia, or any other important event should render it necessary. In these two cases, the above-mentioned engagement of his Britannic majesty, concerning the payment of two months subsidy, shall equally take place.

IX. As it is understood that the expedition to Holland which has given rise to the present convention, is to be effected in common by Russian and English troops, each party shall follow, relative to the employment and the command of the troops, literally the treaty of defensive alliance concluded between the two high contracting parties the 7th

(18th) of February, in the year 1795. In like manner if any difficulties should arise either between the commanders of the respective forces or otherwise, which may regard the above-mentioned troops of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, the solutions of such difficulties shall be looked for in the stipulations of the said treaty of the year 1795, or likewise in that concluded with the Court of Vienna, the 3d (14th) of July, 1792.

X. The present convention shall be ratified by his majesty the king of Great Britain, and by his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and the ratifications shall be exchanged here in the space of two months, to be computed from the day of its signature, or sooner if it can be done.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with full powers by his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their name, signed the present convention, and have affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, the 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

(L.S.) Le Comte de Kotschoubey.
(L.S.) Le Comte de Rostopschin.
(L.S.) Charles Whitworth.

Separate Article.

I. Although it be stated in article 2, of the convention, concluded this day, that the corps of Russian troops forming 17,593 men, destined for the expedition to Holland, shall be conveyed to its destination in English or other vessels, freighted by the king of Great Britain; nevertheless, in order so much the more to facilitate this important enterprize, his majesty the emperor of all the Russias consents to furnish six ships, five frigates, and two transport vessels, which being armed *en flutes*, will receive on board as many troops as they shall be able to contain, whilst the remainder of the said corps shall be embarked on board of English or other transport vessels freighted by his Britannic majesty.

II. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias will lend these ships and frigates upon the following conditions: — 1. There shall be paid by England, upon their quitting the port of Cronstadt, in order to go to the place of rendezvous, which is Revel, the sum of 58,927*l.* 10*s.* sterling, as a subsidy for the expences of equipment, &c. for three months, to be computed from the day, as is above stated, of their departure from Cronstadt. 2. After the expiration of these three months his Britannic majesty shall continue the same subsidies, that is to say of 19,642*l.* 10*s.* sterling a month, which shall be paid at the commencement of each month. 3. Independently of this pecuniary succour, his Britannic majesty shall provide for the subsistence of the crews; and the officers and sailors shall be treated on the same footing as are the English officers and sailors in time of war, and as are the Russian officers and sailors, who are at present in the squadron of his imperial majesty which is united to the English squadron. 4. All these stipulations shall have full and entire effect until the return

of the above-mentioned ships and frigates into Russian ports.

III. If it should happen, contrary to all expectation, that those six ships, five frigates, and two transport vessels, should not be able, through some unforeseen event, to return to Russia before the close of the present campaign, his Britannic majesty engages to admit them into the ports of England, where they shall receive every possible assistance both for necessary repairs, and for the accommodation of the crews and officers.

IV. As the six ships, five frigates, and two transports, above mentioned, having been originally intended for another destination, were furnished with provisions for three months, his Britannic majesty, instead of furnishing them in kind, as it is stated in the second article, engages to pay, according to an estimate which shall be made, the value of these provisions. With regard to the officers, his majesty the king of Great Britain, will adopt the same principle as has been followed until the present time, respecting the officers of the Russian squadron which is joined to the naval forces of England. That shall serve as a rule for indemnifying them for the preparations which they may have made for the campaign, such as it had been originally intended to take place.

This separate article shall be considered as forming part of the convention above-mentioned, as being inserted therein word for word; and it shall be ratified, and the ratification exchanged in the same manner.

In witness whereof, we, the undersigned, furnished with the full powers of his majesty the king of Great Britain, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have, in their name, signed the present article, and have affixed thereto the seal of our arms.

Done at St. Petersburgh, this 22d (11th) of June, 1799.

Le Compte de Kotschoubey.
Le Compte de Rostopschin.
Charles Whitworth.

Declaration made by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to the Members of the German Empire.

His imperial majesty the emperor of all the Russias, ever animated with zeal for the cause of sovereigns, and wishing to put a stop to the ravages and disorders which have been spread, by the impious government under which France groans, to the remotest countries—being fully determined to despatch his sea and land forces for the support of the sufferers, and to restore royalty in France, without, however, admitting any partition of that country; to re-establish the ancient forms of government in the United Netherlands and in the Swiss Cantons; to maintain the integrity of the German empire, and to look for his reward in the happiness and tranquillity of Europe. Providence has blessed his arms, and hitherto the Russian troops have triumphed over the enemies of thrones, religion, and social order. His majesty the emperor

of all the Russias having thus declared his views, and the motives by which he is guided, addresses this declaration to all the members of the German empire, inviting them to unite their forces with his, to destroy their common enemy as speedily as possible, to found on his ruins permanent tranquillity for themselves and their posterity. Should his imperial majesty of all the Russias perceive that they support his views, and rally around him, he will, instead of relaxing his zeal, redouble his exertions, and not sheathe his sword before he has seen the downfall of the monster which threatens to crush all legal authorities. But, should he be left to himself, he will be forced to recall his forces to his states, and to give up a cause, so badly supported by those who ought to have the greatest share in its triumph.

Gatschina, Sept. 15. (O. S.) 1799.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable the Earl of Mornington, to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, dated 20th March, 1799.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors.

Honourable Sirs,

In my separate despatch of the 21st of November, by the Eurydice, I informed your honourable court, that, although I had deemed it my duty to call your armies into the field in every part of your possessions, my views and expectations were all directed to the preservation of peace in India.

2. In the letter of the 13th of January, from the governor-general in council at Fort St. George, I apprized your honourable court of my arrival at this presidency, to which I thought it my duty to proceed from Bengal, in the hope of opening a negociation with Tippoo Sultaun, for the amicable adjustment of the differences which had arisen between that prince and the honourable company's government.

3. In my despatches to the secret committee of your honourable court, I have regularly transmitted advices of the state of political affairs in India, and I have fully explained the principles which have governed my conduct, not only towards Tippoo Sultaun, but towards all the native powers, since I have taken charge of the government general.

4. Having ultimately been compelled to commence hostilities against Tippo Sultaun, it is now become my duty to lay before your honourable court an accurate detail of the causes of the war in which we are engaged.

5. For this purpose, it will be necessary to draw your attention to a period of time as remote as the month of June, 1798, and to trace from that date the progress of those events which have finally produced the necessity of resorting to arms for the security of your interests committed to my charge.

6. A proclamation issued by the governor-general of the Isle of France, in the month of February, 1798, made its first appearance at Calcutta on the 8th June of the same year.

7. This proclamation states, that an embassy had arrived at

the Isle of France with letters from Tippoo Sultaun, addressed not only to the government of that island, but to the executive directory of France, proposing to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, to subsidize and to supply whatever troops the French might furnish to the sultaun, and to commence against the British power in India a war of aggression, for which the sultaun is declared to be fully prepared, waiting with anxiety the moment when the succour of France shall enable him to satisfy his ardent desire of expelling the British nation from India. The proclamation concludes by offering encouragement to the subjects of France to enter into the service of Tippoo Sultaun, on terms to be fixed with his ambassadors then on the spot.

8. Although I was inclined, in the first instance, to doubt the authenticity of this extraordinary publication, I thought it advisable to transmit a copy of it, on the 9th of June, to Lieutenant-general Harris, (then governor of Fort St. George, and commander-in-chief on the coast of Coromandel,) informing him, that, if the proclamation should prove authentic, it must lead to a serious discussion with Tippoo Sultaun; and directing Lieutenant-general Harris to consider, without delay, the means of assembling the army on the coast of Coromandel, if necessity should unfortunately require such a precaution.

9. On the 18th of June, 1798, I received a regular authentication of the proclamation, in a letter from his excellency the Earl of Macartney, dated the 28th of March; and at the same time several persons arrived at Calcutta, who had been present in the Isle of France, at the time of the publication of the proclamation.

10. By a strict examination of the most respectable of these persons, I was enabled to obtain an authentic and accurate statement of all the material circumstances attending the publication of the proclamation at the Isle of France; the substance of which statement I have already forwarded to your secret committee, and now have the honour to submit to your honourable court.

11. Tippoo Sultaun despatched two ambassadors, who embarked at Mangalore for the Isle of France, and arrived at Port Nord-ouest in that island, towards the close of the month of January, 1798. The ambassadors were received publicly and formally by the French government, with every circumstance of distinction and respect, and they were entertained at the public expence during their continuance on the island.

12. Previous to the arrival of ambassadors on the island, no idea or rumour existed there of any aid to be furnished to Tippoo Sultaun by the French, or of any prospect of a war between that prince and the company; but within two days after the arrival of the ambassadors, the proclamation in question was fixed up in the most public places, and circulated through the town of Port Nord-ouest.

13. The ambassadors, far from protesting against the matter or style of the proclamation, held without reserve, in the most pub-

lic manner, the same language which it contains, with respect to a war of aggression to be commenced by Tippoo Sultaun against the British possessions in India; and they even suffered the proclamation to be publicly distributed by their agents at the place of their residence.

14. The ambassadors were present when the French government proceded to act under the proclamation in question; and the ambassadors aided and assisted in the execution of the proclamation, by making promises, in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpose of inducing recruits to enlist in his service.

15. The ambassadors proposed to levy men to any practical extent, stating their powers to be unlimited with respect to the force to be raised in the name of Tippoo Sultaun. They entered into certain stipulations and engagements in the name of the sultaun (according to the tenour of the last paragraph of the proclamation) with several Frenchmen, and others, particularly with Mr. Dubuc, whom the ambassadors engaged in the service of their sovereign, for the express purpose of assisting in the war to be immediately commenced against the British power in India.

16. The proclamation, therefore, originated in the arrival of Tippoo's ambassadors at the Isle of France; it was distributed by their agents, it was avowed in every part by their own public declarations, and finally it was executed, according to its tenour, by their personal assistance and cooperation.

17. On the 17th of March, 1798, the ambassadors embarked at Port Nord-ouest, on board the French frigate La Preneuse, together with the force thus raised in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, amounting to about two hundred men, inclusive of several officers, the chiefs of whom were M. M. Dubuc and Chapuy.

18. Such is the substance of the evidence obtained from the persons who were present in the Isle of France during the residence of Tippoo's ambassadors; from other authentic sources I learnt the sequel of the transaction.

19. The French frigate La Preneuse, with the sultaun's ambassadors and the French troops levied for his service, arrived at Mangalore on the 26th of April, 1798.

20. An opportunity now occurred of ascertaining, beyond the possibility of doubt, whether the acts of the sultaun's ambassadors in the Isle of France were conformable to the instructions of their sovereign. For although the presumption was already sufficiently powerful, that the ambassadors would not have ventured to transgress the limit of their commission in a matter of such momentous importance, as the conclusion of offensive engagements with the French against the English East India company, it yet remained a question, whether Tippoo Sultaun would venture openly to avow proceedings, which could not fail to expose him to the just resentment of your government.

21. This question was immediately solved, for the sultaun, without hesitation, permitted the French force to land publicly at

Mangalore; and, far from manifesting the least symptom of disapprobation of the conduct of the embassy in any part of the negociation, he formally received his ambassadors, and the French officers, and principal persons in their suite, with public and extraordinary marks of honour and distinction; and finally, he admitted the greater part of the French force, raised for the purpose of making war upon the honourable company, into his service, in which it is still entertained.

22. By this public and unequivocal sanction, he must be considered not only to have personally ratified the engagements contained in the proclamation of the governor-general of the Isle of France, but to have taken the preliminary measures for accomplishing the design which the ambassadors had avowed in his name.

23. Tippoo Sultaun, therefore, having actually concluded offensive and defensive engagements with the French against the honourable company; having collected, by the aid of the French, a force openly destined to carry those engagements into effect; having applied to the executive directory of France, for a more powerful force, destined to the same end; having signified, through his public ambassadors, to the enemy, that his preparations for war (as far as they depended upon himself) were actually complete; having avowed the object of those preparations to be the subversion of the British empire in India; and finally, having declared the delay of the meditated blow to proceed from no other cause, than his expectation of receiving further aid from the enemy; I could not hesitate to pronounce, that he had flagrantly violated the treaties of peace subsisting between him and the honourable company; and that he had committed an act of direct hostility and aggression against the British government in India.

24. To confirm the conclusions necessarily resulting from the facts already stated, I received undoubted information, that Tippoo Sultaun had, for some time past, been employed in military preparations, conformably to the hostile spirit of his enagements with the enemy; that the greater part of his army was actually in a state of equipment for the field, and that a large portion of it was there encamped under his personal command.

25. To your honurable court it would be superfluous to observe, that no provocation had been offered by any of your governments in India, to justify or to palliate any act of hostility, or even any emotion of jealousy or suspicion on the part of Tippoo Sultaun; but I think it necessary to remark in this place, that at the very moment of receiving the authentic copy of the proclamation issued in the Isle of France, I had ordered the disputed district of Wynaad to be delivered to the sultaun, after a public acknowledgment of the justice of his claim to that possession, and I had proposed to open an amicable negociation for the purpose of adjusting his recent claims to a part of the district of Cooya, on similar principles of equity, according to the tenor of the seventh article of the treaty of Seringapatam.

26. The sultaun himself had not attempted to allege even the pretext of a grievance against the British government; in his letters to Sir John Shore, written a short time before the return of the Mysorean ambassadors from the Isle of France, and received at Fort William, on the 26th of April, 1798,) the day on which the French force landed at Mangalore) Tippoo declares, "that his friendly heart is disposed to pay every regard to truth and justice, and to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord between the two nations;" and he signifies his desire, that "Sir John Shore would impress Lord Mornington with a sense of the friendship and unanimity so firmly subsisting between the two states."

27. This is not the language of hostility, nor even of discontent; from what disposition in the friendly heart of the sultaun these amicable professions have proceeded, how they are connected with a regard to truth and justice, or calculated to strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord, and to impress me with a sense of the firmness of the sultaun's friendship, your honourable court can now determine without difficulty, since it is now proved, that these letters were written at the very crisis when he was in anxious expectation of the hourly arrival of that military succour which he had earnestly solicited from the enemy, for the express purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the company's possessions.

28. That Tippoo Sultaun had not yet received the effectual succour which he had solicited from the French, might have been ascribed either to the distracted state of the government of Mauritius, or to their want of zeal in his cause, or to the rashness and imbecility of his own councils; but neither the measure of his hostility, nor of our right to restrain it, nor of our danger from it, were to be estimated by the magnitude of the force which he had actually obtained, for I knew that his demands of military assistance were unlimited; I knew that they were addressed not merely to the government of the Mauritius, but to the executive directory of France, and I could not ascertain how soon, either by some revolution in the government of the Mauritius, or by direct intercourse with France, those demands might be satisfied to the full extent of his acknowledged expectations.

29. Under all these circumstances an immediate attack upon Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpose of frustrating the execution of his unprovoked and unwarrantable projects of ambition and revenge, appeared to me to be demanded by the soundest maxims both of justice and policy.

30. The act of Tippo Sultaun's ambassadors, ratified by himself, and followed by the admission of a French force into his army, was equivalent to a public, unqualified, and unambiguous declaration of war. But while his hostile purpose had been clearly manifested, the immediate means of accomplishing it had happily disappointed the ardor of his hopes.

31. The inconsiderable amount of the aid which he had already received from the French, while it could not be construed as a li-

mitation of my just right to vindicate the public safety, affording strong argument of policy in favour of attacking this desperate, implacable, and treacherous enemy, before he could either complete the improvement of his own army, under the French officers whom he had already admitted into his service, or could receive a farther accession of strength, under the progressive operation of his alliance with France.

32. In the moment of his comparative weakness, of his disappointment and probable dejection, the principles of justifiable self-defence, and of prudential precaution, required that we should strike such an instantaneous blow against his power and resources, as should preclude the possibility of his deriving any substantial advantage from the aid of France, whenever it might reach his dominions.

33. Such was the tenor of my opinions as early as the 20th of June, 1798. Although at that early period I could not ascertain from what quarter the French would attempt to assist the sultaun, I recorded my conviction that some attempt to assist him would be among the earliest of their operations. The conclusion of peace upon the continent of Europe, the weak state of our allies in India (particularly of the Nizam, whose councils and army were at that period subjected to the overbearing influence of a powerful French faction), might appear both to Tippoo and to France to offer a favourable crisis for the attack of the British possessions in India. The disposition of the French government to attempt such an enterprize has never been disguised; and, although I had not obtained positive proof that any formal and regular correspondence, between Tippoo Sultaun and the executive directory of France, had existed previous to the embassy and letters which arrived at the Mauritius, in January, 1798, yet the nature of that transaction afforded a strong presumption that a previous intercourse of the same hostile character had taken place. This presumption was farther corroborated by my certain knowledge, that for some time past various emissaries of France had reached the councils of Tippoo Sultaun, and that through their representations he had been taught to entertain a confident expectation of speedy and effectual support.

34. Even admitting that this expectation was likely to be frustrated, either by a failure of faith on the part of France, or by the vigilance and superior power of his majesty's fleets, I was apprized that Tippoo had also despatched an embassy to Zemaun Shah, the object of which could be no other than to encourage that prince in the prosecution of his long-threatened invasion of Hindostan. The whole tenor of my advices from the north-western countries of Hindostan, led me to believe that Zemaun Shah would cross the Attack, and would endeavour to pursue his avowed project of invasion, in the course of the ensuing season; and it appeared probable that his approach, which must necessarily engage the attention of the army in Bengal, might be the signal to Tippoo Sultaun for an irruption into the Carnatic.

35. In addition to these considerations, it appeared by no means improbable, that the impetuosity of Tippoo Sultaun's temper, exasperated by the assiduous and unremitting instigations of the emissaries of France, might break forth into hostilities, without waiting for the actual movement of any Indian or European ally. His late embassy to the Isle of France sufficiently manifested a disposition capable of pursuing its favourite object of vengeance against the British nation with more zeal than discretion. It is my duty farther to remark, that, in the month of June, 1798, the distribution and condition of the army on the coast of Coromandel, to which I shall advert more fully in a subsequent part of this despatch, offered but too strong a temptation to the enterprize of a faithless and active enemy. Under such circumstances it would have been an unmanly and weak policy to have confided the safety of the Carnatic to the precarious forbearance of Tippoo Sultaun, or to have left him any longer in the undisturbed possession of the powerful advantage of being able to choose, according to his convenience, the time and mode of the attack, which he had openly menaced.

36. I therefore recorded my decided judgment, that it was necessary to assemble the armies on the coast of Coromandel and Malabar without delay, and I issued my final orders for this purpose on the 20th June, 1798.

37. To assemble the army on both coasts was an indispensable precaution, which I could not have been justified in omitting, from the moment that I was apprized of Tippoo Sultaun's offensive engagements with the French, and of the landing of a French force at Mangalore. But, being resolved, on all occasions, to submit to your court a full and distinct view of the whole scope of my motives and intentions, I have no hesitation in declaring, that my original resolution was (if circumstances would have admitted) to have attacked the sultaun instantly, and on both sides of his dominions, for the purpose of defeating his hostile preparations, and of anticipating their declared object; I was concerned however to learn, from persons most conversant in military details, at Fort St. George, (notwithstanding the distinguished discipline of your army on the coast of Coromandel, and the eminent valour, activity, and skill of its officers), its dispersed state, and certain radical defects in its establishments, would render the assembling a force equal to offensive movements against Tippoo, a much more tedious and difficult operation than I had apprehended.

38. Some officers of approved military talents, experience, and integrity, at Fort St. George, declared that your army in the Carnatic could not be assembled for offensive purposes before the commencement of the year 1800, and that a period of six months would be required for its equipment, even for the purpose of defending the Carnatic against any sudden attack. The difficulty of assembling and moving your army on the coast of Coromandel, furnished indeed an alarming proof of the defenceless and perilous state of the Carnatic in that ar-

duous conjuncture. But in proportion to the pressure of that difficulty, the necessity of an instantaneous and active exertion became more urgent; for whether the army, when assembled, was to anticipate or wait the attack of Tippoo, it appeared an equally indispensable measure of precaution to resume, without delay, the power of meeting that vindictive and restless prince in the field. I was not therefore discouraged, either by the suggestions to which I have referred, or by subsequent representations of a similar character and tendency, from insisting on the immediate execution of my orders for assembling the army; and adverting to the fatal consequences which have formerly been experienced in the Carnatic, by neglecting to keep pace with the forwardness of hostile equipments in Mysore, I resolved to intrust the protection of your possessions on the coast of Coromandel to no other security than a complete and early state of preparation for war.

29. At Bombay, my orders for assembling the army were executed with great promptitude and alacrity, unaccompanied by any symptoms of indisposition to those united and zealous efforts, which the exigency of the crisis demanded from every branch of your civil and military service.

40. The unavoidable delay which obstructed the assembling your army in the Carnatic, having compelled me to relinquish my first intention of striking an immediate blow against the power and resources of Tippoo Sultaun, I applied myself to the formation of such a permanent system of preparation and defence, as, while it tended to restore to the government of Fort St. George, with all practicable dispatch, the power of repelling any act of aggression on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, might ultimately enable me to demand both a just indemnification for the expense which the Sultaun's violation of treaty had occasioned to your government, and a seasonable security against the consequences of his recent alliance with the enemy.

41. With this view, while the army was assembling on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, my early attention was directed to strengthen and improve the defensive alliance concluded between the honourable company, and their highnesses the Nizam and Peshwah, under the treaties of Paangul, Poonah, and Seringapatam, for the purpose of establishing a barrier against the ambition and revenge of Tippoo Sultaun.

42. The state of this alliance afforded abundant matter of painful anxiety; I found both the Peshwah and the Nizam (whose respective power it was the object of the treaty of Seringapatam to maintain) in such a state of efficiency as might render them useful allies in the event of a war with Mysore, reduced to the lowest condition of depression and weakness, the former by the intrusion of Doulet Row Sindia, and the latter by the threatened hostilities of the same chieftain, by the establishment of a numerous and active French faction, in the centre of the Decan; and while the internal convulsions of each state had diminished the resources of both, their co-operation against

Tippoo Sultaun had become impracticable, by the progress of their mutual animosities and dissensions.

43. In this scene of general confusion, the power of Tippoo Sultaun alone, (which it had been the policy of all our alliances and treaties to reduce) had remained undisturbed and unimpaired, if it had not been augmented and improved.

44. The final result to the British government appeared to me to be, first, the entire loss of the benefit of the treaty of triple alliance against Tippoo Sultaun, by the utter inability of our allies to fulfil their defensive engagements with the company; and, secondly, the establishment of a French army of 14,000 men, in the dominions of one of our allies, in the vicinity of the territories of our irreconcileable enemy, and on the confines of the Carnatic and of the northern circars.

45. In this state of our political relations, the company was exposed, without the aid of a single ally, to the hazard of a contest with the united force of Tippoo Sultaun, and of the French.

46. My separate despatch, under date the 21st of November, forwarded by the Eurydice, will have apprized your honourable court of the measures which I took for the purpose of restoring to his highness the Nizam, the power of fulfilling his defensive engagements with the company.

47. At the same time my endeavours were employed, with equal assiduity, to give vigour and effect to the treaties subsisting with his highness the Peshwah. The return of Nana Furnavcess to the administration, afforded, for some time, a just expectation that our alliance with the Mahrattahs would speedily be restored with additional vigour and advantage; but the increasing distractions of the Mahratta empire unfortunately frustrated the wise counsels of that experienced and able statesman, and disappointed my views at the court of Poonah; I had, however, the satisfaction to ascertain, that the disposition of that court, under the administration of Nana, continued perfectly favourable to the British interests; and that want of power would be the sole cause of its inaction, in the event of a war with Tippoo Sultaun.

48. Towards the commencement of the month of August, 1798, I learnt the preparations making by the French, in the Mediterranean. Various circumstances attending the equipment of that armament, inclined me to apprehend, that at least a part of it might be destined for an expedition to India, although I could not believe that the attempt would be made through Egypt. Under these impressions, I took the earliest opportunity of directing the attention of rear-admiral Rainier to the coast of Malabar; and at the same time I proposed to strengthen his Majesty's squadron in those seas, according to any arrangement which his excellency might suggest; and I issued orders to the governments of Fort St. George and Bombay, to attend to his excellency's suggestions on this important subject. I am happy to inform your honourable court, that his excellency, with the utmost readiness, acceded to the

proposition which I had suggested to him, with respect to the defence of the coast of Malabar, although his original intention had been to proceed, in the first instance, to the straits of Malacca.

49. On the 18th of September, I ratified the new subsidiary treaty with the Nizam, of which I have stated the substance in my separate despatch, of the 21st of November, by the Eurydice.

50. On the 18th of October, I received the first authentic information of the invasion of Egypt, by the French, and of the progress of their arms in that country.

51. It is unnecessary to call the attention of your honourable court to the evident connection of the invasion of Egypt, with the joint designs of the French, and of Tippoo Sultaun, against the British power in India; and I trust it is now equally superfluous to enter into any detailed reasoning for the purpose of satisfying you of the security which, at that period of time, would have resulted to your interests in India, if my original intention of anticipating the hostile projects of Tippoo Sultaun could have been carried into immediate effect, according to my anxious wish. The necessity, however, of either compelling Tippoo Sultaun to detach himself from the interests of France, or of depriving him of the power of co-operating with the French, if they should be enabled to reach India, now became too evident to admit of any doubt. My opinion had long been decided, that no negociation with Tippoo Sultaun could be successful, unless accompanied by such a disposition of our force as should alarm him for the safety of his capital, and that no military operation could effect an adequate or speedy reduction of his power, unless directed immediately to the siege of that city.

52. On the 20th of October, therefore, I gave peremptory orders to the government of Fort St. George, for completing the equipment of their battering train, and for advancing it with all practicable dispatch to the most eligible station on the frontier of the Carnatic, with a view of proceeding towards Seringapatam at the earliest possible period, if such a movement into Mysore should become necessary. At the same time I signified, to the government of Fort St. George, my intention of reinforcing their army with 3000 volunteers from the native infantry, on the establishment of Bengal, who had offered their services with the utmost alacrity and zeal.

53. To the government of Bombay, I issued farther orders for the collection not only of their troops, but of the largest possible supplies on the coast of Malabar.

54. On the 22d of October, (as I have already informed your honourable court,) the dismission of the French faction in the Nizam's army was happily accomplished at Hydrabad.

55. On the 31st of October, I received the intelligence of the glorious victory obtained by his majesty's squadron, under the command of sir Horatio Nelson; but being still uncertain of the fate of the French army in Egypt, and ignorant whether an additional force might not have been in-

tended to co-operate with it in India, by the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope, I did not relax any part of the naval or military preparations which had been commenced under my orders. The opportunity now appeared favourable for opening a negociation with Tippoo Sultaun. I had already communicated to the allies, the Nizam, and the Peshwah, a circumstantial detail of the conduct of that prince, and had received from both the most unequivocal assurances of their entire concurrence in my sentiments and views, as well as of their determination to support my just claims of satisfaction for the infraction of the treaty of Seringapatam.

56. On the 8th of November, therefore, I addressed to Tippoo Sultaun a letter, of which a copy accompanies this despatch.

57. Your honourable court will perceive, that in this letter I have carefully avoided every hostile expression, merely apprizing the Sultaun of my knowledge of the nature of his intercourse with the French nation, and proposing to him to receive major Doveton on the part of the allies, for the purpose of proceeding to an amicable arrangement of all subsisting differences.

58. My expectation was, that the necessary impression of the success of his majesty's fleet against the French in Egypt: the revival of our defensive alliance with the Nizam; the destruction of the French influence in the Decan: the declared disposition of the Peshawh to fulfil his defensive engagements to the utmost extent of his power; the presence of his majesty's squadron on the coast of Malabar, reinforced by such of the honourable company's ships as had been equipped for the purpose; and, finally, the progress of our military preparations on both coasts, might have induced the Sultaun to accede to my proposals for opening the channels of pacific negociation; and under these circumstances, I trusted, that the terror of the British arms might have rendered their actual employment unnecessary.

59. With such expectations I resolved to proceed to Fort St. George, for the purpose of conducting the expected negociation with the Sultaun, which I flattered myself my presence on the coast of Coromandel might enable me to bring to an issue, before the season should be so far advanced as to relieve Tippoo Sultaun from those alarms for the safety of his capital, on which I founded my sole hope of obtaining any satisfactory adjustment with him.

60. On the 10th of December, I addressed the letter, marked No. 3. to the Sultaun, informing him of my intention to proceed to Fort St. George, and again urging him to receive major Doveton. On the 25th of December I embarked on board of his majesty's ship the Sybille, captain E. Cooke, and arrived at this presidency on the 31st of the same month.

61. A few days previous to my arrival, the corps of native volunteers, from Bengal had landed in perfect safety, and in the highest spirits, and soon after a corps of artillery arrived from Fort William, under the command of colonel Montague.

62. The subjoined letter was delivered to me on my arrival at Fort St. George.

63. In this letter, your honourable court will observe the prevarication and falsehood which mark the sultaun's statement of his late intercourse with the French, and you will perceive the evasion by which he eludes the moderate and amicable proposition of the allies for opening a negociation.

64. To this letter, from the sultaun, I returned the answer dated 9th of January, in which, I renewed the proposition of opening a negociation, and urged the sultaun not to delay his reply beyond the period of one day after my letter should reach him; intimating that dangerous consequences might result from a longer delay.

65. The advanced period of the season absolutely required that I should ascertain the sultaun's views within a short time; my proposition contained nothing derogatory to the honour or dignity of the sultaun. It was now urged for the third time without variation, and it related simply and distinctly to the admission of an ambassador, for the purpose of opening a negociation; to demand an immediate answer to a proposition of such a nature, could not, therefore, be deemed either offensive or unreasonable.

66. Subsequently to the despatch of my letter, I received from the sultaun a letter in reply to my letter despatched from Fort William. The sultaun's silence in his letter with respect to the admission of major Doveton, afforded an additional proof of his disposition to evade the pacific advances of the allies.

67. I now employed every effort, to advance the military preparations in the Carnatic, which had already made a considerable progress during the months of November and December. From the moment of my arrival at Fort St. George, all the inhabitants of this settlement, and every officer, civil and military, appeared to be animated by an unanimous determination to discharge their respective duties, with a degree of cheerfulness and ardour, correspondent to the exigency and importance of the occasion; and I was soon satisfied that the disposition, of which I lamented the appearance in the months of July and August, had either been subdued, by the just exercise of authority, or corrected by reflection, and by the more full disclosure of the views of the enemy. The zeal, alacrity, and public spirit, of the bankers and commercial agents at Madras, as well as of the most respectable of your civil servants at this presidency, enabled me, within a few weeks, to raise a large sum of money, by loan, for the public service. Previous to my departure from Bengal, I had remitted twenty lacks of rupees in specie for the use of this presidency: I now despatched the Sybille to Calcutta for a farther supply; and the extraordinary exertion of his excellency the vice-president in council, assisted by the diligence and ability of Mr. Thomas Myers, the accountant-general of Bengal, furnished me with an additional aid of twenty lacks, within so short a time, that the movement of the army was not delayed for an instant, on account of a deficiency of treasure;

and lieutenant-general Harris was provided with a sufficient supply of specie to maintain his army in the field until the month of May.

68. Tippoo Sultaun remaining silent for a considerable time, after the receipt of my letter of the 9th of January, I concluded that his object must be to delay his answer until the season should be so far advanced, as to render the capture of Seringapatam impracticable during the present year.

69. In the mean while the advices from Bussorah, Bagdad, Constantinople, and Bombay, were of so uncertain a nature, as to leave me still in doubt with respect to the condition of the French army in Egypt: the only safe conclusion which could be drawn from those advices being, that the French still maintained the possession of that country with a large army.

70. No intelligence had been received from the Red Sea respecting the arrival of any of his majesty's ships on that station: nor had I been able to ascertain, with any degree of accuracy, what means the French might either have provided, or might find on the spot, to enable them to reach the sultaun's dominions.

71. In addition to these circumstances, I knew that while Tippoo Sultaun had declined to receive an ambassador from the honourable company, and had omitted to answer my late letters, he had despatched native vakeels from Seringapatam, who, together with M. Dubuc (one of the leaders of the French force raised in the Isle of France, under M. Malartie's proclamation), were on the point of embarking at Tranquebar, with an avowed mission from the sultaun to the executive directory of France.

72. On the 3d of February I had received no answer from the sultaun to my letter of the 9th of January, although the communication between Seringapatam and Fort St. George does not require, at the most, a longer time than eight, and is sometimes effected in four days.

75. In order, therefore, to defeat the object of the sultaun's silence, and to avail myself of the actual superiority of our force, and of the advantages of the present season, before the French could effect any junction with him, I determined to commence hostilities without delay, and to suspend all negociation, until the united forces of the company, and of their allies, should have made such an impression on the territories of Mysore, as might give full effect to our just representations.

74. With these views, on the 3d of February, I directed lieutenant-gen. Harris to enter the territory of Mysore with the army assembled under his command. On the same day I issued orders to lieut.-general Stuart to be prepared to co-operate from Malabar; and I signified to rear-admiral Rainier, and to the several allies of the company, that I now considered the British government in India to be at war with Tippoo Sultaun.

75. At length, on the 13th of February, I received, from Tippoo Sultaun, a letter informing me, that, being frequently disposed "to make excursions and hunt," he was, accordingly pro-

ceeding upon a hunting excursion," and desiring "that I would" dispatch major Doveton "slightly attended."

79. But the season for negociation through the pacific channels, so often offered by me, was now elapsed. After mature deliberation on the grounds already stated I had directed the advance of the army into the territory of the sultaun; and I had signified to the allies my determination to proceed to hostilities. To have delayed the advance of the army, would at once have thrown the advantages which I then possessed into the hands of Tippoo Sultaun, and have rendered the siege of his capital impracticable, during the present season. On the other hand, an embassy, combined with the hostile irruption of any army into Mysore, would have been liable to the imputation of insincerity towards Tippoo Sultaun; and while it bore the appearance of indecision in the eyes of the allies, would have promoted and perhaps warranted, a similar degree of instability in their councils and operations.

77. The design of this tardy, reluctant, and insidious, assent to the admission of an embassy from the British government could be considered in no other light than that of a new artifice for the purpose of gaining time, until a change of circumstances and of season might enable the Sultaun to avail himself of the assistance of France. This conclusion was now confirmed by my knowledge of the actual embarkation of M. Dubuc and two native vakeels, on an embassy from Tippoo to the executive directory of France; an event which took place at Tranquebar, on the 7th of February.

78. I therefore replied to the letter of Tippoo Sultaun in the terms of the enclosure, in which I have declared lieutenant-general Harris to be the only person now authorized by me to receive and to answer whatever communications the Sultaun my think fit to make, with a view to the restoration of peace, on such conditions as appear to the allies to be indispensably necessary to their common security. This letter I directed general Harris to forward to the Sultaun on the day on which the army under his command should pass the frontier, and, at the same time, I instructed him to issue, in the name of the allies, the accompanying declaration. No. I.

79. The Nizam's contingent consists of above 6,000 of the honourable company's troops, subsidized by his highness, of about the same number of his own infantry (including a portion of Mr. Peron's Sepoys, now commanded by British officers) and a large body of cavalry.

80. This force, under the general command of Mur Allum, formed a junction with the British army on the 19th of February; and it is with the greatest satisfaction that I remark to your honourable court, the beneficial effects which the company have already derived from the recent improvement of our alliance with the court of Hydrabad. The Nizam's contingent actually arrived in the vicinity of Chittoor, in a state of preparation for the field,

before general Harris was ready to proceed on his march from Vellore.

81. I have annexed to this despatch, the last return of lieutenant-general Harris's army, previous to his passing the frontier, an army more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, or more perfect in its discipline, and in the acknowledged experience, ability, and zeal, of its officers, never took the field in India. The army, on the coast of Malabar, is in an equally efficient and respectable condition; and the extraordinary efforts which have been made by lieutenant-general Stuart and major-general Hartley, seconded by the cordial attachment and unremitting assiduity of the Rajah of Coorga, have collected, within a very short period of time, a supply so abundant, that I am induced to transmit the particulars of it to your honourable court, as a testimony of the distinguished merits of those valuable officers, and of the loyalty and active exertions of that faithful tributary of the honourable company.

82. A considerable force, under the command of lieutenant-colonels Read and Brown, will cooperate with lieutenant-general Harris in the southern districts of the Carnatic and Mysore.

83. Under these circumstances, general Harris entered the territory of Mysore, on the 5th of March, with orders to proceed directly to Seringapatam.

84. Having thus submitted to your honourable court, according to the order of dates, a detailed relation of the events which have led to the war in which we are actually engaged, and having declared to you the motives and objects of my conduct, in every stage of this important transaction, I must request your permission to conclude this despatch with such reflections as arise in my mind from the review of my past measures, and from the prospect of their ultimate consequences and permanent effect.

85. From the first disclosure of the nature and object of Tippoo Sultaun's embassy to the Isle of France, every principle of justice and policy demanded from your government in India, that an instantaneous effort should be made to reduce his power and resources, before he could avail himself of the advantages of the alliance which he had concluded. The defect of means is the sole consideration which can justify me for not having made that effort at the early period when its success would have placed the security of your possessions on a foundation, which the invasion of India by a French force could not have impaired.

86. For, without the aid of some native power, it is scarcely possible that the French should ever make any permanent impression on your empire in India; and no native power (excepting Tippoo Sultaun) is so infatuated as to be disposed to assist or receive a French army.

87. The progress of events, since the date of my orders of the 20th of June, 1798, has not only confirmed the principles of justice and policy, by which an attack upon the Sultaun was, at that time, demanded; but has mani-

fested that the designs of France, as well as of the Sultaun, were of a much more extensive and formidable nature, than any which have ever been attempted against the British empire in India since the hour of its first foundation.

88. While the magnitude and danger of these designs were gradually disclosed, I had the satisfaction to feel that the means of averting them were augmenting in a proportion nearly equal, by the success of the negociations at Hydrabad, and by the advance of the military preparations, which I had ordered, throughout your possessions.

89. At the commencement of the month of February, the crisis arrived in which I was called upon to form my ultimate decision on the important question at issue with Tippoo Sultaun, and to determine the final result of the whole system of my measures.

90. On the one hand, the apparent establishment of the French army in Egypt, and the uncertainty of the state of our naval power in the Red Sea, rendered the danger still urgent from that quarter; while Tippoo Sultaun's repeated evasions of my proposals for negociation, combined with his embassy to the executive directory of France, under the conduct of M. Dubuc, appeared to preclude all hope of detaching the Sultaun from his recent alliance with the enemy. On the other hand, I now possessed ample means of frustrating the most dangerous effects of that alliance, by a seasonable application of the powerful force, which the treachery and aggression of the Sultaun had compelled me to collect at a heavy expense to your finances.

91. Your honourable court will determine, whether, in this state of affairs, my orders of the 3d of February, were premature, and whether I should have been justified, on the 13th of February, in recalling those orders, for the purpose of admitting, at that late period, a negociation, which would have enabled Tippoo Sultaun to defeat every object of the armament of the allies for the present season, and would have afforded him ample time to reap the full benefit of his connection with France, before the season for besieging his capital should return.

92. In deciding these important questions, you will necessarily consider what degree of reliance was to be placed on the sincerity of the Sultaun's disposition to conclude an amicable adjustment with your government, at the very moment when he had actually dispatched, on an embassy to the executive directory of France, the commander of the French troops raised in the Mauritius, and admitted into the Sultaun's service, for the express purpose of carrying on a war of aggression against your possessions in India.

93. The admirable condition of your armies on both coasts, and the unequalled perfection of their equipment in every department, added to the extraordinary spirit and animation with which the campaign has been opened, afford every reason to hope, that the issue of the war will be speedy and prosperous, and that it

must terminate in a considerable reduction of Tippoo Sultaun's resources and power.

94. The wisdom of your honourable court will anticipate the extensive benefits which must result to your interests, from an event now become essential to the peace and security of your possessions in India.

95. The policy of the treaty of Seringapatam certainly was not to maintain Tippoo Sultaun's power in such a state as should leave him a constant object of alarm and apprehension to the company: that he has been justly so considered for some years past, cannot be doubted by any person acquainted with the records of any of your governments in India. The present is the second crisis within the last three years, in which the government-general has thought it necessary to assemble the army on the coast of Coromandel, for the sole purpose of checking his motions; and the apprehension of his intentions has obstructed our operations against our European enemies in India during the course of our present war.

96. The continuance of Tippoo's power on its actual scale, and under such circumstances, must have proved to the company a perpetual source of solicitude, expense, and hazard. But the engagement which he has contracted with the French, the public proofs which he has given of his eagerness to receive in Mysore as large a force as they can furnish, combined with the prodigious magnitude of their preparations, and the incredible progress of their arms, evidently directed to the destruction of the British power in India, form new and prominent features in our political situation in this quarter of the world.

97. Admitting the wisdom of that policy, which dictated the preservation of Tippoo Sultaun's power, at the close of the last war with Mysore, the spirit of our present councils must be accommodated to the variation of circumstances, and to the actual position, character, and views of our enemies.

98. In such a conjuncture of affairs, I am persuaded that your honourable court will be of opinion, that no object can be deemed so urgent, or so necessary to the safety of your possessions, as the effectual reduction of the only declared ally of France now existing among the native powers of India.

99. If Tippoo Sultaun had been disposed to content himself with the quiet possession of his present dominions; if he could have been brought to a sense of his own peril in forming a connection with the French, the representations which I addressed to him would have produced an early and salutary impression. Whatever speculative opinions might have been entertained with respect to his interests, views, and power, the justice and moderation of the British government would never have disturbed his tranquillity. But he resolved to attempt the recovery of his lost dominions, at the hazard of those which he still retains; and in the ardour of his passionate pursuit, he overlooked not only the certain destruction of his own inde-

pendence, the inevitable consequence even of the most prosperous success of any alliance with France, but also the predominant influence of the English East India company, which would detect his treachery, and turn against his own empire the ruin which he had meditated against theirs.

100. The secrecy of his councils, the promptitude of his resources, his constant and active state of equipment for war, added to the facility of his intercourse with the French through his remaining territories on the coast of Malabar, form the most dangerous circumstances in the actual condition of his power and dominion, and constitute his principal means of offence.

101. If success should attend your arms in this war, I entertain a firm confidence that those dangers will either be wholly averted, or so considerably diminished, as to afford to your government in India the prospect of durable security and genuine peace.

102. I cannot close this letter without repeating to your honourable court the cordial expressions of my entire satisfaction in the zealous and honourable co-operation of lord Clive, as well as of all the members of this government. The beneficial effects of their cheerful and ready concurrence, in forwarding all my views, is manifest in the rapid progress and perfect completion of the equipments of the army in the field, and furnishes a striking and salutary example of the inestimable advantages of unanimity and concord among your servants in India. I have the honour to be, honourable sirs, with the greatest respect *,

Your most obedient
and faithful servant,
Mornington.

Fort St. George,
20th March, 1799.

Copy of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Executive Directory.

The Circar Condabad to the Executive Directory, representing the French Republic, one and indivisible.

In the name of the friendship which the Circar Condabad and his nation vow to observe towards the French republic, a friendship and alliance which will endure as long as the sun and moon shall continue to shine in the heavens, and will be so solid that the most extraordinary circumstances shall never break or disunite either the one or the other.

The English, jealous of the connection and friendship which for a long time reigned between my circar and France, have united themselves to the Mahrattahs, to the Nizam Ali Khan, and to my other enemies, for the purpose of declaring war against me; a war as odious and unjust as that which had lasted for some years before, and which was attended with such fatal consequences to me, by taking from me my finest provinces, three crores and thirty lacks of rupees.

The republic is not ignorant of

* We have not thought it necessary to subjoin the Documents referred to in this letter, as the substance of them is stated in the letter itself.

any of these unfortunate circumstances; and of my having endeavoured to dispute every inch of territory, which I was forced to give up to our common enemy. I should not have been compelled to make those cruel sacrifices had I been assisted by the French, my ancient allies; who, deceived by the perfidious projects of governor-general Conway, at Pondicherry, together with governor Campbell, at Madras, agreed to the evacuation of the place which they commanded. The French republic, by expelling the English from their rich possessions in India, will certainly repair the faults of their ancient government.

Animated for a long time by these sentiments, I have communicated them to the government of the Isle of France, through the medium of two ambassadors, from whom I have just had the high satisfaction of receiving such answers as I wished for; as well as the republican colours from the chief of brigade Chapuys, and naval captain Dubuc, who have brought to me such succours in soldiers and officers as circumstances have permitted general Malartie and rear-admiral Sercey to send me.

I keep near me the former officer, and send you the second in quality of an ambassador, for the purpose, at the same time that he demands your alliance offensive and defensive, of obtaining forces sufficient to attack and annihilate our common enemies. I will transmit to you, by his means, my standard, which, united to that of the republic, will serve as a basis of the alliance which the two nations are about to contract. I have also charged him to communicate particular orders to you.

I join with him in the embassy Sheik Abdourbraim and Mahomet Bismilla, my subjects, who are equally directed to represent me in all affairs which they have to transact with you.

Whatever may be the circumstances in which the two nations may hereafter find themselves, whether together or separately in all their transactions, may the good, the glory, and the advantage of both be always the end of them! May their respective sentiments be guaranteed by the appearances of fidelity, and the solemn pledges given by each of them! and may the heavens and earth draw near to each other and unite, sooner than our alliance shall experience the slightest alteration!

Given at my palace at Seringapatam, July 20, 1798.

Copy of Articles of Engagement proposed by Tippoo Sultaun to the Directory.

Recapitulation of the demands which my ambassadors are to make of the executive directory at Paris:

Article I. Ten or fifteen thousand troops, consisting of infantry, cavalry, and artillery.

II. A naval force to carry on hostilities on the coast where our armies may be, in order to favour their operations, or reinforce them, if necessary.

III. The circar shall furnish all warlike stores and provisions to the armies of the republic, as well as horses, oxen, and every necessary article, with the exception of Eu-

ropean liquors, which he has not in his country.

IV. The orders of the king shall be taken with respect to all the marches and military operations.

V. The expedition shall be directed against some point of the coast of Coromandel, and in preference against Porto Novo, where the disembarkation of the troops shall take place; and the king shall first repair thither with his army, his intention being to commence his operations in the heart of the enemy's country.

VI. The king demands, that notice shall be given to him by the republic, in dispatching two corvettes from Europe, at a distance of twenty days from each other, of the number of ships and troops to be sent to him, that he may immediately enter upon the campaign, and make himself master of the coast of Coromandel, before the arrival of the republican forces.

VII. All the conquests made from the enemy shall, with the exception of the provinces which the king has been obliged to cede to the English, to the Mahrattahs, and to Nizam Ali Khan, be equally divided between the two nations, and according to the respective conventions; the same division shall take place of the enemy's vessels and the Portuguese colonies, for the purpose of indemnifying the king for the expenses of the war.

VIII. If any difficulty shall arise between the allied armies, each of them shall possess the right of referring to their modes of justice, according to their laws and customs, and every discretionary article shall be agreed upon in writing between both nations.

IX. That whatever may be the wish of the republic to make peace with England, or to continue the war, it shall always consider the king as its friend and faithful ally, and include him in all its treaties, and communicate to him all its intentions.

X. All French who now are in, or may come into the states of the king, shall be treated as friends and allies; and they shall be empowered to come and go, and carry on trade, without being liable to any trouble or molestation, but shall, on the contrary, receive every assistance of which they may stand in need.

XI. This article relates to bringing into the service of the Sultaun several French artists and mechanics, skilled in casting cannon, in paper and glass making, with some engineers and builders.

Given in my palace of Seringapatam, under my signature, that of my prime minister, and authenticated with the state seal, on the 20th of July, 1798.

Copy of a letter from Dubuc to the Rajah of Travancore's Minister at Aleppo.

My Lord,

I expect, with impatience, the arrival of some vessels from India, to hear from you, and to learn from you that your health is perfectly re-established, if, as it has been reported here, it has been in a bad state.

As the means of sending intelligence to India are very fluctuat-

ing, I take the opportunity of a vessel which is sailing for the coast of Coromandel, to write to the prince Tippoo Sultaun, with whom I have the honour to correspond. I request he will be pleased to communicate my letter to you, after having caused it to be translated into the Oriental language, that it may not be necessary for you to show it to any one.

I have often considered, in my own mind, why your prince was not in alliance with the sultaun; and in recollecting that the great nabob, Hyder Ali, his father, had been the friend and ally of Ram Rajah, I was astonished that that friendship, which had been deranged by some event, had not been renewed. It is very common in Europe for a power which has been at war with its neighbour to become its friend and ally. You have been at war with the Pacha, I feel the sincerest conviction that every resentment should be forgotten; that all former disputes should be consigned to oblivion; and that it is the duty of the two princes to enter into a treaty of alliance and friendship, in a way solid and suitable to their reciprocal interests. Were I in India, I should give you, as well as the sultaun, such substantial grounds for that proceeding, that I am confident my wishes would be fulfilled; but it will be peculiarly your glory to unite these two powers. You are the counsellor and the friend of your king; you direct his affairs so advantageously, that if you find this alliance profitable (and I do not doubt but you will), it will be sufficient for you to propose it to him, and the two princes will readily come to a good understanding.—Should my hopes be gratified in this respect, my joy will be complete, for you will be considered our ally in becoming that of a prince who has been a long time united with France. I pray heaven to grant you long and happy days; and that those of your king may be prosperous, is the sincere wish of your servant and friend,

Mal. Descombre.

Isle de France, March 5, 1798.

Copy of a Letter from Dubuc to Tippoo Sultaun; dated 10th December, 1798, *O. S.*

Grand Pacha—health and respect!

The men have fortunately arrived, but we are in want of the most essential thing—the letters which they left on their way: I however hope they will arrive in a few days. They have been four months on their journey, and you may judge of their dispatch and of their punctuality in their services to you. The Hircarrahs whom I have dispatched to you, on the 11th of last month, returned yesterday with your majesty's answer of the 29th of the same month, and I hasten to send them back, as they are very faithful persons, and I wish them to be liberally rewarded. The person who was to have furnished the money has not made his appearance, and I fear there will be considerable difficulty in getting them paid. I think it indispensably necessary for you to expedite an order for taking up immediately all the money which is at

Mercieu's, and to annex it to a letter of credit, as I had requested of you, on the republic. The importance of my mission is such, and the result of it must prove so advantageous to your majesty, that I cannot too often repeat, money must be considered as nothing when affairs of such immense moment are carrying on. It will be necessary for me to depart, and without money I cannot. In all countries money is the sinew of war; and if your majesty does not wish to be ruined by the English, and lose the assistance of your good friends the French, give me a sufficient demonstration of your confidence in giving me the proper means of proceeding. Socars with money will not be stopped, more particularly if it be in pagodas with stars. Use dispatch in sending it to me, and I shall instantly set off. The cloths are not yet come, and I have dispatched people to forward them. I request your majesty will authorize me to take a year's salary in advance, as you promised me, in order to provide for the subsistence of my family in my absence, since the six months for which I have been paid expire on the 8th of next month, and I have been compelled to expend every thing in my possession. The English having taken my ship and my property, you will consider my demand just in every point of view, when you reflect that my family are in a foreign country, deprived of every resource. I once more repeat my earnest desire, that your majesty will give me full powers in that respect, and order me immediately to be provided with the necessary funds. The Hircarrahs have promised to return within thirty days, and I shall be able to depart in forty. It would be prudent to have some other Hircarrahs here, that you may receive intelligence every eight days. I beg leave to recommend earnestly to you the Ouaquil, who is not sufficiently paid, and has received nothing for eight months past. He also should have a palanquin; for the envoy of a great prince, so truly noble and generous as you are, ought not to walk on foot like a cooly. Are you content with my conduct? Speak candidly. You know how much I am attached to you, and you shall have certain proofs of my fidelity. I beseech your majesty to countenance, with your bounty and protection, my good friend and colleague, General Chapuys. See him often, and the more you shall see him the more you shall know that he is worthy of your esteem, as a man of honour and prudence.

I have learned, that your majesty has written to the government of Madras and to Lord Mornington. What will be the issue of their answer? Be on your guard against them; be ready either to defend yourself, or to make an attack. The preparations for war are going on with great rapidity. The army of the Nizam is already on its march; it must be stopped. The English were desirous of carrying away Ouaquil Sadas Chidevdram; but I discovered the plot, and it has not succeeded. It is necessary that your majesty should instantly write to the government of Tranquebar, by a swift courier, to de-

mand its immediate protection for your General-in-chief Dubuc, his Major Fillietag, the interpreter De Bay, and your Ouaquil. Lord Mornington, Governor-general of Bengal, and General Clarke, are coming to the coast about the end of this month, for the purpose of entering into negociations with your majesty; which, if they are not advantageous to them, they will cause you to declare war against them. The result of that measure will be the invasion of your country, and the dethroning of you, by substituting for you and your heirs a nabob of their own making. Your majesty must perceive, that nothing less is in agitation than the destruction of your kingdom. You must exert yourself, and negociate every where to maintain your power, until the moment when I shall be able to secure it for ever for yourself and your august children. It is very easy for the English, in consequence of their intrigues in every part of India, to cause troubles of a serious kind, and deprive you of all your allies. Should they succeed in the war against your majesty, they would afterwards effect the destruction of the power of the Mahrattahs, and deprive them of every possession which might be ceded to them by a new treaty of peace. It is therefore evidently their interest to treat jointly with you, for the purpose of finding a certain and mutual guarantee, and that each member may defend the stipulations and cessions made by each at the peace which you signed in your capital with the contracting parties. The English threaten you, the Mahrattahs are bound to support you, and not suffer you to be overcome. The barrier, which separates you from the former, should exist without any encroachment. You may rely on your allies as long as you possess interest in common, and you would be abandoned by them were these common interests to cease.

The time is short and precious. You must give proofs of your good intentions, and gain over the English! and, at the same time, throw obstacles in the way of their negociations at Poona. In such a conjuncture, the Mahrattahs ought to give to the law of treaties all possible weight, and not to omit recalling to the minds of the English the assistance granted by them against your majesty. Should their remonstrances be neglected, and the means of conciliation prove fruitless, let them instantly take up arms, and threaten the nation guilty of a breach of the treaties. Such a proceeding would, perhaps, stop all military designs and operations against your majesty. But if the event should prove different, the sword must be drawn, and the sheath thrown so far as to render every search for it useless. We have no intelligence of any peculiar interest from Europe. The republic is uniformly victorious, and continues to refuse peace to England. Scindia has already taken Delhi; and I think he must have also finished the conquest of Agra. It would be prudent in your majesty to dispatch couriers to him, to acquaint him with the situation in which you are placed. I entreat your majesty to read my letter attentively. It has been dic-

tated by candour, truth, and a sense of your interest.

I pray God to grant success to the exertions of your majesty, to whom I have the honour to be,

(Signed) Dubuc, commander-in-chief, naval captain of the French republic, one and indivisible.

(True Copy) C. Macauly, sec.

Major Fillietag begs you to accept his homage and attachment to your majesty.

(True copy)

N. B. Edmonstone, P. T.

Proclamation by Lieut.-general George Harris, the Honourable Hen. Wellesley, Lieut.-col. W. Kirkpatrick, and Lieut.-colonel Barray Close, the Commissioners for the Affairs of Mysore, 24th June, 1799, at Seringapatam.

Whereas the deceased Tippoo Sultaun, unprovoked by any act of aggression on the part of the allies, entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the French, and admitted a French force into his army, for the purpose of commencing war against the honourable English East India Company, Bahadur, and its allies the Nizam ud Dowlah Asoph Jah Eahadur, and the Peshwah Row Pundit Purdham Bahadur; and the said Tippoo Sultaun having attempted to evade the just demands of satisfaction and security made by the honourable English company, Bahadur, and its allies, for their defence and protection against the joint designs of the said sultaun and of the French.

The allied armies of the honourable English company, Bahadur, and of his highness Nizam ud Dowlah Asoph Jah Bahadur, proceeded to hostilities in vindication of their rights, and for the preservation of their respective dominions from the perils of foreign invasion, and from the ravages of a cruel and relentless enemy.

And whereas it has pleased Almighty God to prosper the just cause of the said allies with a continued course of victory and success, and finally to crown their arms, by the reduction of the capital of Mysore, the fall of Tippoo Sultaun, the utter extinction of his power, and the unconditional submission of his people.

And whereas the said allies being disposed to exercise the rights of conquest with the same moderation and forbearance which they have observed from the commencement to the conclusion of the late successful war, have resolved to use the power which it has pleased Almighty God to place in their hands, for the purposes of obtaining reasonable compensation for the expenses of the war, and of establishing permanent security and tranquillity for themselves and their subjects, as well as for all the powers contiguous to their respective dominions.

Whereas the said allies have resolved, that of the territory possessed by the said Tippoo Sultaun, the districts specified in the schedule A. hereunto annexed, shall be subjected to the authority, and for ever incorporated with the dominions of the English company Bahadur; and that the dis-

tricts specified in the schedule B hereunto annexed, shall be subjected to the authority, and for ever incorporated with the dominions of the nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Asoph Jah Bahadur; and that a separate government shall be established in Mysore, under the Mikisioor Maharaj Kishenrai Wuddiar, a descendant of the ancient Rajas of Mysore, who shall possess the districts specified in schedule C hereunto annexed, and which shall form the separate government of Mysore. And farther, that the districts in schedule D shall remain for the present under the authority of the said Maharaj Kishenrai Wuddiar.

And whereas the arrangements and stipulations necessary for the establishing the aforesaid division and allotment of the territory possessed by the late Tippoo Sultaun, between the said allies, have been finally concluded.

We, the above-named commissioners, do promulgate the aforesaid division and allotment of the territories possessed by the late Tippoo Sultaun; and do farther hereby require, from all inhabitants and persons belonging to, or residing in, the aforesaid territories, that they pay full and implicit obedience to the government to which they become respectively subject by the foregoing arrangements and stipulations.

[Here follow the schedules.]

Madras Gazette Extraordinary, 15th May 1799.

Letter from Lieutenant General Harris, to the Right Honourable the Governor General; dated Seringapatam, 7th May, 1799.

My Lord,

On the 4th instant I had the honour to address to your Lordship, a hasty note, containing in a few words the sum of our success, which I have now to report more in detail.

The fire of our batteries, which began to batter in breach on the 30th April, had, on the evening of the 3d instant, so much destroyed the walls, against which it was directed, that the arrangement was then made for assaulting the place on the following day, when the breach was *reported* practicable. The troops intended to be employed were stationed in the trenches, early in the morning of the 4th, that no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect the assault, which I had determined to make in the heat of the day, at the time best calculated to ensure success, as their troops would then be least prepared to oppose.

Ten flank companies of Europeans, taken from those regiments necessarily left to guard our camp and out-posts, followed by the 12th, 33d, 73d, and 74th Regiments, and three corps of Grenadier Sepoys taken from the troops of the three Presidencies, with 200 of His Highness the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault, accompanied by 100 of the artillery, and the corps of pioneers, and supported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the regiment De Meuron, and four battalions of Madras Sepoys. Colonel Sherbrooke, and Lieutenant Colonels Dunlop,

Dalrymple, Gardiner, and Mignan, commanded the several flank corps; and Major General Baird was entrusted with the direction of this important service.

At one o'clock the troops moved from the trenches, crossed the rocky bed of the Cavery, under an extremely heavy fire, passed the glacis and ditch, and ascended the breaches in the fausse braye and rampart of the fort, surmounting in the most gallant manner every obstacle, which the difficulty of the passage and the resistance of the enemy presented to oppose their progress. Major General Baird had divided his force for the purpose of clearing the ramparts to the right and left. One division was commanded by Colonel Sherbrooke, the other by Lieutenant Colonel Dunlop; the latter was disabled in the breach, but both corps, although strongly opposed, were completely successful.—Resistance continued to be made from the palace of Tippoo, for some time after all firing had ceased from the works: two of his sons were there, who on assurance of safety, surrendered to the troops surrounding them; and guards were placed for the protection of the family, most of whom were in the palace. It was soon after reported that Tippoo Sultaun had fallen. Syed Saheb, Meer Saduc, Syed Gofar, and many other of his Chiefs, were also slain. Measures were immediately adopted, to stop the confusion at first unavoidable in a city strongly garrisoned, crowded with inhabitants, and their property in ruins from the fire of a numerous artillery, and taken by assault.—The Princes were removed to camp.

It appeared to Major General Baird, so important to ascertain the fate of the Sultaun, that he caused immediate search to be made for his body, which, after much difficulty, was found late in the evening, in one of the gates under a heap of slain, and soon after placed in the palace. The corpse was the next day recognized by the family, and interred with the honours due to his rank, in the mausoleum of his father.

The strength of the fort is such, both from its natural position, and the stupendous works by which it is surrounded, that all the exertions of the brave troops who attacked it, in whose praise it is impossible to say too much, were required to place it in our hands. —Of the merits of the Army, I have expressed my opinion in orders, a copy of which, I have the honour to inclose; and I trust your Lordship will point out their services to the favourable notice of their King and Country.

I am sorry to add, that on collecting the returns of our loss, it is found to have been much heavier than I had at first imagined.

On the 5th instant, Abdul Khalic, the elder of the Princes, formerly hostages with Lord Cornwallis, surrendered himself at our out-posts, demanding protection; Kerim Saheb, the brother of Tippoo, had before sought refuge with Meer Alum Behauder. A Cowl-Namah was yesterday dispatched to Futteh Hyder, the eldest son of Tippoo, inviting him to join his brothers. Purneah and Meer Kummer-o-deen Khan

have also been summoned to Seringapatam; no answers have yet been received, but I expect them shortly, as their families are in the fort.

This moment, Ali Reza, formerly one of the Vakeels from Tippoo Sultaun to Lord Cornwallis, has arrived from Meer Kummer-o-deen Khan, to ask my orders for 4,000 horse, now under his command. Ali Reza was commissioned to declare, that Meer Kummer-o-deen would make no conditions, but rely on the generosity of the English.

Monsieur Chapuy, and most of the French, are prisoners; they have commissions from the French government.

I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE HARRIS.

Extract of a Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, to the Governor General in Council of Bengal; dated 18th June, 1798.

We take the earliest opportunity of acquainting you, that we have received information from His Majesty's ministers, that a very large armament of ships, troops, military stores, &c. &c. has been lately fitted out at Toulon, and that it sailed from thence on the 19th ult. Although the ultimate object of this armament has not been ascertained, it is not improbable, from many circumstances that have transpired, and from the spirit of daring adventure, by which the French have been actuated during the present war, that its destination may be for India, either (having first taken possession of Egypt) by way of the Red Sea; down the coast of that sea; or even perhaps by the Black Sea, or by Bussora; His Majesty's ministers have therefore informed us, that immediate measures will be taken for a considerable augmentation of the European force in the East Indies: You may therefore expect that no less than four thousand seasoned and disciplined troops, and perhaps a larger number, may be sent to the Company's settlements with all possible expedition, part of which will, we trust, reach India not many months after the receipt of this despatch.

Should the expedition, notwithstanding the measures taken by His Majesty's government to intercept and defeat it in the Mediterranean, reach Egypt, and be destined for India by either of the routs we have mentioned, a part of His Majesty's fleet, consisting of two men of war, and probably a sloop, now under dispatch for India, will be ordered to be stationed in the straits of Babelmandel, and in the Gulph of Persia, for the purpose of intercepting any force that may be proceeding to India that way.

A copy of a proclamation issued at the Mauritius in the month of March last, has been already transmitted to our several presidencies by Mr. Pringle, the Company's agent at the Cape of Good Hope. We are unable to judge whether this proclamation be in reality what its import declares it to be, and Tippoo has really conceived any hostile designs against the British empire in India, or in-

tended merely as a feint, with a view to embroil us with that prince. Our respective governments will of course have taken such precautionary measures in consequence as appeared to them necessary, and applicable to existing circumstances.

Our empire in the East has ever been an object of jealousy to the French, and we know that their former government entertained sanguine hopes of being able to reach India by a shorter passage than round the Cape of Good Hope, and we have no doubt that the present government would risk a great deal, and even adopt measures of a most enterprizing and uncommon nature, for the chance of reducing, if not annihilating, the British power and consequence in that quarter of the world. To effect this, without the aid and previous concert of one of the Indian powers, seems almost impossible, and would scarcely be attempted. In the present situation of India, Tippoo appears the fittest instrument to be employed in the furtherance of such ambitious projects.

It is highly improbable, that Tippoo should have entered into any league with the French, without some apparent preparation on his part of an hostile nature in furtherance of their designs. If such therefore shall have been the case, it would be neither prudent nor politic to wait for actual hostilities on his part. We therefore recommend, that if you shall not have adopted the necessary measures for bringing Tippoo to a satisfactory explanation before the receipt of this despatch, that you should immediately take the proper steps for so doing, accompanying this enquiry with such a disposition of your force as may give effect to it; and should you judge, either from his answers, or from the steps he is taking, that his designs are such as the French proclamation represents, and that he is making preparations to act hostilely against us, we think it will be more adviseable not to wait for such an attack, but to take the most immediate and most decisive measures to carry our arms into our enemy's country, not failing at the same time to make known to the Powers in alliance with us the necessity of such measures, and that we have not in view a wanton attack upon our inveterate enemy with a design to augment our own power, but a necessary and justifiable defence of our own possessions, and calling upon them for the assistance they are under engagements to furnish us.

But although we have thus recommended energy, firmness, and decision, in your conduct towards Tippoo, we rely upon your using the latitude allowed you in the preceding paragraph with the utmost discretion, that we may not be involved in a war in India without the most inevitable necessity, of which necessity we leave you to be the sole judges. And as it is impossible for us to conjecture, should either the proclamation circulated at the Mauritius be founded, or the force now in the Mediterranean be really destined for India, what measures the implacable revenge and rash enterprize of the French may induce them to undertake against the British power in India, we can

only exhort our several governments to be constantly upon their guard, and watchful against surprize, by not only keeping the troops in perfect order, for action, and our forts and garrisons in constant preparation of defence, but if it shall appear necessary, by encouraging military associations amongst our civil servants and others, as in this country, which may be prepared to act on any emergency; and in carefully keeping in view every channel through which it may be possible for France to get an European force out to India, and taking precautionary measures to prevent it.

We have transmitted copies of this despatch to our governments of Madras and Bombay.

Copy of a Circular Letter from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors to the Governments in India; dated the 26th November 1798.

Our Letter to you of the 18th June last, inclosed a Copy of our Orders to the Governor General in Council of the same date, relative to the expedition from Toulon under general Buonaparte; and directing your obedience thereto, so far as should respect your Presidency.

Our subsequent advices of July and August, will have informed you of the appointment of Mr. Jones to reside at the Court of the Pacha of Bagdat, as well as of the objects of his mission; and of the reinforcements already sent and now sending out to India.

Since the date of our letter of June last, above alluded to, the landing of Buonaparte in Egypt has been fully confirmed; and although, by the glorious victory of Admiral Nelson over the French fleet near Alexandria, and the opposition made to their progress through Egypt by the Arabs under the authority of the Porte, the designs of the French have been considerably impeded; yet if, contrary to our hopes and expectations, he should be able to establish himself in Egypt, we cannot but still be under apprehensions for the safety of our Indian possessions. These apprehensions are considerably increased in consequence of some hints lately suggested by the right honourable Henry Dundas, that, if the French should be able to subdue Egypt, and to establish their authority in that Country, it is likely their next progressive measure would be to secure the communication of the Red Sea with the Gulph of Cambay, at the narrow Straits of Babelmandel; and, if in their power, to detach a sufficient force to take possession of the island of Perim, situate between the two points which include those Straits.

The possession of this station will be of the greatest importance to the French, in securing the advantages they propose to themselves in the conquest of Egypt; and consequently it is well deserving of the utmost vigilance and exertion on the part of Great Britain, to defeat any plan they may entertain to get it into their hands. If we should succeed in making ourselves masters of that Island, it would be impossible, in the first instance, for any Ships to

pass the Straits against a superior naval force stationed there. It may then be secured and fortified, by the application of such materials as its situation may afford, for completing its permanent defence, and for effectually commanding the channels through which ships must pass to the Indian ocean.

We understand that the Island of Perim is a low rocky substance, about five miles in length and two in breadth; that it possesses a good harbour; that the channel which divides it from the African coast, though fourteen or fifteen miles across, is but little frequented, on account of the numerous rocks and shoals which obstruct it, insomuch as to render it necessary for vessels that do attempt it, to steer close under the western point of the island; and that the extreme breadth of the other channel is less than two leagues, and that this space cannot be navigable, nor the deep water every where at so great a distance from the island, as to be out of the reach of its batteries, whether erected on the shore, or on artificial projections within the sea, if such should be found necessary to the entire command of the passage.

We have entered thus fully into detail, to shew the importance of taking possession of the Island of Perim without delay; nor is dispatch alone necessary, but secrecy is equally indispensible, as it is not improbable that provisional measures have been taken by the French to assemble some vessels of burthen at the port of Suez, to co-operate in whatever way their services may be wanted, with the primary expedition, and if the design were known, they would detach a force at all hazards to secure the first possession of it.

Mr. Secretary Dundas has further informed us, that although the commanders of His Majesty's fleets in India have already been directed to use every effort in their power to frustrate the designs of the French in the expedition under Buonaparte, yet special orders will be sent out to the Commander in chief of his Majesty's naval force in the Indian Seas, as soon as possible to detach to the Straits of Babelmandel such a force, as according to the information he shall have received, he may judge sufficient for the service; in the instructions to take possession of the Island of Perim, by whatever power it may be occupied at the time.

The importance of the measure we have thus pointed out, will ensure your most cordial endeavours in promoting the same by every means within your power. The security of our most valuable possessions in India, if not our very existence there, depends upon defeating the present formidable and inveterate design of the French against those possessions.

The following Translation and Abstract are made from the original Persian Letters found in the Palace of Seringapatam, signed and sealed by Tippoo Sultaun, in a state prepared for dispatch —a circumstance which is accounted for in the narrative of Hussun Alli, one of the Ambassadors sent by Tippoo Sultaun

to the Mauritius. It is stated in that narrative, that the four persons originally destined for the embassy, were detained by the unfavourableness of the season, and the hazard of being taken; and as only two Ambassadors actually went to the Mauritius, it became necessary to substitute other letters in the room of these.

Translation of a Letter from Tippoo Sultaun to the Executive Directory at Paris.

Form of Address on the Cover.

To the perusal of the high and exalted; the magnificent and distinguished in station; the kind refuge of friends; the objects of regard; the Gentlemen constituting the Executive Power—Be their regard perpetual!

[*The Address within the Letter is in the same terms as on the Cover*]

The fame of your urbanity, your observance of faith and sincerity, and your regard for the attachment of faithful Friends, which is your laudable practice, has reached the ears of your Friends, by the representation of Citizen François Ripaud—In consequence, the heart of your ancient Friend experienced a degree of gladness not to be described; and the warmth of my esteem suggested to my reflection, that the regard of ancient Friends is renewed and redoubled by the sight of each other, and by personal and verbal communication. —The impediments to this are, however, well known; and therefore four Sirdars of high Station, are delivered over to the protection of the All-Merciful, and duly empowered and sent, for the purpose of visiting those sincere, friendly, and faithful Persons, and stating points of cordial friendship. I have no doubt these Sirdars will have an opportunity, at a time of privacy, fully to lay before you my unreserved sentiments, which I beg you will consider as real.—I confidently rely upon you, who are my cordial friends, that you will not neglect any one point of friendship; but that you will duly inspire the minds of both parties with mutual confidence. May the Garden of Time produce the fruits of your and our wishes!

From the Same; addressed in the same form of words as the foregoing, to "Citoyen Malartic, Gouverneur General de l'Isle de France et de la Re-union."

This Letter is nearly verbatim the same as the foregoing, with the following additional Paragraph.

From among those four Sirdars, you will, no doubt, send back one to this quarter, with the Commander (literally *Sirdar*) of the French Troops, and send the other three with two French Officers (literally *two Sirdars of French Troops*) in a ship of War, to Europe, in order to adjust the Negotiation.—May the Garden of Time, &c. (*as before*)

From the Same; addressed, "Au Representans du Peuple."

Verbatim the same as the foregoing, addressed to the Executive Directory.

From the Same; addressed to "General Citoyen Mangalon."

Verbatim the same as that to Malartic.

From the Same; addressed to "Citoyen Sercey, Admiral de Mer de la Republique."

Verbatim the same as that to Malartic.

A true translation,
N. B. Edmonstone,
P. T. to the Government.

French Republic.
Liberty. Equality.
Head Quarters at Cairo, 7th Pluviose, 7th Year of the Republic, One and Indivisible.

Buonaparte, member of the National Convention, General in Chief, to the most Magnificent Sultaun, our greatest Friend Tippoo Saib.

You have already been informed of my arrival on the borders of the Red Sea, with an innumerable and invincible army, full of the desire of delivering you from the iron yoke of England.

I eagerly embrace this opportunity of testifying to you the desire I have of being informed by you, by the way of Muschat and Mocha, as to your political situation.

I would even wish you could send some intelligent person to Suez or Cairo, possessing your confidence, with whom I may confer

May the Almighty increase your power and destroy your enemies.

(*Signed*) Buonaparte.

(*Seal*)

True translation from the French,
(*Signed*) Francis Woppers,
Translator.

Translation of a Letter from General Buonaparte to the Sheriffe of Mecca, written in Arabic, without Date, and received at Judda, the 17th February 1799.

You will be fully informed by the Nocqueda of this Dow, how tranquil and quiet every thing is at Cairo and Suez, and between those places; and of the tranquillity which is established among the inhabitants. Not a single Mamaluke oppressor remains in the country, and the inhabitants, without dread or fear, employ themselves in weaving, cultivating the ground, and in other trades, as formerly; and, by the blessing of God, this will be daily increasing, and the Duties on Merchandize and the Taxes will be lessened. The Duties on Merchandize are now the same as they were prior to their being raised by the Mamalukes: the Merchants have every assistance granted them, and the road between Suez and Cairo is open and safe; therefore do you assure the Merchants of your Country, that they may bring their Goods to Suez and sell them without dread or apprehension, and may purchase, in exchange for them, such Articles as they may wish.

I now send you a Letter for our friend Tippoo Sultaun; oblige me by forwarding it to his countries.

A true Translation,
(Signed) S. Wilson.

Copies of the above Letters were given to my Moonshee for me, by Shaik Soliman and Mahomed Ameen, the Sheriffe's 1st Vizier and 1st Secretary.

(Signed) S. Wilson.

A true Copy,
N. B. Edmonstone,
P. T. to the Government.

Declaration of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, for all the Forces and Affairs of the British Nation in the East Indies, on behalf of the Honourable the East India Company, and the Allies of the said Company, their Highnesses the Nizam and the Peshwah.

A solemn treaty of peace and friendship was concluded at Seringapatam between the Honourable Company and the Nabob Asaph Jah and the Peshwah on the one part, and the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun on the other part; and from that day all commotion and hostility ceased. Since that day, the three allied states have invariably manifested a sacred regard for the obligations contracted under that treaty with the Nabob Tippoo Sultaun. Of this uniform disposition abundant proofs have been afforded by each of the allies. Whatever differences have arisen with regard to the limits of the territory of Mysore, have been amicably adjusted, without difficulty, and with the most exact attention to the principles of equity, and to the stipulations of treaty. Such has been the solicitude of the allies for the preservation of tranquillity, that they have viewed with forbearance, for some years past, various embassies and military preparations on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, of a tendency so evidently hostile to the interests of the allies, as would have justified them not only in the most serious remonstrances, but even in an appeal to arms. On the part of the British Government, every endeavour has been employed to conciliate the confidence of the Sultaun, and to mitigate his vindictive spirit, by the most unequivocal acknowledgment and confirmation of his just rights, and by the removal of every cause of jealousy which might tend to interrupt the continuance of peace. These pacific sentiments have been most particularly manifested in the Governor General's recent decision on Tippoo Sultaun's claim to the district of Wynaad, and in the negotiation opened by his lordship, with regard to the districts of Amerah and Souleah. In every instance, the conduct of the British government in India towards Tippoo Sultaun, has been the natural result of those principles of moderation, justice, and good faith, which the legislature of Great Britain, and the honourable the East India company, have firmly established as the unalterable rule of their intercourse with the native princes and states of India.

The exemplary good faith and the pacific disposition of the allies, since the conclusion of the treaty of Seringapatam, have never been disputed even by Tippoo Sultaun. Far from having attempted to allédge even the pretext of a complaint against their conduct, he has constantly acknowledged their justice, sincerity, and good faith; and has professed, in the most cordial terms, his desire to maintain and strengthen the foundations of harmony and concord with them.

In the midst of these amicable professions on the part of Tippoo Sultaun, and at the moment when the British government had issued orders for the confirmation

of his claim to Wynaad, it was with astonishment and indignation that the allies discovered the engagements which he had contracted with the French nation, in direct violation of the treaty of Seringapatam, as well as of his own most solemn and recent protestations of friendship towards the allies.

Under the mask of these specious professions, and of a pretended veneration for the obligations of treaty, Tippoo Sultaun dispatched ambassadors to the Isle of France, who, in a period of profound peace in India, proposed and concluded, in his name, an offensive alliance with the French, for the avowed purpose of commencing a war of aggression against the Peshwa and the Nizam, the allies of the company.

The ambassadors, in the name of Tippoo Sultaun, demanded military succours from the French, and actually levied a military force in the Isle of France, with the declared view of prosecuting the intended war.

When the ambassadors returned, in a French ship of war, from the Isle of France, Tippoo Sultaun suffered the military force, which they had levied for the avowed purpose of making war upon the allies, to land in his country, and finally he admitted it into his army;—by these personal acts ratifying and confirming the proceedings of his ambassadors.

This military force, however, was not sufficiently powerful to enable him immediately to attempt his declared purposes of attacking the company's possessions; but in the mean while he advanced his hostile preparations, conformably to his engagements with the French, and he was ready to move his army into the company's territories, whenever he might obtain from France the effectual succours which he had assiduously solicited from that nation.

But the Providence of God, and the victorious arms of the British nation, frustrated his vain hopes, and checked the presumptuous career of the French in Egypt, at the moment when he anxiously expected their arrival on the coast of Malabar.

The British government, the Nizam, and the Peshwa, had not omitted the necessary precaution of assembling their forces, for the joint protection of their respective dominions. The strict principles of self-defence would have justified the allies, at that period of time, in making an immediate attack upon the territories of Tippoo Sultaun. But even the happy intelligence of the glorious success of the British fleet at the mouths of the Nile, did not abate the anxious desire of the allies to maintain the relations of amity and peace with Tippoo Sultaun,—they attempted, by a moderate representation, to recall him to a sense of his obligations, and of the genuine principles of prudence and policy: and they employed every effort to open the channels of negotiation, and to facilitate the means of amicable accommodation. With these salutary views the Governor General, on the 8th of November 1798, in the name of the allies, proposed to dispatch an ambassador to Tippoo Sultaun, for the purpose of renewing the bonds of friendship, and of concluding such an arrangement as

might afford effectual security against any future interruption of the public tranquillity; and his lordship repeated the same proposal on the 10th of December 1798.

Tippoo Sultaun declined, by various evasions and subterfuges, this friendly and moderate advance on the part of the allies; and he manifested an evident disposition to reject the means of pacific accommodation, by suddenly breaking up, in the month of December, the conferences which had commenced with respect to the districts of Armerah and Souleah, and by interrupting the intercourse between his subjects and those of the company on their respective frontiers. On the 9th of January 1799, the governor general, being arrived at Fort St. George (notwithstanding these discouraging circumstances in the conduct of Tippoo Sultaun) renewed, with encreased earnestness, the expression of his lordship's anxious desire to dispatch an ambassador to the Sultaun.

The Governor General expressly solicited the Sultaun to return an answer within one day to this letter; and as it involved no proposition either injurious to the rights, dignity or honour of the Sultaun, or in any degree novel or complicated, either in form or substance, it could not require a longer consideration. The Governor General waited with the utmost solicitude for an answer to the reasonable and distinct proposition contained in his letter of the 9th January 1799. Tippoo Sultaun however, who must have received this letter before the 17th of January, remained silent, although the Governor General had plainly apprized that prince, that dangerous consequences would result from delay. In the mean while the season for military operations had already advanced to so late a period, as to render a speedy decision indispensable to the security of the allies. Under these circumstances on the 3d of February, (*twelve days having elapsed from the period when an answer might have been received from Seringapatam to the Governor General's letter of the 9th of January) his lordship declared to the allies, that the necessary measures must now be adopted, without delay, for securing such advantages as should place the common safety of the allies beyond the reach of the insincerity of Tippoo Sultaun, and of the violence of the French. With this view the Governor General, on the 3d of February, issued orders to the British armies to march, and signified to the commander of his majesty's squadron, that the obstinate silence of the Sultaun must be considered as a rejection of the proposed amicable negotiation.

At length, on the 13th of February, a letter from Tippoo Sultaun reached the Governor General; in which the Sultaun signifies to his lordship, "that being frequently disposed to hunt, he was accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion," adding "that the Governor General would be pleased to dispatch Major Doveton to him unattended."

* Letters from Scringapatam have been received at Madras in four days.

The allies will not dwell on the peculiar phrases of this letter; but it must be evident to all the states of India, that the answer of the Sultaun has been deferred to this late period of the season, with no other view than to preclude the allies, by insidious delays, from the benefit of those advantages which their combined military operations would enable them to secure;—on those advantages alone (under the recent experience of Tippoo Sultaun's violation of the treaty of Seringapatam, and under the peculiar circumstances of that prince's offensive alliance with the French) can the allies now venture to rely for the faithful execution of any treaty of peace concluded with Tippoo Sultaun.

The allies cannot suffer Tippoo Sultaun to profit by his own studied and systematic delay, nor to impede such a disposition of their military and naval force, as shall appear best calculated to give effect to their just views.

Bound by the sacred obligations of public faith, professing the most amicable disposition, and undisturbed in the possession of those dominions secured to him by treaty, Tippoo Sultaun wantonly violated the relations of amity and peace, and compelled the allies to arm in defence of their rights, their happiness, and their honor.

For a period of three months he obstinately rejected every pacific overture, in the hourly expectation of receiving that succour which he had eagerly solicited for the prosecution of his favourite purposes of ambition and revenge: disappointed in his hopes of immediate vengeance and conquest, he now reverts to subterfuge and procrastination; and by a tardy, reluctant, and insidious acquiescence in a proposition which he had so long and repeatedly declined, he endeavours to frustrate the precautions of the allies, and to protract every effectual operation, until some change of circumstances and of season shall revive his expectations of disturbing the tranquillity of India, by favouring the irruption of a French army.

The allies are equally prepared to repel his violence, and to counteract his artifices and delays. The allies are therefore resolved to place their army in such a position, as shall afford adequate protection against any artifice or insincerity; and shall preclude the return of that danger, which has so lately menaced their possessions. The allies, however, retaining an anxious desire to effect an adjustment with Tippoo Sultaun, Lieutenant General Harris, commander in chief of his majesty's and the honourable company's forces on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, is authorised to receive any embassy which Tippoo Sultaun may dispatch to the head quarters of the British army; and to concert a treaty on such conditions as appear to the allies to be indispensably necessary for the establishment of a secure and permanent peace.

Fort St. George, 22d February, 1799.

By order of the Right Honourable the Governor General,

N. B. Edmonstone,
P. T. to the Government.

CHARACTERS.

Character of Caroline Matilda, Queen of Denmark, with particulars of the Revolution of Denmark in 1772. *From Wraxall's Memoirs of the Court of Berlin, &c.*

THE marriage of Christian the Seventh, King of Denmark, with the Princess Caroline Matilda of England, was one of those alliances in which neither similarity of disposition, nor any other requisites were found to ensure felicity. The king soon abandoned himself to irregularities of every kind, too puerile, effeminate, and dissolute for commemoration. Nor was the Court less a scene of universal dissipation, calculated at once to corrupt the heart, and to contaminate the manners. A young and amiable woman, who saw herself neglected by her husband, while she was at the same time an object of respect and homage to every other person that approached her, could scarcely be supposed to escape the contagion of so tainted an atmosphere. Yet previous to the king's journey in 1768, when he visited England, France, and other countries, the queen had so conducted herself, as if not wholly to escape detraction, to preserve, however, a great share of general affection and popularity. The birth of the Prince Royal, which preceded the king's departure from Copenhagen, augmented the attachment of the people to her person and dignity.

It was at this time that Struensee, destined afterwards to make too conspicuous a figure in the Danish annals, first became known to Christian the Seventh. The father of Struensee was only a deacon of Rensbourg, a little town in the duchy of Sleswick, where he still continues to reside. He never loved his son, and frequently during the short term of Struensee's elevation, foretold or apprehended his approaching fate. When the King of Denmark determined on visiting some of the courts of Europe, Struensee was appointed to attend his Majesty in quality of physician; he having previously practised medicine with some reputation and success at Altona. Brandt, who suffered

at the same time with Struensee on the scaffold, and whose two names are now become inseparably blended in history, was of a more elevated extraction. His family, though not noble, was very respectable, originally from Holstein, in the vicinity of Hamburgh, where his ancestors were established. He possessed many qualities calculated to advance their possessor in a court. His manners were polished, his address easy, and his conversation lively as well as amusing. Throughout his life, as well as at his death, he manifested personal courage; but in principle and virtue he was totally deficient.

Among the favourites of Christian the Seventh, who were the companions of his pleasures, Brandt occupied a distinguished place; and he was commonly selected from among the crowd of courtiers, to make one of the party at the king's private suppers. Having been appointed a gentleman of the bed-chamber, he flattered himself that he should be placed on the list of those whom his Danish Majesty named to accompany him on his intended travels. It was not therefore, without equal surprise and mortification, that Brandt found his name excluded. He attributed his rejection to the enmity and rivality of the young Count Holcke, who had supplanted him, as he conceived, in his sovereign's favour. Stung with a preference so injurious to his views, Brandt endeavoured to procure the disgrace of Holcke by means of an anonymous letter addressed to the king, accusing that favourite of disaffection. But the attempt proved ruinous to himself: the letter was soon traced to its real author, and Brandt received an order to quit Copenhagen in twenty-four hours. He obeyed, and retired to Paris, where he remained in obscurity as well as indigence. When the King of Denmark arrived at that city, Brandt found means to represent his poverty, and obtained from his master a present of a hundred Louis-d'ors.

Struensee meanwhile had accompanied Christian the Seventh on his travels. He and Brandt meeting at Paris, they formed a sort of connection or compact, by which it was agreed that if Struensee, on his return to Denmark, should attain sufficient credit at Court, he would use it to obtain the recall of the other. During the king's stay in France, Struensee had risen to a considerable degree of favour; and his Majesty soon after his arrival at Copenhagen, presented him to the queen with his own hand; recommending him at the same time to her as a man of talents, and as peculiarly skilled in the profession of physic. He was promoted immediately to the place of a privy-counsellor, and soon became as acceptable to the queen as he had been to her husband.

Reasons of a very delicate and peculiar nature facilitated his progress in that Princess's good opinion. The king and she having been alienated from each other in consequence of his excesses, and having ceased to cohabit together, Struensee undertook to reconcile them, and succeeded in the attempt. He received every day from both new marks of consideration and esteem. Brandt, by his endea-

vours, was recalled to Court, reinstated in office, and they were shortly afterwards raised at the same time to the rank of Counts. Struensee in particular became not only the declared favourite, but was constituted first minister, with almost unlimited political power. So rapid and extraordinary an elevation necessarily excited many comments; and envy or malignity added a thousand reports injurious to the honour of the queen.

It must be admitted even by those to whom her memory is most dear, that her imprudence was great and inexcusable. Not only in private, but at the theatre, in the streets of Copenhagen, and before multitudes of spectators, she manifested a very injudicious preference for Struensee. He was himself sensible of her Majesty's indiscretion, and endeavoured, but without effect, to induce her from prudential motives, to moderate the testimonies of her partiality towards him in public. The levity of her conduct was augmented by the impropriety of her dress on many occasions. She was accustomed to ride out with Struensee, habited completely in men's cloaths, without any mixture of female attire; and though this mode is neither uncommon among ladies in the north of Europe, nor implies any immodesty of deportment, yet it tended to increase the popular clamour and misrepresentation.

The king was a passive and quiet spectator of Struensee's favour, as well as of the queen's attachment to him. Though indifferent towards his wife, he nevertheless esteemed her; nor did he feel or express the slightest resentment at her behaviour. His mind and body, equally debilitated by excesses of every kind, left him without activity, and almost without perception or sentiment. He sunk into a state of imbecility, which while it rendered him capable of receiving the worst impressions, disqualified him from appreciating their truth, or taking any part in the management of public affairs. The administration devolved therefore on the queen, Struensee, and their adherents: but the Court was plunged in diversions, and immersed in pleasures, which were soon to be succeeded by scenes of a different nature.

Struensee was unquestionably a man of abilities, capable of great application to business, rapid and decisive in his resolutions, as well as enlarged and patriotic in his views. Many of his measures tended to the amelioration, improvement, and aggrandizement of Denmark. But he neither possessed the profound policy, the severe vigilance, nor the superior judgment requisite for maintaining him in his sudden elevation. Towards the close of his ministry he acted without foresight or address, as if with the difficulties which augmented round him, he lost the strength and presence of his understanding. His enemies were numerous, powerful, and implacable. At their head were the Queen Dowager, and her son Prince Frederic. The former, Juliana Maria of Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, widow of Frederic the Fifth, the late king, had not received from nature any pre-emi-

nent qualities for government. Her son, who seemed still less formed to occupy a distinguished place in the history of his country, inspired little apprehension. But the indiscretion of the young queen, and the fatal security of Struensee supplied every defect. Patience and perseverance were alone necessary, in order to ripen the machinations prepared for their destruction.

Several persons of the first quality and consideration, impelled by ambition, indignant at the preference shewn to an obscure stranger, or irritated by their exclusion from office, joined the queen dowager's party. Among the chief were Counts Rantzau and Ostein, General Eichstedt, and Colonel Koller Banner. Various consultations were held by them, relative to the measures proper to be pursued; and towards the close of the year 1771, they finally determined to proceed to action without further delay. On the first day of January every year, it was customary at Copenhagen for the populace to assemble near the royal palace, where an ox roasted whole was distributed among them. The Court and royal family usually assisted at this festivity; and the Queen Matilda had signified her intention of being present, accompanied by the king, and their ordinary attendants. Such an occasion appeared too favourable to be neglected. The partizans of Juliana Maria and Prince Frederic, having gained over a sufficient number of the soldiery, came to a resolution of breaking in among the crowd, arresting their opponents, and even of putting them to death upon the spot, if any resistance were attempted. Nothing could have prevented the success of the plan, which would have been greatly facilitated by the confusion arising from the assemblage of people; but it was disconcerted when near its execution, by an anonymous warning sent to a nobleman in the Queen Matilda's household, enjoining him to be absent, if he regarded his safety. He immediately communicated to her Majesty this alarming intimation, which she did not despise; and on pretence of indisposition, she announced her resolution not to be present at the ceremony. So unexpected a failure on her part frustrated the project, without inspiring her or her adherents with sufficient caution against future attempts of a similar nature: while their enemies, disconcerted but not disheartened, prepared to renew their attack under more favourable circumstances.

It was at length resolved to seize on the Queen Matilda, and the principal persons attached to her, at the close of a masked ball, which was to be given in the Royal Palace upon the 15th of January, 1772. Count Rantzau undertook the delicate commission of persuading the king to sign the order for the purpose, and of putting it afterwards into execution. To Koller Banner was assigned the important task of arresting Struensee; and all the inferior arrangements for ensuring success were settled with great dexterity. They were nevertheless, on the point of being overturned at the very moment when all was ripe for action. Rantzau,

upon whose courage, fidelity, and secrecy, no reliance could be placed, determined not only to withdraw his assistance from the party in which he had enlisted, but to reveal the whole conspiracy to Struensee. On the afternoon of the 15th of January, only a few hours before the ball was to begin, he wrote to the minister, desiring to see him at his own apartments upon business of the utmost importance. Struensee intended to have gone thither; but being detained by a variety of affairs till it grew late, he went straight to the ball, and thereby lost the fairest occasion of extricating himself from destruction.

Rantzau, thus disappointed in his design of betraying his associates, was not the less resolved to renounce all further participation in their schemes. He sent a message therefore to the queen dowager, acquainting her that he should be unable to come to the Palace, or to execute the part assigned him in the projected revolution, on account of a violent attack of the gout, to which disease he was constitutionally subject. In order to support the deception, he ordered his legs to be wrapped in flannels. This message, at once embarrassing and unexpected, threw the persons to whom it was addressed, into the utmost consternation. But the spirit and decision of Koller Banner soon surmounted Rantzau's pretended indisposition. Having entreated the Queen Juliana Maria not to be alarmed, and conscious of the motives from which Rantzau acted, Koller Banner sent his own sedan chair to the Count's house. It was accompanied by two grenadiers with their bayonets fixed, who had positive orders to put him into the chair at all events, and to conduct him to the palace without an instant's delay. They were authorized to use force if necessary; but Rantzau aware that resistance was vain, submitted, was carried to Court, and performed the service expected from him. Koller Banner was the animating soul of the enterprize, to whose coolness, presence of mind, and intrepidity, its success must be principally attributed. During the whole night, while at the ball, he maintained the utmost serenity of deportment, and played at the same game of cards with Monsieur Berger, whom he immediately afterwards arrested.

Two circumstances which took place in the course of the evening, excited remark, and ought to have awakened suspicion. The king, queen, and their attendants, entered the ball room before ten o'clock; but Prince Frederic, contrary to his usual custom, and in some measure contrary to the respect due from him towards their Majesties, did not arrive till more than an hour later. His countenance was flushed, and his disordered looks betrayed the agitation of his mind. As soon as he came, the queen advancing towards him said, "Vous venez d'arriver bien tard mon frere; Qu'avez vous?"—"C'est que j'ai eu des affaires, Madame," replied he. "Il me semble," answered she gaily, "que vous auriez mieux fait de penser à vos plaisirs qu'à vos affaires, pendant une soirée de bal." The prince made little or

no reply, and the conversation ended. The other incident was still more calculated to have alarmed Struensee, if he had not overlooked it, or had not omitted the necessary precautions for his safety. As he was conscious of his own unpopularity, and dreaded some commotion among the people, he had surrounded the ball-room with guards, on whose fidelity he knew or believed he could rely. But the officer who commanded them, having been gained by the opposite party, changed the soldiers. The alteration was even noticed by some of Struensee's friends, though it did not impress them with sufficient apprehension to produce any inquiry in consequence.

Between twelve and one o'clock the king quitted the room, and retired. The queen continued there to a later hour, and supped with a large party in her own box, to which Prince Frederic was not admitted nor invited. After dancing the greater part of the night with Struensee, her Majesty and he both withdrew nearly at the same time, about three o'clock. The company soon followed, and the two last persons who remained in the ball-room, were Brandt and the Countess d'Ostein, between whom there subsisted an attachment. They were engaged in conversation when the master of the revels went up to Brandt, and said, "Every one is gone; I must order the lights to be extinguished."—"I will give directions for that purpose," replied he; "leave it to me." A singular fatality seems to have attended the queen and her friends. In order to seize upon so numerous a body of men, many of whom, it was unquestionable, would resist, if they were not taken by surprize, and separately, it was requisite to attack them when unprepared and alone.

The Countess d'Ostein had invited a select company of ladies and gentlemen, among whom were Struensee and Brandt, to drink tea in her apartments, after the conclusion of the ball. If this party had taken place, it would have frustrated the plans of the queen dowager and her son. They would probably have esteemed it too dangerous to attack several of the first men in Denmark, collected together in one room, who were capable of resistance, and might have either escaped, or have defended themselves successfully. In such an attempt the royal palace, where the principal among them were lodged, must have been rendered a scene of blood and horror. But, one of the ladies who was invited, Madame de Schimmelman, having a violent head-ache, excused herself: Madame de Bulow, unwilling to go without her friend, made her excuses likewise; and the Countess d'Ostein being then the only remaining female of the party, it was abandoned. Every one retired to their respective apartments, and left the chiefs of the enterprize free to commence their operations.

The moment for action was now arrived. Rantzau, without loss of time, entered the bedchamber of the king, awoke him, and acquainted him that there existed a conspiracy against his person and dignity, at the head of which were his wife, Struensee, and va-

rious of their associates. He then besought his Majesty to consult his own security, by instantly signing an order for their arrest, which Rantzau tendered him; using every argument to enforce his solicitations. But Christian, though feeble in mind, and taken by surprize, hesitated, and refused to affix his name to the paper. The queen dowager and Prince Frederic were therefore called in to his bedside; and by means of expostulations, supported by exaggerated or false representations of the danger which he incurred from delay, they at length procured his reluctant consent. He signed the order, which was immediately carried into execution.

Koller Banner repairing to Struensee's chamber, forced open the door, and seized him in his bed. He was asleep when this event took place, for which he was so totally unprepared, that having no cloaths near the bedside, except his masquerade dress, he was necessitated to put on the domino breeches which he had worn at the ball, from the want of any others. The weather being extremely cold, he was permitted to wrap himself in his fur cloak, and they then conveyed him in a coach to the citadel. While Koller Banner arrested Struensee, Beringshold, a man of desperate but intrepid character, accompanied by some soldiers, entered the room in which Brandt was lodged. Unlike Struensee, he started up, seized his sword, and prepared for resistance; but on the soldiers, by Beringshold's orders, levelling their pieces, and threatening to fire on him, he gave up his sword, and surrendered himself prisoner. In the same manner as his companion in misfortune, he was instantly conducted under a guard, in a coach, to the citadel. Various other noblemen and gentlemen, their adherents, were at the same time put into a state of arrest, or had centinels placed at the door of their apartments.

But the most dangerous and important act of the enterprize still remained to perform; that of arresting the Queen Matilda. After retiring from the ball, she continued some time in her own room, before she went to bed, occupied in suckling her little daughter, who was still at the breast. Struensee's chamber being situated directly under the queen's, the noise made by Koller Banner in seizing his person, was indistinctly heard by her Majesty. She by no means, however, attributed it to the real cause. On the contrary, imagining that the disturbance was occasioned by the company, which, as she knew, was to meet in the apartment of Madame d'Ostein, and which party, she concluded, had been transferred to Struensee's; she ordered one of her women to go down, and to request them to be less intemperate in their mirth, as they would otherwise prevent her from taking any repose. The woman did not return: the noise ceased; and the queen having soon retired to rest, fell into a profound sleep.

It was about five o'clock in the morning, when she was awakened by a Danish female attendant, who always lay in the adjoining room. Holding a candle in one hand, she held out a paper to the

queen in the other, which, with marks of agitation, she requested of her Majesty to peruse. It contained a request, rather than an order, couched in very concise, but very respectful terms, stating that "the King of Denmark, for reasons of a private nature, wished her to remove to one of the royal palaces in the country for a few days." The queen, in her first surprize, had imagined that the note which she saw in her woman's hand, came from the Baron de Bulow, her master of the horse; and that its purport was to enquire, whether it was her pleasure to hunt on that day. But no sooner had she cast her eye over the paper, and read its contents, with the royal signature annexed, than she instantly comprehended the nature and extent of her misfortune. Conscious, that if she could only gain access to the king, she could in a moment overturn the plans of her enemies, she sprang out of bed, and without waiting to put on any thing except a petticoat and shoes, she rushed into the anti-chamber. There the first object which she met was Count Rantzau, seated quietly in a chair. Recollecting then her dishevelled state, she cried out, "Eloignez vous, Monsieur le Comte, pour l'amour de Dieu, car je ne suis pas presentable." She immediately ran back into her chamber, and hastily threw on some cloaths, assisted by her women.

On attempting a second time to leave her room, she found that Rantzau had withdrawn himself, but had stationed an officer in the door-way, who opposed her further passage. Rendered almost frantic by this insult, added to her distress, she seized him by the hair, demanding to see Count Struensee, or the king. "Madam," said he, "I only do my duty, and obey my orders. There is no Count Struensee now, nor can your Majesty see the king." Having pushed him aside, she advanced to the door of the anti-chamber, where two soldiers had crossed their firelocks in order to stop her progress. The queen commanded them to let her pass, and added promises of reward if they obeyed. Both the soldiers fell on their knees, and one of them said in Danish, "It is a sad duty, but we must perform it. Our heads are answerable if we allow your Majesty to pass." As no one, however, dared to lay hands upon the queen, she stepped over the muskets which were crossed, and ran half wild, along the corridore, to the king's apartment. She even forced her way into it by violence; but her enemies, aware that she might try to gain admittance, and justly apprehensive of her influence over him, had taken the precaution of removing him betimes to another part of the palace.

Exhausted by the agitation of her mind, and by such exertions of body, the queen attempted no further resistance. She returned to her own chamber, where she was aided to dress herself, and informed that she must instantly quit Copenhagen. Rantzau had the insolence to say to her, alluding to his gouty feet. "Vous voyez, Madame, que mes pièds me manquent; mais, mes bras sont libres, et j'en offriari un à votre Majesté, pour l'aider à mon-

ter en voiture." She was then put into a coach, which waited for her at the door near the chapel of the palace. Two ladies, a maid-servant, the little princess, her daughter, whom she suckled, and a major in the Danish service, got into the carriage with her. They took the road to Cronsbourg, a distance of about twenty-four miles, which, as they drove at a great rate, they soon reached, and in which fortress the queen was confined.

Having thus minutely related the particulars of that extraordinary night, it is not my intention to enter on any of the events which followed. They were in general matters of notoriety. All Europe knows the tragical catastrophe of Brandt and Struensee; the former of whom suffered for his political and private connection with the minister and favourite of the Queen Matilda. It was not the blow given by him to Christian the Seventh, that brought him to the block. That imprudent act served, indeed, for a pretext on which to found the accusation; but was not his real crime. While in prison he was always gay, and never appeared to apprehend that he should be put to death. His flute constituted his principal resource, and he was accustomed frequently to play the air in the "Deserteur," beginning "Mourir, c'est notre dernier ressort."

Struensee was as much his superior in talents, as he fell beneath Brandt in personal courage. While confined in the citadel, Struensee drew up his famous confession: a composition which did more honour to his ability as a writer, than to his constancy or fortitude as a man. In it he avowed, or divulged more than his enemies probably expected; perhaps more than was even true. At the scaffold he manifested contrition, as well as pusillanimity, while Brandt met his punishment with a sort of careless and unprincipled intrepidity. The fate of the imprisoned queen was long doubtful, and she probably owed to her near alliance with the King of Great Britain, that measures of extreme severity were not adopted against her by the new ministry of Denmark. It was proposed to immure her for life in some of the prisons of state; and the castle of Aabourg in the Peninsula of Jutland, a solitary and sequestered province of the Danish dominions, was once destined for the purpose. But the powerful and spirited interposition of the British Crown procured her release, after passing more than four months in the fortress of Cronsbourg. She embarked from Elsineur in the end of May, 1772, and landed at Stade in the Hanoverian dominions, where she was received with distinguished honours.

It was nevertheless matter of embarrassment and difficulty to fix the precise place for her future residence, as neither the state of her finances, nor the peculiar circumstances attending her situation, seemed to dictate Hanover. The castle of Zell, more retired from public notice, seemed better adapted in many respects. But it had not been inhabited, except at short intervals, for near seventy years, and required considerable repairs in order to render it

commodious. The queen therefore was carried during the summer to a little hunting-seat, in a remote part of the Electorate, not far from the banks of the Elbe, named Gœurde, belonging to her brother, his Britannic Majesty. She remained there in profound retirement, with only a few attendants, till the autumn, when she repaired to the castle of Zell, which had been intermediately rendered fit for her reception. The liberality of the king of Great Britain provided her a becoming household, composed principally of Hanoverian nobility of both sexes. The queen, who was under no sort of restraint or confinement, except that which her rank and dignity necessarily imposed, had frequent drawing-rooms, at which persons of condition were presented; and a theatre was fitted up for her amusement in the castle, where dramatic pieces were frequently performed.

Her table, if not splendid, was elegant; and the queen's affability, added to her natural cheerfulness of temper, rendered her little Court more than commonly agreeable. Her pleasures, indeed, were extremely limited, from the nature of her pecuniary resources: for such was the generosity of her disposition that it exhausted her means, and frequently left her almost destitute of money. But she was well repaid by the general attachment which she inspired. Never was any princess more universally beloved; and never were the advantages of adversity on a mind naturally strong, well disposed, and good, more strikingly exemplified than in her. She possessed excellent talents, numerous resources, and great accomplishments. Had her life been prolonged, she would no doubt have made ample atonement for the errors into which youth, inexperience, and flattery, had precipitated her while on the throne of Denmark. She was unfortunately snatched away in the prime of life, at twenty-four years of age, and after a residence of scarcely more than two years and a half at Zell. I drew from Mantel, her valet-de-chambre, whom I have already mentioned, and who attended her to the last moment, the minute detail of all the circumstances attending her illness and death. They are too interesting, as well as authentic, not to preserve them as nearly as possible in Mantel's exact words. The simplicity of the narration is more affecting than any studied recital.

"'The queen,' said he, 'who was of a plethoric habit of body, had been always constitutionally subject to inflammations in her throat; and the weather at the time when she died, was uncommonly warm. On Thursday the 4th of May, 1775, she rose as was her custom, rather early, and walked out. The ladies who accompanied her Majesty, though they used many entreaties, could not prevail on her to wear a capuchin, and she returned after a long walk of about two hours. When she entered the Castle, I met her. Letting her arms fall as if fatigued, she said, 'Mantel, I am not well; I am exceedingly tired, and have passed a restless night.' I brought in breakfast,

and she continued very languid; but nevertheless, made her appearance at dinner, though she eat little or nothing. In the afternoon, she complained for the first time, that her throat gave her pain, and felt inflamed. When the card tables were placed in the evening as usual, she was too much indisposed to be able to take any part in the diversion. The ladies about her proposed therefore, to have a sofa brought, in order that she might lie down and look on while they played. Perceiving that the queen was very ill, I presumed to offer my advice, that she should go immediately to bed, to which she consented, and ordered her women to undress her. I then implored her to send for Leyser her physician, which she at first refused; but on my repeated importunity, permitted me to call him in to her assistance. As soon as he had felt her pulse he was greatly alarmed. 'Mantel,' said the queen to me, when he was gone, 'I am very ill, and I fully believe I shall die.' Though I affected to treat her opinion as unfounded, I was not the less deeply impressed with a conviction that she was in imminent danger.

"On the ensuing day the symptoms became worse, and upon Saturday eruptions appeared all over her body. Zimmerman, the celebrated physician, being sent for from Hanover, arrived on the Sunday; but her disorder, which was a putrid fever of a very malignant nature, already assumed the most alarming aspect, and left scarcely any hopes of her recovery. On Monday the queen's voice began to grow inarticulate, but she preserved her senses perfectly. I sat by her Majesty continually, night and day, though she many times commanded me to leave her and go to rest, as I must have need of sleep. I was, however, absent only a few minutes at intervals, in order to take some refreshment. At length, on the Tuesday, which was the day preceding her death, as all her female attendants were exhausted with watching, and I was become myself almost incapable of further exertion or service, a common 'Fille de Garderobe' was permitted to attend her Majesty. This girl was the only person who caught the queen's distemper, though it was certainly malignant and infectious in a high degree. She was seized with a violent fever, the symptoms of which exactly resembled those of the queen's malady; but after struggling with it for three weeks, the girl recovered.

"During the two last days, the physicians pronounced her Majesty's case desperate and hopeless. Her strength gradually failed, her voice was quite extinct, and her senses alone remained perfect. On Wednesday the 10th of May, I plainly perceived her dissolution approaching; and that night, about ten minutes after eleven o'clock, she expired. Her women would not, however, be persuaded that she was dead; they laid her head on the pillow, and dressed her, still flattering themselves that she had life remaining. But she was scarcely cold, before the body began to change. At five o'clock on Thursday morning the alteration was very perceptible; and

all the spots on her face and neck, which while she was alive, were red or purple, assumed a black colour. So rapid and universal a mortification succeeded, that it became impracticable to preserve or to embalm the body. She was, therefore, put into lead without delay, and her funeral was performed on Friday the 12th, at midnight. It was an awful and affecting solemnity, the corpse being followed by an immense multitude of weeping attendants. All royal honors were paid her, and she was deposited in the vaults of the dukes of Zell, near the coffin of Sophia, Princess of Hanover."

These were the exact particulars of the Queen Matilda's death, as Mantel related them to me. When he had concluded, I asked if there was any foundation for a story which had been circulated in London, and to which some credit was attached; that she had caught her illness from one of her pages whom she had visited, and who was carried off by a similar malignant distemper? "There certainly was," answered he, "a page who died eight days before the queen's seizure. The disorder which occasioned his death, was a very scorbutic habit of body, attended with ulcers and swelling in the legs. As he expired in the Castle of Zell, the corpse when about to be interred, was laid out in a coffin not closed down, and placed in a small room of one of the towers, over which was another where her Majesty frequently remained. The two apartments communicated by a little winding staircase. Before the funeral commenced, the queen expressed a great desire to look at the body; but her ladies opposed it, and represented to her how injudicious, as well as hazardous, such a curiosity might prove. In defiance of their remonstrances, she persisted nevertheless in her wish, and went down with that intent to the chamber in which the body lay; but aware of her design, I had locked the door and removed the key. When she demanded it, I assured her it could not be found; and after several vain endeavours, she therefore returned to her own room. It happening in the afternoon, I brought tea to her Majesty. We thought that she had given up any further intention of looking at the page; when in a few minutes she suddenly started up, and before any of the ladies present could interpose to prevent or stop her, she ran down to the chamber where lay the corpse. Unfortunately, the door was then open: she stept in, and staid about a minute, not longer, regarding it attentively; but she expressed no particular horror or emotion at the sight, more than was natural on contemplating such an object. I neither believe that the body could communicate any infection, nor is it my opinion that she stayed long enough, had there been any, for her to receive it. Whether the incident might have made a deep or injurious impression on her imagination, is certainly difficult to say. I cannot, however, in any degree impute the queen's consequent illness and death to this circumstance."

I desired him to inform me, if

there was any shadow of reason for suspecting that poison, or other unnatural means had been used to produce her death. "God only knows," said he: "I think not. The inhabitants of Zell are all as firmly persuaded of her having been poisoned, as if they had seen her swallow it. They accuse an Italian of having administered it to her, though the man had not approached her person for near or quite a year before her decease. He had been in the service of the Great Duke of Tuscany *, and being recommended to her Majesty for a steward, was sent her from Vienna. He proved to be a most profligate unprincipled man. When he arrived at Zell, he brought with him a very pretty young woman, whom he called his daughter, though she was in reality his mistress. While he stayed here he contracted a number of debts, and being unable to discharge them, he went off with his mistress to Brunswick and Berlin. He has not been heard of since. The credulous and prejudiced people accuse him of having been gained by the Danish Court; and believe that he administered a slow poison to the queen before his departure; but I am not at all inclined to join in such a suspicion."

If Mantel's evidence and opinion were not sufficient to do away so unjust and absurd an imputation, the circumstances of the Queen of Denmark's disorder, as well as a knowledge of the general state of her health and constitution, would suffice, in my judgment, to disprove the idea of poison. I have already remarked that she was of a very full habit, and at all times inclined to inflammatory complaints. She had been twice attacked with a fever, similar to that which carried her off, in the course of the year preceding her decease. The month of May, 1775, began with very warm weather; and the queen, who was accustomed to use violent exercise, had probably over-heated her blood by walking. When these particulars are impartially considered, they sufficiently explain the causes of her death, without having recourse to poison, or to infection.

In her person she was more than agreeable, and might be pronounced handsome, had she not been too large. It is probable, if she had lived many years, she would have become corpulent, though she endeavoured by temperance and severe exercise, to repress that tendency. Her complexion, like all the princes of her house, was very fair, her nose well formed, her eyes eloquent and expressive, her underlip too large; and in speaking she had a degree of quickness, which nevertheless became her. She had fine teeth, small and regular. Of her manners, as well as of her talents, accomplishments, and qualities of mind, I have already made mention. When her history is better known, and more impartially appreciated, posterity will do justice to her memory. They will place her, if not among the number of great, yet certainly in the list of amiable

* The same who has since been Emperor, by the name of Leopold the Second.

and unfortunate Princesses. They will consider her errors as the result more of situation, example, and court-seduction, than of character or intention. That they were overbalanced and obliterated by her misfortunes, cannot be denied. Her early death renders her peculiarly an object, at once of commiseration and of regret. It took place at a very critical moment, and is not the least singular circumstance attending her destiny.

Anecdotes of Count Konigsmark and the Princess of Hanover. From the same.

Among the strangers of distinction who visited the Court of Hanover, was Count Konigsmark, a man whose crimes, adventures, and tragical end have rendered him too much known. He was by birth a Saxon, though his family was originally from Sweden. Handsome in his person, captivating in his manners and address, he was formed to succeed with women. He had been early known by, and peculiarly acceptable to, the Princess of Hanover, before her marriage, when she resided at Zell in her father's palace. It is even pretended that she had retained a deep impression of this partiality for the Count, which naturally revived on seeing him again. Koningsmark, whatever personal or external graces he possessed, was unquestionably a dissolute, unprincipled, enterprizing man of pleasure, capable of the greatest crimes in the pursuit or attainment of his views. He had travelled over Europe, had seen service in various countries, and distinguished himself by his gallantry, magnificence, and courage. In Spain he had displayed his address on public occasions, and was honoured by as public testimonies of attachment on the part of the ladies of the Court of Madrid. When in England, he narrowly escaped an ignominious execution for the murder of Mr. Thynne in 1682. His accomplices, for it is impossible to doubt that he employed or suborned them, though the fact could not be judicially brought home to him, were all executed at Tyburn for that atrocious act. He himself was reserved for a destiny hardly less unfortunate, a few years later; and his name is now inseparably connected with the Princess of Hanover, Sophia Dorothea.

The Prince, her husband, who served during more than one campaign in the Imperial army against the Turks, was frequently absent from her; a circumstance which naturally facilitated Konigsmark's access to the Princess. It is unquestionable that she entertained for him sentiments of the most partial nature, and that she indulged them in a manner which, if not criminal, was at least imprudent. She was accustomed, two or three times in a week, to feign an indisposition, under which pretence she retired to her apartment. Konigsmark was then admitted; they supped together, and usually remained at table, or in conversation, till two or three o'clock in the morning. When he retired, he descended by a little private staircase near

the great gate of the Ducal Palace, which conducted him into the town.

Interviews of such a nature, at such hours, and in the Princess's own apartments, imply great, and one may add, improper intimacy; particularly if Konigsmark's profligate character be recollected. It is even difficult at first sight, not to connect with them the idea of a criminal connection. But on the other hand, there is neither any proof that they were so in effect, nor was any such proof ever attempted to be made out against her, though her enemies were deeply interested to establish the fact, if it had been possible. In addition to this negative presumption in her favour, it is positively asserted that during the time when Konigsmark was with her, they never remained alone together; one or more of her ladies of honour, and those of the most unimpeached characters, being always present. The very imprudence of admitting him to such interviews seems to prove that they were innocent, since it was impossible that they could be altogether concealed or unknown.

Unfortunately, Konigsmark's person and accomplishments had made an impression not only on the Princess, but on Madame de Platen, mistress of Ernest Augustus. Whether, as is pretended, he had divulged the favours which she conferred on him, or whether he had returned her partiality with indifference and contempt, as other persons assure, it is certain that she deeply resented his behaviour. Irritated at his preference for the Princess Sophia Dorothea, of which she was well apprized, and having set spies to watch his motions, she soon discovered his secret interviews with her rival, of which she gave information to the duke of Hanover. It was natural to suppose that he would not tolerate them; and the Count soon afterwards received an indirect, but peremptory intimation, that his longer stay at Hanover would be displeasing. As he delayed compliance with the injunction on various pretences, it was reiterated. He therefore made public preparations for his departure, fixed the day and hour, ordered his post-horses, and having commanded his servants to expect him at three o'clock in the morning, he went privately to the Ducal Palace. The Princess, under pretence of indisposition, admitted him as before to her apartment, where a supper was served, and they remained for some hours together, but always in company with one or more of her ladies.

No sooner was the Countess of Platen apprized that Konigsmark was in the Princess's chamber, than she instantly carried the intelligence to the duke, and represented to him the insolence of thus braving, if not dishonouring him in his own palace. Profiting of his indignation, she induced him to give directions for punishing the Count's temerity, by an act of immediate violence. It is doubtless to be lamented that Ernest Augustus should have sanctioned or authorised an assassination; for such it must be deemed: but, it should likewise be remembered that he was a sovereign prince, and the provo-

cation was great, if he really believed Konigsmark's visits to his daughter-in-law to have been of a criminal nature. No appeal could be made to his son, who was absent in Hungary, and the Count was on the point of leaving Hanover. How far these considerations may seem to palliate the act, I leave others to determine.

A very general idea prevails throughout Germany, that Ernest Augustus having caused four of his guards to put on masks, they by his order attacked Konigsmark as he came out of the Princess's apartment, and killed him on the spot. I saw this very morning, the place in the Electoral Palace where tradition says the Count fell. It is a passage almost destitute of light, not above nine or ten paces in length. A door at one extremity opens into a large handsome apartment, the first of the range occupied by the Princess of Hanover, and out of which Konigsmark passed when he quitted her on the night that he perished. At the other end is another door, near a staircase, by which he was to have left the palace. That this was the scene of his seizure, there is no doubt; but the means used to put him out of life were more secret, though not less effectual, than open attack. I shall relate them from good authority.

Orders were issued on the part of the duke of Hanover, to the soldier on guard at the Palace gate, to stop Konigsmark as he came down the private staircase before mentioned; to force him by menaces of immediate death to follow, and then to shut him into a subterranean vault or cellar, which was indicated. The soldier punctually executed the commission, without knowing or suspecting the consequence. It would seem that the Count neither made nor attempted resistance; a fact which proves either his want of courage or of any means of defence; unless we suppose that confiding in his innocence, he took no precaution for his security, and was unsuspicious of an intention to interrupt his passage out of the Palace. The vault into which the unfortunate Konigsmark was forced, could at pleasure be filled with water by means of a pipe. It was in fact a reservoir, and no sooner was he shut up, than they immediately let in the water and drowned him. His body on the ensuing morning was put into a heated oven and the mouth of it bricked up, as the most effectual means of concealing the whole transaction.

But, though the precise nature of Konigsmark's death might not be immediately divulged; his disappearance, and the anxious enquiries of his servants, who after vainly seeking him through the city of Hanover, went to the Ducal Palace, in order to obtain intelligence of his fate, soon betrayed the secret. It was speedily conveyed to the Princess, who well knowing the implacable enmity of Madame de Platen, made no doubt that the Count had fallen a victim to her vengeance. Far from submitting tamely to the power of Ernest Augustus, she abandoned herself to the most immoderate transports of resentment and indignation. Neither his authority, his presence, nor his menaces, could subue her spi-

rit. She treated him as a monster and an assassin, declared that she would no longer remain among barbarians and murderers, and even appeared ready to make some attempt on her own life, in the violence of her despair. After so public and scandalous a breach, it became impossible to conceal or to pass over the affair in silence. Ernest Augustus ordered the princess therefore, to be conducted to the Palace or Castle of Ahlden, some leagues distant from Hanover, where she was retained in a sort of honorary confinement. Two ladies and a chamberlain were named to attend on her, and to compose her household. This whole transaction took place in 1686, at a time when Konigsmark was about thirty-one years old, and when Sophia Dorothea could not have been twenty-one."

Death and Character of Marat. From Adolphus's Memoirs of the French Revolution.

"Marat was treated with more honour and respect than any individual since the revolution, and exerted a sway in the convention and the clubs more absolute than was ever before known in bodies styled deliberative. In fact, they submitted to all his whims and caprices, and seemed to derive to themselves honour from their submission. The day after the arrest of the adverse deputies, he announced a resolution not to deliver any opinion in the assembly till they should have been brought to trial, but as that could not be immediately done, he soon retracted the determination *. His extravagances were more bearable from the obvious certainty that the wretch was hastening to his grave, and that nothing could save him. His constitution had never been good, and at this period, he was eat up with a leprous complaint; which adding its ravages to his natural deformity, and habitual filthiness, rendered him an object truly disgusting to look at, and sometimes obliged him to a retirement from business, during which he used the bath, and other medical prescriptions. On the symptoms which attended his disorder a suspicion has been founded, that a slow poison had been administered to him by Robespierre: it is even averred that he was conscious of the treachery of his colleague, who thus attempted to cut him off at the height of his popularity, that he, succeeding him in the public opinion, might make use of it to further his projects of vengeance and ambition †. I do not, however, consider this suggestion well-founded, but rather one of those calumnies which the resentment of all parties has been willing to add to the real crimes of Robespierre.

"His days were not terminated by disease or poison; the man of blood ended his life in blood. During one of the recesses from public affairs to which disease compelled him, a young woman called at his lodging on some pretended business. She was admitted just as he was coming out

* Debates.

† Etat de la France, par Montgaillard, p. 13. 66.

of the bath. After some previous conversation she introduced the subject of the proscribed deputies, and is said to have pleaded for mercy. Marat, with his accustomed ferocity, answered that all the promoters of insurrection in the departments were doomed to death. "Then you shall precede them," she exclaimed, and drawing a knife stabbed him in the breast; he staggered, fell, and expired *.

The death of Marat was of great service to his party, and the period at which it took place singularly fortunate; it afforded the chiefs of his faction a fresh topic of declamation against the fugitives, to whom, with some appearance of probability, they attributed the formation of the plot; it enabled them to accelerate the trial of those who were in their hands, and to involve many innocent persons in pretended conspi-

* *Marie Anne Victoire* Charlotte Corde or Corday, the woman who performed this remarkable assassination, was a native of Saint Saturnin des Lienerets. She was the daughter of a gentleman in easy circumstances, and had inflamed her mind by study and meditation to the commission of an act, which she thought would be beneficial to her country. But her action cannot be ascribed to patriotism alone; it is not improbable that she was influenced by love for Barbaroux, whom she had long known, and whose life she imagined to be at Marat's disposal. While the proscribed deputies were at Caen, she frequently came, attended by a servant, to the town-hall, and inquired for Barbaroux, to whom she pretended some business, but always conversed with him in presence of her domestic. She was apprehended immediately on the perpetration of her extraordinary attempt, and sent first to the Abbaye, and afterwards to the Conciergerie. She was put on her trial the 17th, and avowed the fact and all the circumstances, alleging as a justification, that she considered Marat a criminal already convicted by the public opinion, and that she had a right to put him to death. She added, that she did not expect to have been brought before the revolutionary tribunal, but to have been delivered up to the rage of the populace, torn to pieces, and that her head fixed on a pike would have been borne before Marat on his state bed and serve as a rallying point to Frenchmen, if any still existed worthy of that name. Her answers to the various interrogatories were brief, pointed, distinguished by good sense, and sometimes by wit. Her advocate, precluded by her confession from making any defence as to the facts, delivered a speech in her favour, in which he insisted, that her unruffled calmness and supernatural self-denial must be occasioned only by that fermentation of political fanaticism, which also armed her hand with a dagger, and that it was for them to consider what weight that moral consideration should have in the scale of justice. She was found guilty, and executed the same day. When sentence was pronounced on her she thanked her counsel for the manner in which he had pleaded her cause, which she said was delicate and generous. She desired a friend to pay the debts she had contracted while in prison, and requested of the judges, that three letters which she had in her hand, two to Barbaroux, and one to her father, might be delivered. In her way to the place of execution, she displayed a firmness and tranquillity which charmed many of the spectators, and even awed into silence those persons called revolutionary women, or furies of the guillotine, who in general pursued the victim to death with execrations and reproaches. She submitted to her fate with the same composure which marked her preceding conduct. She is described by Louvet, who saw her at Caen, to have been stout, well made, with an open air, and modest behaviour; her face that of a fine, and pretty woman combined. The circumstances which attended this extraordinary action, the privacy with which it was concerted, the resolution with which it was executed, the openness of confession, the contempt of punishment, and, above all, the execrable character of the wretch who was the object of it, have taken off so much of the horror generally felt

racies *; and it delivered them from a malignant wretch, no longer useful to their designs.

The day after Marat's death, the whole city of Paris was in extreme agitation. Before the convention had commenced its sittings, the door of the hall was besieged by petitioners, who came from the sections to deplore the *friend of the people*, and invoke vengeance on his assassins. One of the petitioners expressed himself in these words: "representatives, the passage from life to death is but a moment—Marat is no more! O crime! the hand of a parricide has snatched from us the most intrepid defender of the people—Marat is no more! he constantly sacrificed himself to the public liberty, and that was his offence—Our eyes still seek him in the midst of you—O dismal sight! he is on the bed of death—Where art thou, David? Thou didst preserve for posterity the image of a Lepelletier dying for his country; thou hast now another subject to employ thy pencil. And you, legislators, decree a law founded on the circumstance; the most horrible torments are insufficient to avenge the nation for so enormous a crime; annihilate for ever both villainy and crimes; instruct hireling assassins in the value of life, and, instead of cutting them off in a moment, let the dread of torture disarm those parricides who threaten the lives of the people's representatives."—No decree followed this sanguinary petition. The attention of the legislature was immediately engaged by Chabot, who related the circumstances of Marat's death, and moved for a decree of accusation against Duperret and Faucher as accomplices with Charlotte Corday; which being reinforced by the arguments of Couthon, was granted †.

The death of Marat was hardly announced, when his partizans studied how to make his funeral as grand and interesting as possible. His house not being large enough to gratify the immense concourse of people whom curiosity had attracted, it was resolved to embalm his body, and deposit it in the church *des Cordeliers*. The whole building was adorned with national colours. In the middle of the nave was an elevated, state-bed, surrounded with cypress, and bearing this inscription: "Marat, *the friend of the people, assassinated by the enemies of the people: foes to the country, moderate your joy, he will find avengers.*" The crowd who attended to contemplate his features, were however disappointed; he was intirely disfigured, and his corpse was absolutely disgusting.

His funeral ceremony, which was performed by torch-light, was grand and solemn. Mournful music was heard at intervals, forming an accompaniment to songs of woe, written for the occasion. All else was silence, save the speeches made at stated intervals by orators, who came to pay the last

at an act of assassination, that the name of Charlotte Corday is generally pronounced with respect and a great degree of admiration.

* See Appel. à l'Impartial Posterité, vol. ii. p. 72.

† Debates. Crimes de Marat, p. 43.

tribute of respect to the friend of the people, and the occasional murmurs of the mob, expressing regret at the loss of their friend. The convention and the constituted authorities attended in costume, and the body was escorted by a large detachment of the national guard. Numerous groups of women, young girls, and children, were placed at proper distances, to act the part of excessive grief, and nothing was omitted which could convey the appearance of woe and regret.

The body was deposited in the church-yard of the Cordeliers. The eve of the ceremony, a deputation of the club of Cordeliers attended at the municipality to demand leave to present a petition to the convention, in order to obtain for Marat the honours of the Pantheon: but Chaumette *procureur de la commune*, though himself a Cordelier, opposed this proposition. He exclaimed "let *ci-devant* nobles repose in those superb temples; leave to them their sumptuous pantheons: to *sans-culottes* the temple of nature belongs. I move that a stone, a rough stone, be placed on the tomb of Marat, with this single inscription: *here rests the friend of his country, assassinated by the enemies of his country.*" This plan was adopted, and the funeral ceremony concluded with a grand and affecting piece of music in honour of the deceased.

The Cordeliers, afterwards, thought proper to honour the *heart of Marat* with a separate ceremony. They sought, in the *garde meuble de la Couronne*, for the most precious and exquisitely ornamented urn, in which they deposited the heart of Marat. The day preceding this ceremony, a member of the club read an oration which he had prepared. It had for a motto, *O Cor Jesus! O Cor Marat!* and began thus—"Heart of Jesus! Heart of Marat! ye are equally intitled to our homage." The orator proceeded to compare the life of our Blessed Saviour with that of the friend of the people. Marat's apostles were the Jacobins and Cordeliers; the Publicans, the shop-keepers; and the Pharisees, the aristocrats "Jesus was a prophet," said the orator; "Marat is a deity." Continuing his eulogy, he compared Marat's concubine to the Virgin Mary; the one concealed the infant Jesus in Egypt, the other saved the friend of the people from the sword of la Fayette*. This discourse was received with considerable applause; but a member of the club found cause for censure. "We must hear no more of this Jesus," he said, "it is all nonsense; republicans own no God but philosophy and liberty." The speech was not spoken, but the ceremony took place. The urn containing the heart was hung up with great pomp in the dome

* I confess that I feel considerable repugnance in publishing these horrible blasphemies; but the display of mental degradation, and excessive absurdity, is not without its use. It serves to shew how easily the meanest of mankind can attain a degree of impiety so abandoned as to wrest the laurel from the whole race of modern free-thinkers; and it demonstrates the justice of restraining attacks on the Scripture, which would else be equally degraded by the ferocity of atheism, and the folly of fanaticism.

of the hall of the Cordeliers. Robespierre, and the principal members of the Mountain attended, the whole audience were decorated with red caps, and every act denoted extravagance and enthusiasm *. Forty-eight feasts were given in honour of him †. It was decreed that the bust of Mirabeau should be moved from the Pantheon to make room for his ‡, and images of him were distributed all over France §. One of the sections of Paris assumed his name; which was also given to Havre de Grace, to Port Dauphin in Madagascar, and to the isle of Bouen. His name was also applied to one of the companies of the revolutionary army, to a ship of the line, and assumed by many individuals in revolutionary committees in various parts of the country ‖. David made a picture on the subject of his death, and in pronouncing his eulogium, mentioned his acquaintance with Marat as a consolation for having come into the world too late to be personally known to Cato, Aristides, Socrates, and many other illustrious ancients ¶.

Though these testimonies of respect were sanctioned and promoted by Robespierre; though he placed the bust of Marat on the altar of the Supreme Being **; yet he has not escaped the suspicion of having been the enemy of his fame, and the improbable accusation of having procured Charlotte Corday to accelerate his death ††. After the fall of Robespierre, the Jacobins suggested that jealousy had prevented the canonization of Marat; and there was not sense of virtue in the convention sufficient to prevent the disgraceful ceremony. It was the custom to introduce a bust of him on the theatre to receive the applauses of the patriotic spectators. But at length an end was put to these absurdities; the name of the section was changed, his bust was kicked out of the Pantheon, and by the decree against premature apotheoses, forbid to be exhibited on the theatre: the eulogium of David is only remembered with contempt, and the subject of it is no longer contemplated but with the horror due to his crimes ‡‡.

Marat was in person very diminutive; his head disproportionately large; his complexion livid and cadaverous, and his countenance singularly expressive of his malignant and sanguinary disposition. Dr. Moore says, that "to a painter of massacres it would be inestimable." In his dress, he affected to set the *ton* in point of dirt and shabbiness; Chabot was his rival in this particular, and the club of Cordeliers their humble imitators. In his own house he is described to have been seen in the following attire: "he had on boots, without stockings, an old

* Crimes de Marat, p. 83. et seq.
† Etat de la France, par Montgaillard, p. 70.
‡ Pagès, vol. i. p. 386. Journals.
§ Etat de la France, p. 70.
‖ Pagès, vol. ii. p. 60. Etat de la France, p. 78. Tench's Correspondence, &c. &c.
¶ Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 74.
** Suite de la l'Etat de la France, p. 36. †† Idem, p. 71.
‡‡ See Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iv. p. 9.

pair of leather breeches, and a white silk waistcoat. His dirty shirt, open at the bosom, exhibited his skin of yellow hue; long dirty nails marked his fingers' ends, and his frightful visage was perfectly in unison with this strange dress *." When he went abroad, he wore a large round hat slouched over his eyes, so as to hide a great part of his face. He was characterised, next to his ferocity and envy, by a perseverance which did not permit him to see or acknowledge any difficulties in the way which led to the execution of his favourite project; his vanity, which made him consider himself all-sufficient, strengthened this disposition; and the general exaggeration of his ideas, in all matters relating to himself or others, made him adopt modes of action which no person but himself would have devised, and to which no times but those in which he lived could have given effect. As a philosopher, he toiled incessantly in the repetition of philosophical experiments, in hopes to enjoy the pleasure of humbling the academy of sciences, and of overturning the systems of Newton, or the opinions of Helvetius. As an orator, he wanted every advantage; he expressed himself with difficulty, his ideas were confused, his voice hollow and croaking, his words and gestures abrupt and unconnected; yet he exhibited himself in every tribune, and, in spite of contempt and derision, would be heard: he affected a solemnity in his address, and used to hold his head as high as possible, to acquire an air of dignity; callous to every appearance of dislike or disgust, he never for a moment lost the confident look of self-approbation, but retorted on his dissatisfied hearers looks and expressions of menace and contempt. His temper was sudden and violent; in conversation he could not bear the least contradiction, but flew out instantaneously into the most passionate exclamation and rancorous abuse. The extravagant wildness of his ideas will appear as well from a fact related by Brissot, as from the continual confiscations and murders he afterwards recommended: in order to be cured of the cholic, he was desirous to have his belly opened, but could not find a surgeon who would undertake the operation. His passion for praise, or rather for publicity, was vast and indiscriminate; provided his name filled every mouth, he was indifferent whether it was repeated with applauses or execrations; and was jealous even of his associates, if they affected to surpass him in wickedness. Marat was not brave, though he was irascible and audacious. During the old government, he was afraid of the Bastille: and in the course of the new, under continual apprehension of personal danger and imprisonment. Love of fame was the disease of his mind; avarice had no place in it. At his death he was possessed of no more than one assignat of twenty-five sols (1*s*. 0½*d*.;) Madame Roland

* Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 171. The description of his person, dress, manners, and peculiarities, is principally taken from the fragment of Brissot before alluded to; from the Conjuration de d'Orleans, vol. i. p. 155. vol. ii. p. 165. 397; from Roland's Appeal; and from Garat's Memoirs, p. 28.

however combats this fact by a statement of the elegance of his apartments, one of which she describes as furnished with blue and white damask, and decorated with silk curtains, elegantly drawn up in festoons, a splendid chandelier, superb China vases, filled with natural flowers, then scarce, and of a high price *. The assertion of the Brissotine writers, that he was in the pay of the combined powers †, is unfounded. It may be regarded as a retaliation for the accusation of venality with which they were charged by his partisans; for Marat, unsolicitous about money, too vain to think that an adequate price could be set on his services, and an utter stranger to the dictates of gratitude, was not to be purchased; nor would the attempt be made by any persons whose sagacity was superior to, or whose situation was not so desperate as that of the deluded and abandoned Orleans.

Letter from Charlotte Corday to Barbaroux. From the same

In the prison of the Abbaye, from the room formerly occupied by Brissot, the second day of my preparation for peace.

You requested, citizen, an account of my journey; I will not excuse you from a detail of the slightest anecdote. I travelled with good mountaineers, whom I suffered to talk as much as they pleased, and their discourse, which was as absurd as their persons were disagreeable, contributed not a little to lull me to sleep. I was not perfectly awake till I came to Paris. One of my fellow-travellers, who undoubtedly is an admirer of sleepy women, took me for the daughter of one of his old friends, supposed me possessed of a fortune which I have not, gave me a name which I had never heard, and in conclusion, offered me his fortune and his hand. When I was tired of his conversation, I said, "we are admirable comedians, what a pity, that with such talents, we have no spectators: I will go and fetch our fellow-travellers, that they may have their share of amusement." I left him in a very ill humour; all night he sung plaintive songs, excellent provocatives of sleep. At length I parted with him at Paris, refusing to give him my address or that of my father, of whom he wished to ask me in marriage. He left me evidently displeased.

I did not know that the people here had interrogated my fellow-travellers, and I maintained that I knew none of them, that I might spare them the disagreeable task of undergoing interrogatories respecting me. In this, I followed my oracle, Raynal, who says, it is not our duty to tell truth to our tyrants. The lady who travelled with me, gave them the information that I was acquainted with you, and had spoke to Duperret.

You know the firmness of Duperret's mind; in his answers he told them the exact truth, and his deposition was corroborated by mine, nothing appears against

* Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 171. † See Louvet's Narrative, p. 25. 30. 39. 45. 53.

him, but his courage is a crime. I confess, I was apprehensive that my having spoke to him would be discovered, and repented it when too late. I wished to repair my fault by inducing him to go and join you, but he was too resolute to take my advice. Sure of his innocence, and of the innocence of every one else, I resolved to execute my project. Would you believe it? Fauchet is in prison as my accomplice; he who did not even know of my existence.

But the people are not content to have only an unimportant woman sacrificed to the manes of that great man. Pardon me, my fellow-creatures! for such an use of this word as dishonours your species; he was a ferocious beast, who intended to destroy the rest of France by the flames of civil war. Now, peace for ever!

Four members were present at my first interrogatory. Chabot looked like a madman; Legendre insisted that he had seen me in the morning at his house; I who never thought of the man; I do not consider him possessed of sufficient abilities to be the tyrant of his country, and it was not my design to punish every body. All who see me pretend that they have known me a long while, though, in fact, they never saw me before.

I believe that the *dying words* of Marat have been printed. I doubt whether he uttered any, but these are the last he said to me. After having written down all your names, and those of the administration of Calvados who are at Evreux, he said, for my comfort, "in a few days, I will have them all guillotined at Paris." If the department places his bust opposite to that of St. Fargeau, they may have these words engraven on it in letters of gold.

I will give you no details of this great event, the journals will be sufficiently explicit. I confess that my resolution was rendered complete, by my observing the courageous manner in which our volunteers inrolled themselves on the seventh of July; you may recollect the delight I felt, and I promised myself that I would make Petion repent of the suspicions he had manifested respecting my sentiments. In short, I reflected that all those brave fellows were setting out to obtain the head of one single man, that they would be disappointed, or that his destruction would have occasioned the death of many good citizens. He did not deserve so distinguished a fate; the hand of a woman was sufficient.

I acknowledge that I used a treacherous artifice to induce him to admit me: all expedients are justifiable in such a cause. I intended, when I left Calvados, to have sacrificed him on the summit of the Mountain, but he no longer attended the convention.

I wish I had kept your letter, it would have proved that I had no accomplices; but time will elucidate that point.

We are such good republicans at Paris, that it is not conceived how an useless woman, who, if she lived her longest possible term, would do no good, would in cold blood, sacrifice herself to save her country. I expected to have been instantly put to death, but some men, truly courageous, and superior to all commendation, preserved me

from the excusable rage of those whom I had rendered unhappy. As I really retained my presence of mind, I felt hurt at the exclamations of some women, but those who save their country think nothing of the price it costs them. May peace be established as soon as I wish it! This, however, is a grand preliminary, without which it would never have been obtained. For these two days I have enjoyed a delicious state of peace. The happiness of my country constitutes mine; there is no act of self-devotion which does not over-pay in pleasure, the pain of resolving to adopt it.

I have no doubt that my father will be tormented on my account: the loss of me will be a sufficient affliction. If my letters are found in his possession, the greater part of them are portraits of you; if they contain any pleasantries reflecting on you, I beg you to forgive me, and impute them to my levity. In my last letter I led my father to believe that, apprehensive of the horrors of a civil war, I intended retiring to England. My project then was to remain *incognita*, to kill Marat publicly, and, by an immediate death, leave the people of Paris to an unavailing inquiry after my name.

I beg, citizen, that you and your colleagues will take care to defend my relations and friends, if they are molested; I say nothing of my dear friends the aristocrats, the remembrance of whom I preserve in my heart; I never hated but one single being, and I have demonstrated how violent that hatred was; but there are thousands whom I love with still more warmth than I hated him. A lively imagination and a feeling heart promise but a stormy life; I beg those who may regret my fate to think of this, and they will rejoice at seeing me enjoy repose in the Elysian fields with Brutus and a few of the ancients. As for the moderns, there are few real patriots, who know how to die for their country; they are almost all selfish. What a dismal people to form a republic!

It is necessary, in the first place, to establish peace, and a government will afterwards come as it can: at least, if my advice be taken, the Mountain would not be permitted to reign.

I am exceedingly well accommodated in my prison; the jailors are the best kind of people in the world; to keep away *ennui* they have placed military men in my room. I like that very well by day, and very ill by night. I have complained of the indecency, but no one has thought fit to pay any attention to my remonstrance: I believe this must be an invention of Chabot; none but a Capuchin could have such ideas.

I pass my time in writing songs: I give the last stanza of one written by Validi to all who will accept of it; I assure all the Parisians that we only take up arms against anarchy, which is the exact truth.

* * * * * * *

[At the time of writing this part of her letter, Charlotte Corday had undergone her first examination; when she had proceeded thus far, she was interrogated a second time, and committed to the Conciergerie, from which prison she continued her epistle to Barbaroux in these words:]

Here am I, committed to the Conciergerie, and the gentlemen of the jury having promised to send you my letter, I proceed.

I have undergone a long interrogatory, which, if it is published, I beg you will obtain. I had in my possession, when arrested, an address to the friends of peace; I cannot send it to you, and it would be in vain for me to demand that it should be published. I had thought yesterday of making a present of my portrait to the department of Calvados; but the committee of public safety, of whom I demanded it, returned no answer, and it is now too late.

I desire, citizen, that you will communicate this letter to citizen Bougon, *procureur-general syndic* of the department. I do not write to him for several reasons; I am not certain, in the first place, that he is now at Evreux. I fear, moreover, that being naturally compassionate, he will be affected at my death, yet I believe him good citizen enough to console himself in the hope of peace; I know how sincerely he desires it, and hope that in facilitating its return I have fulfilled his wishes. If any of my friends desire to see this letter, I hope you will not refuse them.

I must have a defender, for it is a rule; I have chosen one from the Mountain, Gustavus Doulcet; I suppose he will refuse me the honour, it would, however, cost him but little trouble. I thought of asking Robespierre or Chabot. I shall require leave to dispose of the remainder of my money, which, if I obtain, I will devote it to the wives and children of the brave inhabitants of Caen who have marched to the deliverance of Paris.

It is astonishing that the people suffered me to be conducted from the Abbaye to the Conciergerie; it is another proof of their moderation; mention the circumstance to the good inhabitants of Caen. They indulge themselves with occasional insurrections, and are not so easily restrained.

My trial comes on to-morrow at eight; probably at noon, according to the Roman phrase *I shall have lived.* I cannot say how I shall encounter my last moments: I have no need to affect insensibility, for I never yet knew the fear of death, I never loved life but in proportion to its possible utility.

I hope Duperret and Fauchet will be set at liberty to-morrow; they assert that Fauchet conducted me to the convention, and placed me in the gallery. What business could he have to take women there? As a deputy he ought not to have been in the galleries, and as a bishop, he ought not to have been with a woman; thus there is somewhat of a charge against him, but Duperret is totally exempt.

Marat will not be placed in the Pantheon, yet he was highly deserving of it. I beg you will collect the proper documents to make his funeral eulogy.

I hope you will not lose sight of Madame Forbin's interest; this is her address in case you should wish to write—To Alexandrine Forbin, Mandresie, near Zurich, Switzerland. I beg you will inform her that I love her with all my heart. I am going to write a line to papa; I say nothing to the

rest of my friends, I ask nothing of them but a speedy forgetfulness; grief would disgrace my memory. Tell General Wimpfen, that I think I have helped him to gain more than one battle by facilitating peace.

Adieu, citizen. I recommend myself to the memory of all true friends of peace.

The prisoners in the Conciergerie, far from insulting me like the people in the streets, looked as if they pitied me: misfortune ever renders men compassionate; this is my last reflection.

M. C. Corday.

Tuesday the 16th, at 8 o'clock at night.

Fall and Death of the Duke of Orleans. From the same.

The king's unfortunate attempt to escape from the custody of his persecutors gave a great ascendancy to the duke's party. At first it was supposed that, on the king's leaving the realm, a regency would be appointed; and as Monsieur had quitted the kingdom, the constitution pointed out Orleans as regent. That he might not appear desirous of attaining this situation, he addressed a letter to all the journalists, in which he solemnly renounced the right given him by the constitution to expect the regency. This letter is written with considerable art, for while he makes this pretended renunciation, he alludes in pompous terms to his zeal for the public, and his sacrifices in the cause of liberty *. The moderation thus displayed was merely affected, for if the assembly had decreed that he should be regent, which, from the ascendancy of his party, there was every reason to suppose, he could not have resisted their decision. On the king's return to Paris, Orleans was observed in a circle of deputies, a gay spectator of the melancholy scene †. During the king's suspension, the question of abdication and trial was pressed in the assembly with all the zeal and power of his party. The assembly, to avoid the gross term *dechéance*, forfeiture, used that of *destitution*, privation; but in the Jacobin club, then the senate of the Orleanists, the matter was treated without ceremony or circumlocution. At that period, the project of a republic was first openly avowed in France; but many who affected to support it were clandestinely promoting the advancement of their patron, by familiarizing the people to the expectation of dethroning the monarch. In all probability the views of the party would have been crowned with success thus far;—the king would have been deposed, and the duke constituted regent during the minority of the Dauphin, but for the secession of some principal leaders of his faction. Barnarve unexpectedly assumed the defence of the king, and, assisted by the royalists, prevailed on the assembly to decree the completion of the constitution in the form originally intended. The party had made themselves so sure of a complete victory, that they had neglected their

* See Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 236.

† Moore's View, vol. ii. p. 368.

usual precautions of packed tribunes and a hired mob. Robespierre was so astonished and enraged at this unexpected event, that he ran about the streets like a madman, exclaiming to the people, 'my friends, all is lost; the king is to be restored.'

Baffled in their expectations from the assembly, the faction endeavoured to carry their point by means of the populace. They prepared a petition that very night, to be signed on the altar of the confederation in the *Champ de Mars* the next morning. The mob assembled, and began by murdering a hair-dresser and an invalid, whose heads they stuck on pikes, and carried to the *palais royal*. The members, the Cordeliers, or *société fraternelle*, inflamed the populace with declamations and hand-bills of the most atrocious description. After several messages from la Fayette and Bailly, requiring the mob to disperse, military law was proclaimed and executed. The constitution was revised and accepted by the king, and the assembly dissolved.

According to the requisition of the new constitution, la Fayette resigned the command of the national guard, and Bailly the mayoralty of Paris. This revived the hopes of Orleans, that by procuring that office for a creature of his own, he should again be able, by a monopoly of grain, to influence the city, and, through it, the whole kingdom. Petion was elected; but the duke's views with respect to a monopoly were totally frustrated by Bailly, who caused the care of the provisions of the capital to be vested in the administrators of the department.

The new assembly, destitute of the experience and talents which had been the portion of their predecessors, were delivered up to a faction composed of editors of newspapers, pamphleteers, and other labourers in the lower branches of literature, who had been supported by, and were still in the pay of the duke. Amongst these were the most rancorous enemies of the king, on whom they immediately commenced an attack; but the mildness of his temper, and the resolution he had formed to abide by the constitution, which was the object of his daily study, rendered their measures abortive.

The peace of Europe was incompatible with the views of the new demagogues, who were resolved to procure a declaration of war against the emperor. Orleans, through the influence of Thevenard, minister of marine, who hoped to conciliate the new assembly, had been promoted to the rank of admiral *. This promotion it was supposed would be the more acceptable, as he had before solicited a military command, without success †. The insubordination of the navy was such, that most of the officers promoted at the same time resigned; Orleans and d'Estaing alone retained the rank assigned to them ‡.

* Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 229.
† Anecdotes du Regne de Louis XVI. vol. vi. p. 236.
‡ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 310.

At this period, Orleans seems to have been sensible of the impolicy of his conduct: he saw the spirit of republicanism beginning to rise, and would have been happy to compromise his hopes of aggrandisement, for an honourable promotion and certain safety. His conduct on this occasion is so remarkable, that I shall not in the narrative alter a word from Bertrand *, who gives it as a party immediately concerned, and as an eye-witness.—' The Duke of Orleans was not satisfied with writing to me, that he had accepted the rank of admiral; he likewise paid me a visit, and amongst other matters, he assured me that he set the higher value upon the favour which the king had conferred on him, because it gave him the means of convincing his majesty how much his sentiments had been calumniated. This declaration was made with an air of openness and sincerity, and accompanied with the warmest protestations of loyalty. I am very unfortunate, (said he,) without deserving to be so; a thousand atrocities have been laid to my charge, of which I am completely innocent. I have been supposed guilty by many men, because I have disdained to enter into any justification of myself from crimes of which I have a real horror. You are the first minister to whom I ever said as much, because you are the only one whose character ever inspired me with confidence: you will soon have an opportunity of judging whether my conduct gives the lie to my words. He pronounced these last words with a voice and manner which convinced me he meant them as an answer to the air of incredulity with which I listened to him. I answered him, that I was so much afraid of weakening the force of his expressions in reporting them to the king, as he desired I should, that I begged of him to deliver them himself to his majesty. He replied, that it was precisely what he wished; and that if he could flatter himself that the king would receive him, he would go to the court the next day. I gave his majesty an account, the same evening at the council, of the visit I had received from the Duke of Orleans, and all that had passed; adding, that I could not help being convinced of the sincerity of his professions. The king resolved to receive him; and the following day had a conversation with him of more than half an hour, with which his majesty appeared to be well satisfied.—I am of your opinion (said he to me) that he returns to us with sincerity; and that he will do all that depends on him to repair the mischiefs which have been committed in his name, and in which very possibly he has not had so great a share as we have suspected.—The following Sunday the Duke of Orleans came to the king's levee, where he met with the most mortifying reception from the courtiers, who were ignorant of what had passed; and from the royalists, who usually came on that day to pay their court to the royal family. They pressed round him, treading designedly upon his toes, and pushing him towards the door.

* Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 310.

When he went into the queen's apartment, where the cloth was already laid, as soon as he appeared they cried out on every side—Let nobody approach the dishes!—insinuating that he might throw poison into them. The insulting murmurs which his presence excited forced him to retire without seeing any of the royal family. He was pursued to the top of the stairs, and as he was going down, some spit over the staircase upon him. He hastened out, filled with rage and indignation, and convinced that the king and queen were the authors of these outrages; of which they were not only ignorant, but extremely concerned when they were informed of them. From that moment the Duke of Orleans conceived implacable hatred, and vowed vengeance against the king and queen. He kept his oath but too well. I happened to be at court that day, and was an eye-witness to the scene I have just related.' Thus was the royal cause unintentionally injured by the royalists, whose conduct on this occasion demonstrates, that far from having secret cabals and conspiracies, they did not even maintain that confidential intercourse which was essential to their interest.

The Orleanists and republicans in the assembly still persevered in their attacks; they forced on the king an administration composed of Jacobins, his most inveterate foes. They passed several decrees, by virtue of which he was required, with his own hand, to inflict the severest wounds on such of his family as had left the kingdom; to force the conscience of men for whom he had the sincerest respect; and to surround his own dwelling with a banditti of twenty thousand murderers, at the devotion of the Jacobins. To these decrees he opposed the shield with which the constitution had provided him, the *veto*. They endeavoured to impel him to a fresh flight, by affected kindness in representing his danger, and by alarming reports of the popular fury; but his resolution to remain exposed to all the fury of his enemies, destroyed the effect of their machinations.

Frustrated in all these schemes, the Orleanists recurred to their accustomed measures of popular insurrection. They took advantage of the exercise of the *veto*, and the dismission of the ministers, to raise a furious mob, whose design to murder the king and his family was averted by the sensibility of a hired populace to the virtue and courage of those they were paid to destroy. Orleans on this occasion acted with that pusillanimity which was his characteristic, and which always prevented the success of his schemes. Fearing to have his conduct again submitted to the judges of a criminal court, he left Paris a few days before the intended assault of the castle, and went into the country, to consult with the chiefs of the army in his interest, on the means of securing the fruits of his success. The head of a faction, skulking about the country *incognito*, when a decisive blow is about to be struck in the capital, is one of those novelties which the life of this weak and wicked conspirator alone can afford. In the course of his excursion he visited Valen-

ciennes. Dumouriez says, 'the Duke of Orleans made his appearance at Valenciennes, *without any one being able to discover the motive.* Biron protected this detestable prince. Dumouriez had been intimate with Biron during twenty years; and acquainted, though upon rather cool terms, during the same period with the Duke; but *thenceforward he distinguished his two sons, who were very unlike their unworthy father**.' Let it be recollected, that when this general published his memoirs, Orleans and Biron were no longer in existence to contradict him; and that there is no cause assigned why he chose that particular æra to distinguish his two sons, and a proper estimate may be formed of the candour and veracity of the general, and the extent of the Duke's intrigues. His journey and return were observed, and excited conjecture and suspicion†.

The twentieth of June not having produced all the effects expected by the conspirators, a new insurrection was organised, which succeeded to the utmost extent of their hopes. Though in the result of this conspiracy the interests of Orleans were not considered, he was very instrumental in preparing and perfecting it‡. It is even said that the names, additions, and places of abode of those who were active in this conspiracy, were precisely the same with those who were employed on the fifth of October 1789§. Orleans, however, kept as usual far distant from the scene of action ||; and his pusillanimity is said to have extended to his banditti, who fled at the first volley ¶. Though the vengeance of Orleans was abundantly gratified by the result of this day, his ambition was severely mortified. The king was reduced to the lowest political ebb, deprived of his guards, suspended, imprisoned; but the people, instead of shouting *Vive d'Orleans!* had learned to shout *Vive la Liberté***!

In consequence of the king's suspension, a national convention was decreed; and the flatterers of Orleans, or those interested to prey on his folly, led him to expect that this measure would conduce to a full and speedy attainment of all his wishes. He spared neither money nor influence to procure those persons to be returned who were devoted to him, and to intimidate and destroy the friends of the monarch and of the existing constitution. La Fayette had fled, and the disorganised armies were entirely commanded by those whom Orleans supposed to be his creatures. He procured the arrestation of many persons of influence, who were presumed to possess an attachment to the king; and that he might effectually prevent their obstructing his projects, he directed, or at least sanctioned, the horrible massacres committed in the pri-

* Life of Dumouriez, vol. iii. p. 13.
† Mercure François, No. du 28 Juilliet 1792, p. 277.
‡ Pagès, vol. i. p. 476.
§ Histoire de la Conspiration du 10 Août, par M. Bigot de Ste. Croix.
|| Pagès, vol. i. p. 478.
¶ Louvet's Narrative, p. 17.
** Fennell's Review, p. 473.

sons *. In these transactions his avarice as well as his ambition found a gratification, by the murder of his accomplished relative the Princess de Lamballe, which he is said to have expressly commanded †. He procured himself to be returned a member to the new convention by the agency of Robespierre and Danton; and to prevent all prejudice which might arise from his name exciting a recollection of his affinity to the royal family, he wrote to the *commune* of Paris, renouncing his family appellative, alleging the impurity of his mother's life in proof that he was not a descendant of the Bourbons, and declaring that he was the son of her coachman. He requested of the *commune* to assign him a new name, and they conferred, what they termed *the beautiful name of* EGALITE‡.

But these very measures which he imagined would strengthen his interest, and infallibly give success to his projects, frustrated his views, and produced his ruin. With his usual propensity to low company, and the disgusting familiarity of the refuse of mankind, he lavished his favour on the most abandoned and worthless of his partisans. To the utter disgust of the men of letters and superior attainments in his party, he was always surrounded by such wretches as Marat, Collet d'Herbois, Clootz, and Chabot. The massacres of September having been planned and executed by this class of his followers, and they alone enriched by them, some others of his needy partisans became angry and disgusted. The eagerness with which the people now received the abolition of royalty, suggested to some the hope of establishing a federal republic, a chimera which they pursued with ardour. Thus arose a division amongst his friends, which, in the end, left him a solitary mark for the first interested usurper to shoot at. Many of his agents, in fact, as soon as by his means they had obtained independence, and even luxury, elevated their views, they saw the solicitude of the rabble for the downfall of royalty, and affected to second it, nay even in violation of known truth, pretended to have been always republicans. To the design of their adversaries of forming a federal republic, they opposed that of a triumvirate or dictatorship, which, flattering their respective views and ambition, divorced them still more effectually from the interests of their patron. The first step taken by the convention was to decree the abolition of royalty; this was done on the motion of Collet d'Herbois, without opposition, all the members who were present vied in giving this proof of their being animated with the prevailing spirit.

At this period the unfortunate and worthless Egalité perceived the inextricable dilemma into which he was drawn. The king was deposed, but royalty was abolished, consequently there was no probability that he could ever be regent. Amongst other popu-

* See in Gibbon's Posthumous Works, vol. i. a very interesting letter, describing the fate of several victims of these massacres, and ascribing the Organization of them to Orleans.

† Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 262. 382. 384. See Manuel.

‡ Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 419. Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 604.

lar novelties, mention was made of an agrarian law, a system which he had no longer sufficient power to counteract, and to which his remaining property was a most inviting bait *. He saw that the Gironde, except a few individuals, who were secretly his friends, hated him, and that his own worthless confederates, the Mountain, defrauded and betrayed him. Their rapacity drove him to the most scandalous expedients to raise money, and instead of a throne he saw that he was barely purchasing a precarious protection. His importance was reduced to nothing. In the convention, which, as he had bought it with his money, he expected to use as a property, he was the most insignificant of all members. He generally attended for the space of half an hour every day, looked round him, and went out unnoticed †. In the army he still hoped to maintain his influence by means of Dumouriez, who continued attached to him, and ardent in promoting his son: but even on this he could not depend, as he saw his best military friends disgraced or led to the scaffold. The battle of Jemappe, which raised the spirits of the populace so high, and in the account of which Dumouriez praised Egalité's eldest son, gave him a transient gleam of sunshine, and emboldened him for the first time, to speak in the convention in praise of the general; but this hope was of short duration; Marat was busy with his libels and posting-bills, destroying the reputation, and throwing suspicion on the character of this fortunate warrior; and Pache, the war minister, was crippling all his operations.

During the king's trial Orleans displayed, in a remarkable manner, the prevalence of revenge over ambition. He could not reasonably entertain hopes that he should ever be enabled to ascend the throne after the formal abolition of royalty, and the declaration of some members, that they voted against Louis more for the crime of having been a king than for any other. Perhaps the approach of Dumouriez to the capital was in consequence of a concerted plan, to gratify, under some form, the ambition of Orleans, and inspired new hopes. There is no doubt that the Mountain used every effort of terror and conciliation to keep him firm to their interests, as they were apprehensive that even a single vote might determine the question against them. By his means, during the *appel nominal*, the doors of the convention were surrounded by assassins, who frightened with clamour, and threatened with

* With all his profusion, Orleans was never generous; and though he appeared to make great pecuniary sacrifices, he was always tremblingly alive to an attack on his property. He carried his cupidity to such an excess, that he actually made a ridiculous application to the constituent assembly for four million one hundred and fifty-eight thousand eight hundred and fifty livres (181,949*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*,) together with interest from the year 1721, as the dower promised to Louisa-Elizabeth d'Orleans, queen of Spain, and by her assigned over to the ancestors of the Duke. This demand was referred to the next legislative body, but I do not find that it was ever renewed. See Debates, 13th June 1791.

† Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 248.

their daggers, all whom they suspected of opposing their views *.

" Whatever were the wishes and hopes of Orleans, it might be expected that he would abstain from voting on the question which decided the fate of his unfortunate cousin, but he was reserved to exhibit depravity in all its disgusting nudity, without even the veil which fear or hypocrisy supply, when better motives are wanting. The manner in which his vote on the first question, ' is Louis guilty?' was received, might have convinced him that honour, decency, and even his personal safety required that he should abstain from giving an opinion on the other two. As soon as the monosyllable *Oui* escaped his lips, the convention, by loud murmurs, testified astonishment. On the second question, ' of referring the punishment to the nation in primary assemblies,' he voted with the Mountain against the reference, and the same murmurs testified the same feelings. He had an interval for reflection after these hints, before the third *appel nominal* came on. The question was ' what punishment had Louis incurred?' On this point he renewed the surprise and horror of the assembly, and entailed on himself the execration of every feeling mind, by the memorable sentence which he read from the tribune: ' *Uniquement occupé de mon devoir, convaincu que tous ceux qui ont attenté, ou attenteroient par la suite, à la souveraineté du peuple meritent la mort,* JE VOTE POUR LA MORT.' Influenced by no consideration but that of performing my duty, convinced that all who have conspired, or who shall hereafter conspire, against the sovereignty of the people deserve death, I VOTE FOR DEATH.' The horror excited by this trait of villany could hardly be suppressed; the assembly was in a general ferment; one member, starting from his seat, and striking his hands together, exclaimed, *Ah! le scelerat!* many repeated that expression, and *Oh! l'horreur! Oh! le monstre* †!

This conduct, which excited great indignation in the people ‡, produced no other effect in the king's mind than a sense of the degraded state of his worthless persecutor. ' I do not know,' he said, ' what I have done to my cousin to make him behave to me in the manner he has; but he is to be pitied. He is still more unfortunate than I am. I certainly would not change conditions with him §.' Orleans is said to have been a pleased spectator of the catastrophe of this horrid tragedy. Accompanied by his eldest son, he saw with a smile, from the *Pont de Louis* XVI. the decapitation of the virtuous monarch ||.

" Whatever might be the hopes of Orleans at this moment, whether he had any latent expectations from the promises or principles of the Mountain, or whether his am-

* Journal de Clery, p. 198.

† See Moore's Journal, vol. ii. p. 577. 580. Necker on the Revolution, vol. i. p. 403.

‡ Journal de Clery, p. 201.

§ Bertrand's Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 265.

|| Peltier's late Picture of Paris, vol. ii. p. 45.

bition confined itself to the tranquil enjoyment of the remains of his property, cannot be determined, but the day of the king's death put an end to all his comforts. He was alarmed by anonymous notes threatening him with assassination and with poison, and loading him with every reproach: he surrounded himself with a guard of *sans culottes* formidably armed, who prevented all access to him, except after the minutest scrutiny: he never slept twice together in the same room, and frequently changed his apartment in the course of the night: he wore armour under his clothes, and took every other precaution which fear and jealousy could suggest. To the dread of assassination was added that of a public impeachment; he knew that a word from the Mountain constituted his death warrant; and to obtain their forbearance, he sacrificed to their cupidity every thing which would raise money; plate, furniture, pictures, gems, all were sold. His virtuous lady, who had long mourned the effects of his vices and ambition, struck with the prevailing horror at his late conduct, and urged by her friends, obtained a separation from him, and retired to the house of her father.

For some time after the death of Louis XVI. it was supposed that the partisans of Egalité were secretly labouring to procure his appointment to the protectorate *. This suspicion was carried by some to a most ridiculous excess; one deputy affirmed, that Robespierre and the *commune* of Paris had conspired to raise Egalité to the throne, and that Egalité had promised to make Robespierre prime minister *for life*, and convert the *national* into a *municipal* representation, in which the representatives of Paris should be exclusively legislators for all France †. A conspiracy of some kind was entered into, and excited much alarm. Orleans was generally understood to be actively concerned in it, but what end was proposed, or how it failed, are still inscrutable mysteries. Brissot exhausted his ingenuity in conjectures ‡, and Garat avows his inability to explain the matter §.

The failure of this undefined project completed the ruin of Orleans, his few remaining partisans speedily deserted him. Before the king's death, Buzot and Louvet had moved for his banishment, but they were opposed by the Mountain, who apprehended that the loss of his vote and influence would be fatal to their views ‖, and particularly by Robespierre, who virulently inveighed against this new species of ostracism ¶. They procured an adjournment of the question till after the king's trial. The popular society of Amiens sent a letter requiring an irrevocable decree of banishment against all the Bourbons, but as they imprudently added a request that a decree of accusation might

* Miles's Conduct of France towards Great Britain examined, p. 150.
† Garat's Memoirs, p. 197.
‡ Brissot to his Constituents, p. 86.
§ Garat's Memoirs, p. 114. 126.
‖ See Debates of 16th and 19th December 1792.
¶ See Robespierre, à ses Commettans, vol. i. p. 485.

be pronounced against Marat and some other demagogues, the convention passed to the order of the day. Robespierre also moved that *all* the relations of the late king should be banished, but with the like success.

The flight of Dumouriez, and the obvious connection of that general with the Orleans family, completely subjected Egalité to his adversaries. In vain he professed in the convention his resolution to imitate the elder Brutus, in sacrificing his son to his country; his destruction was doomed, and he had neither virtue, poverty, or friends to defend or console him. When the news of Dumouriez's treason arrived, la Source moved that Egalité and Sillery should be taken into custody, but having implicated Danton in his censures, the debate took another turn. He was, however, that same day struck out of the books of the Jacobin club. He was next indirectly denounced by Barbaroux, but as that deputy contented himself with requiring that Valence, and all persons connected with the family of Orleans, should be arrested, Egalité seconded the motion, and thus obtained a momentary reprieve. This lenity was perhaps merely owing to the uncertainty which attended the final event of Dumouriez's exertions, for so soon as his want of power was discovered, the proceedings of the convention became more decisive. Marat moved, that as there were no proofs against Egalité, his character of deputy should be respected, but a letter having been read relating a conversation which he had held, in which he alluded to the probability of his being king, Boyer Fonfrede moved, that *all* the members of the Bourbon family should be retained as hostages for the arrested commissioners, which was decreed. Marat, a few days afterwards, said, that he could not tell whether Philippe Egalité was a traitor, but that he knew him to be a man without morals, without capacity, and without honour *.

When, in consequence of the decree granted on Boyer's motion, Orleans was taken into custody, he wrote to the convention to be informed whether the decree was meant to extend to him, an affirmative burst from every mouth. He protested against his detention, on the principle of his inviolability as a representative of the people; but they passed to the order of the day; and he was conveyed to the Abbaye. At the approach of the guards who came to arrest him, he fainted away, and on his being put in prison, exhibited every appearance of abjectness and terror. He was removed to Marseilles, together with several others of his family, and there confined. The first violence of his grief and fear having subsided, he gave himself up to the enjoyment of every species of luxury and debauchery in his power. He underwent an interrogatory before the criminal tribunal of Marseilles, but they having no instructions, pronounced him not guilty. They were soon however informed of the disposition of the convention, and instead of enlarging him after his acquittal, confined

* See Debates.

him in a close and damp dungeon.

From this place he wrote to the convention, humbly supplicating that they would lighten his chains, if not restore him to liberty; expressing a hope that their definitive judgment would be in his favour, and that they would grant him that liberty which he had never employed but for the good of his country. This address however produced no effect, and he was for some time apparently forgotten. In the report made by Billaud Varennes respecting the imprisoned deputies, he was only slightly implicated on account of his connection with Petion.

At length, after he had suffered near six months imprisonment at Marseilles, Amar made his famous report against the Brissotines, and Orleans was implicated in many of the charges. Billaud Varennes immediately said, "Let not the convention forget one man, whom every sentence of the report accuses of the most criminal intentions: I move that Philippe Egalité be comprised in the decree of accusation which delivers all the conspirators to the revolutionary tribunal of Paris." This motion being received with applause, Billaud in continuation proposed, that the votes on this subject should be taken by *appel nominal:* this displeased Robespierre, who opposed the new motion with some asperity; and at length it was decreed in the original form. When the people were informed of the event, they expressed the greatest satisfaction, and rent the air with cries of *Vive la republique* * !

He was soon afterwards brought to Paris, and lodged in the Conciergerie till the day of his trial. The jailor gave him a good bed in his own rooms, and he appeared perfectly indifferent to his fate; ate, drank, and slept with apparent tranquillity, never speaking of public affairs †. He was at length put on his trial, together with one Coustard, also a deputy; and defended by his old agent and stedfast adherent, Voidel. The interrogatory, which is one of the iniquitous forms of Gallic jurisprudence, charged him principally with a connection with the Brissotines, and with an expression to one Poultier, a deputy, conveying an idea that he was to be king. The jury, with their customary unanimity and inattention to the prisoner's defence, found him guilty of a conspiracy against the unity and indivisibility of the republic, and he was ordered for immediate execution.

He was drawn to the *Place de la Revolution* in a cart, with four other persons, who displayed the most dreadful apprehensions; but, on this awful occasion, Orleans exhibited an elevation of mind, which, had it been his portion in more prosperous days, would have insured him happiness and reputation. His being intended for execution on that day was so little known in Paris, that very few people were present when first he ascended the cart, but the rumour soon flew and attracted innumerable gazers. They reproached him

* Debates.

† Proces des Bourbons, vol. iii. p. 158.

in the coarsest terms with all the crimes of his past life, his debaucheries, his assassinations, his perfidy, his vote against the king, every thing memory could suggest. When the cart reached the *palais royal*, with a refinement in cruelty truly Parisian, they made it stop ten minutes, to observe the effect produced by contemplating the scene of his grandeur and debaucheries. On this great day he disappointed the hopes of malevolence; he maintained, during his whole progress, a serenity of countenance and dignity of deportment altogether princely. He looked at the *palais royal*, and read the inscription on the front denoting it to be national property, without the least apparent emotion. The populace, disappointed of their expected entertainment, at length permitted him to proceed. At a small distance from the place of execution he entered into conversation with a priest who was allowed to attend the prisoners, and so continued till he came to the foot of the scaffold, where, without losing for a moment the intrepidity so recently acquired, he submitted to the knife of the guillotine, which terminated his existence in the forty-seventh year of his age, in less than ten months after the murder of the king, which he had occasioned by so much expence, so much intrigue, and so many crimes. His body was thrown without distinction amid the crowd of carcases which daily butchery consigned to the burying-ground of St. Mary Magdalen.

Thus perished this abandoned prince, whom it is now a common mode of speech to call *the monster Egalité*. He subverted a throne without courage or consistency sufficient to avail himself of the result of his own efforts; and squandered an immense fortune with so little judgment, that at his death he scarcely possessed a single friend. He was tacitly excepted, after the fall of Robespierre from the vote of censure which the *moderés* caused to be passed on the murderers of the other deputies, as no one had integrity or courage enough to propose including him in the list. His name will remain to posterity a perpetual warning to individuals of overgrown property, against the folly of entering into popular conspiracies, and becoming the dupes of men of desperate fortune and daring ambition *.

Fall and Death of Robespierre.
From the same.

In the midst of the horrors he excited, of the executions with which he ensanguined his native land, hardened against the impressions of self-abhorrence, which a consciousness of his unrelenting savageness ought to have inspired, Robespierre had the incredible assurance to propose a festival in honour of the Supreme Being, that creative power, who even in the majesty of offended justice, *de-*

* Playfair, alluding to his firmness on the day of his death, with great justice and considerable humour says, "the Duke of Orleans was a coward from calculation, rather than from nature. When there was any mode of escaping, or when he had an alternative, he never risked himself." History of Jacobinism, p. 604. n.

sireth not the death of a sinner, and to propose himself as high-priest on the occasion. In a prepared speech, replete with affectation, he asserted, as if it were a discovery of his own, the existence of a Deity, and the immortality of the soul; and enforced the doctrine with those trite topics which would hardly be thought worthy to fill a page of a school-boy's exercise, expressed in all the florid pomposity of self-conceit, and uttered in the complacent accents of self-applause. This festival actually took place; David the painter arranged the order of the procession, the decorations of the altar, the ornaments of the houses, and the whole *spectacle* of the *Champ de Mars*. The following animated and accurate description of it is taken from the Letters of Miss Williams *. "David, ever ready to fulfil the mandates of his master, Robespierre, steps forth, marshals the procession, and, like the herald in Othello, orders every man to put himself into triumph!—At this spot, by David's command, the mothers are to embrace their daughters—at that, the fathers are to clasp their sons—here the old are to bless the young, and there the young are to kneel to the old—upon this boulevard the people are to sing—upon that, they must dance—at noon they must listen in silence, and at sun-set they must rend the air with acclamations.——The citizens of Paris had been invited, and the invitation amounted to a command, to decorate their houses in honour of the festival. Accordingly Paris on that morning, lighted up by brilliant sun-shine, presented the most gay and charming spectacle imaginable. Woods had been robbed of their shade, and gardens, to the extent of some leagues, rifled of their sweets, in order to adorn the city. The walls of every house were covered with luxuriant wreathes of oak and laurel blended with flowers; civic crowns were interwoven with national ribbands; three-coloured flags waved over every portal; and the whole was arranged with that light and airy grace which belongs to Parisian fancy. The women wore garlands of fresh-blown roses in their hair, and held branches of palm or laurel in their hands; the men placed oaken boughs in their hats, and children strewed the way with violets and myrtle. The representatives of the people had large three-coloured plumes in their hats, national scarfs thrown across their shoulders, and nosegays of blended wheatears, fruits, and flowers in their hands, as symbols of their mission. A great amphitheatre was raised on the garden of the Thuilleries immediately before the palace, now the seat of the convention. Upon a tribune in the centre of the theatre, Robespierre, as president of the convention, appeared; and having for a few hours disencumbered the square of the revolution of the guillotine, this high-priest of Moloch, within view of that very spot where his daily sacrifice of human victims was offered up, covered with their blood, invoked the Parent of universal nature, talked of the charms of virtue, and breathed the hope of

* Letters in 1794, vol. ii. p. 86.

immortality. When the foul fiend had finished this impious mockery, he descended from the tribune, and walked with great solemnity towards a grotesque kind of monument that was raised upon the bason in the front of the palace, which had been covered over for that purpose. On this monument was placed a mis-shapen and hideous figure, with ass's ears, which for some hours served as an enigma to the gaping crowd, who knew not how to account for this singular appearance; till Robespierre having set fire to this image of deformity, which was declared to be the symbol of atheism, its cumbrous drapery suddenly vanished, and a fair and majestic form was discovered, emblematical of wisdom and philosophy. Atheism being thus happily destroyed, the convention, attended by a numerous procession of people, and preceded by triumphal cars and banners, marched to the *Champ de Mars*, where, with much toil and cost, a rocky mountain had been reared, upon whose lofty summit the tyrant and his attendants climbed, and from whence he once more harangued the people; and the festival closed with hymns and choral songs in honour of the Supreme Being."

While this execrable monster, by this sacrilegious ceremony, seemed to place himself point-blank in the very aim of the vengeance of an offended Deity; while making his puerile harangue, he waved in one of his blood-stained hands a nosegay, in the other his hat: doubtless many who had to require of him the blood of parents, children, relations, and friends, lifted up their hands to the God he profaned in ardent and pious ejaculation for an emanation of divine wrath to rid the earth of its greatest pest. Their prayers were heard; from that day he seems to have stood marked as a person on whom the stroke of Death was ready to descend. In the progress of the festival, he gave much offence by affecting to walk at the head, and at some distance from his colleagues. He had put them out of temper by a childish display of vanity in keeping them and the impatient spectators waiting two hours after the appointed time before he made his appearance. A feeble attempt was made by some of his most resolute partisans to raise a cry of "*Vive Robespierre!*" but it was not re-echoed by the multitude.

The motives of Robespierre's conduct during the latter part of his life are involved in a considerable degree of obscurity, they form a riddle which it is not easy to solve. The power he already possessed so extensive, so apparently stable, left him nothing to desire, unless it were a greater name, as that of king, dictator, protector, or perpetual president; but to have attained that end it was necessary to have conciliated the affections of the people, by remitting in some degree the operation of terror. So far was he from doing this, that every day presented an enlarged list of victims to his rage for blood, and measures were in agitation to increase still more the exterminating power of the revolutionary tribunal. If his own safety prompted him to measures so destructive, he ought not to have remained so long as he did indifferent to the

movements of the junto he saw forming in the convention against him. It is said that a party, headed by Bentabole, and consisting of Collot d'Herbois, Vadier, and Tallien, had been leagued together for some months, and that these men had resolved, if other means failed, to assassinate Robespierre in the convention *; but there is much improbability in the account. Two days after the festival, an abridgment of his power took place, which ought to have convinced him of the decline of his influence, and urged him to its re-establishment by some speedy and effectual stroke. The act alluded to is that which deprived the committees of public safety and of general security, of the power of sending members of the convention to trial before the revolutionary tribunal, till that body should have framed the articles of their accusation. Robespierre's conduct on this occasion shews the littleness of his mind; incapable of preparing, combining, and maturing a conspiracy, but accustomed to lurk in a recess during the hurricane, and afterwards to come forward and assume to himself the credit, that he might derive advantage from the event, he, on this occasion, left the front of the battle to his partisans, and for four decades absented himself from the committees and the convention. His pusillanimity confounded his partisans; the committee of general security was inimical to him, and he meditated their destruction, but had not time to effect it. In the committee of public safety a strong party was formed against him, he knew their intentions, and included their names in one of his lists of proscription; this list was found in the hands of one of the revolutionary jury who had been arrested, and by alarming the fears of those whose names were inscribed in it, accelerated the event of an open rupture. The Jacobins, amongst whom were a great many of the friends of Danton, and many confidants of the proscribed deputies, were not disposed to enter into all the views of Robespierre with so much ardour as he wished. They maintained, on many occasions, a torpid indifference, which drew on them the reproaches of the younger Robespierre. The ingratitude of Maximilian was now about to be thoroughly and severely punished. The energy and resolution of Danton, the eloquence of Camille Desmoulins, and the address of Fabre d'Eglantine were wanting to him in this emergency, and very ill supplied by the brutality and inconsiderateness of Henriot, the vulgarity and heavy ignorance of Couthon and St. Just, and the negative assistance and studiously concealed services of the abbe Syeyes and la Clos†. Yet to triumph over the tyrant was not a matter of facility; the habitual deference paid him, the strength of his party, united by a guilty fear, and the disunion of his opponents, occasioned by terror, rendered the event of a contest extremely precarious. He was known to possess an unlimited influence over the national guard, and the camps in the vicinity of Paris were

* Suite de l'Etat de la France, p. 57.

† See Etat de la France, p. 15.

devoted to him. The party in opposition did not know their own strength; for many who inwardly hated the tyrant, and saw in his destruction their only hope of safety, externally paid him the most servile homage, and, as well in his absence as when he was present, made his praises their favourite theme.

At length, he himself threw down the gauntlet of hostility. He appeared in the tribune of the convention after a long secession, and in a prolix, ill connected speech, complained of the treatment he received from intriguers and calumniators, both abroad and at home; at the head of those abroad he placed the Duke of York and Pitt; those at home he would not name, but intimated so strongly certain members of the convention, that several rose to exculpate themselves. The other party, thus called upon, were obliged to put themselves in a state of defence; Bourdon de l'Oise moved that the speech might be referred to the committees previous to its being printed; Cambon and Vadier complained of Robespierre's insinuations against them: Couthon defended Robespierre, reprobated the system of calumny which prevailed, insisted that a line of demarcation should be drawn between the patriots and the intriguers, and that the speech should be printed without being referred to the committees. A tumultuous debate ensued, in which Freron demanded the exemption of the members from arrest, adding, that no man could speak freely while influenced by that fear. Billaud de Varennes answered him with a logic altogether singular, that he, whom fear hindered from delivering his opinion, was unworthy the title of representative of the people. Barrere spoke a few words perfectly equivocal; in the end, however, the matter took a favourable turn for the usurper; the printing of his speech was ordered unconditionally. From the convention he hastened to read his speech at the Jacobins, where it excited a general enthusiasm in his favour. Couthon denounced the two committees as traitors; Coffinhal proposed the purification of the convention, which was well understood to import the destruction of all the members except those devoted to his patron; and David, embracing Robespierre, promised if he drank hemlock, to drink it with him.

The imminence of the danger could not arouse the opponents of Robespierre to a decisive mode of conduct. The convention met the next day, and business was proceeding in its usual channel, till St. Just, instigated by his evil genius, ascended the tribune, and after stating that the committees of government had directed him to make a report on the state of the country, added, that their remedies were inefficient for the existing grievances, and he would speak to the convention from himself.—Tallien pushed him from the tribune, complained of the audacity of individuals in attacking government, and demanded that the veil should be withdrawn.—He was interrupted by Billaud de Varennes, who, from his seat, demanded an unequivocal explanation. He stated that the convention was between two precipices;

the public force was in the hands of a man denounced by the committee, but who was retained in his command by an individual—that individual had for more than a month past plotted the dissolution of the convention: that individual was Robespierre. He deprecated tyranny, and asked if any members present would wish to live under it. Robespierre was, at first, thunderstruck; he afterwards endeavoured to speak, but was prevented by the menaces of Tallien, who drawing a dagger, and brandishing it in the eyes of his colleagues, said he would destroy him with it unless the convention delivered him to the sword of justice. After some amplification, he moved that the sitting should be declared permanent. His efforts were seconded by Delmas and Barrere, by Billaud and Collot d'Herbois, who was president. They obtained a decree for the arrestation of Henriot, d'Aubigni, Lavalette, Dufraisse, all the staff of the national guard, and a man of the name of Sijas; but they had not yet the courage to arrest the tyrant himself. While the president was arranging these decrees, Robespierre got possession of the tribune, but they would not permit him to utter a word: "Down with him! down with Cromwell!" resounded from every quarter. As he persevered in his efforts to obtain a hearing, a member said to him; "Robespierre, you shall not speak; the blood of Danton is upon your head, it flows into your throat, it choaks you!" "Ah, ah! (exclaimed he grinding his teeth and foaming with rage,) Ah, ah! robbers, it is Danton, then." —He was heard no more; Vadier interrupted him, and made a speech wherein he unfolded his tyranny and all his iniquities: this blow completely overpowered him; he cast a look of piercing indignation towards the Mountain, and reproached their desertion; he is even said, in his extremity, to have turned to the *right side*, to solicit their protection, but in vain. Tallien and Billaud poured fresh accusations on his head with unceasing assiduity. He perceived the world sliding from under him, and that he would be speedily precipitated into the abyss of destruction: "Well! (exclaimed he in a tone of desperation,) lead me, then, to instant death." "Execrable monster! (exclaimed Dumont, with a threatening gesture,) thou hast deserved it an hundred times!" The decree for his accusation was then put and carried unanimously, and Couthon and St. Just were added. The younger Robespierre and Lebas, indignant at what was passing, insulted the convention, and threatened some of the members in such a manner as to get included in the decree of accusation. The officer who was ordered to take them into custody, and lead them to the committee of public safety, impressed with the habitual respect and fear excited by the presence of Robespierre, hesitated to obey the repeated commands of the president, and would not receive the prisoners, till the chief of them made a sign expressive of his obedience to the law, when they were all led out.

Meantime the rumour of what was doing in the convention spread all over Paris; Robespierre's partisans lost no time in endeavouring to oppose the rising storm. The

Jacobins assembled in their hall, and sent to put the sections of Paris in a state of insurrection. The *tocsin* was sounded, the *grêve* covered with armed men, and several pieces of artillery planted on the Quai Pelletier, threatening the hall of the convention; the barriers were shut, and Henriot, who had been arrested and had escaped, was indefatigable in collecting an armed force to resist the execution of the decree. The keepers of the various prisons, participating in the general dread excited by his name, had refused to receive Robespierre and the other deputies, who were speedily rescued from their guard, and having opened a sitting at the *hotel-de-ville*, outlawed the national convention. After spending much time in debate, which conspirators of only moderate talents would have employed much more effectually, they sent a part of the armed force, and Henriot at their head, to dissolve the convention. But that body, convinced that they were struggling for their lives, had in the time so foolishly wasted by their opponents, concerted measures against them; Legendre had dispersed the Jacobin club, seven deputies were sent into the various parts of the city with a proclamation, explaining the true state of things; a decree of outlawry was passed against the commune, and when Henriot, at the head of his troop, made his appearance in the court-yard of the Tuilleries, they put him *out of the law* also. The effect operated like electricity; his soldiers, panic-struck, refused to obey his orders, and the people demanded his arrestation; confused and abashed, he hastened to the *hotel-de-ville*, and informed his comrades of his ill-success. The convention, seeing the operation of their new engine, proclaimed sentence of outlawry against Robespierre and all his associates, and set a price on their heads. The seven deputies had succeeded in raising a party of the armed inhabitants of Paris in their favour, and with these, reinforced by some soldiers, who remained faithful to the national representation, they found themselves able, at about three o'clock in the morning, to march against the commune, having first persuaded the cannonneers at the Quai Pelletier to resist the commands of Henriot, who was now *out of the law*, and to join them. The *hotel-de-ville* might have made a powerful resistance, and perhaps have turned the tide of success; but the soldiers of the national guard, hearing that the commune and the deputies there assembled were outlawed, refused obedience; the cannonneers were differently disposed, but the furious mob had obtained possession of the gun-carriages, and used them as ladders to enable them to look into the windows of the *hotel-de-ville*, to see how the conspirators behaved in this emergency. Bourdon de l'Oise, having read to the people the proclamation of outlawry, rushed into the *hotel-de-ville*, armed with a sabre and pistols, and followed by a considerable force. The discomfited confederates were most of them taken on the spot, a few escaped, but were speedily brought to justice.

Robespierre was found in one of the apartments of the *hotel-de-ville*, sitting squat against a wall

with a knife in his hand, apparently intended for the purpose of self-destruction, but which he durst not use. A soldier who found him, apprehending some resistance, fired two pistols at him, one of which wounded him on the head, the other broke his under jaw; he was taken and conducted before the committee of general security in a Morocco-covered arm chair, his broken jaw bound up with a cloth, passed under his chin, and tied at the top of his head. As he was carried along in this condition, he rested his chin on a handkerchief which he held in his right hand, while the elbow was supported by his left. A message was sent to the convention to know if he should be brought to the bar, but the members unanimously exclaimed that they would no more suffer their hall to be polluted by the presence of such a monster. He lay for some hours in an anti-chamber of the committee of general security stretched on a table, motionless, apparently insensible of corporeal anguish, though the blood flowed in streams from his eyes, mouth, and nostrils, but torn with racking recollections, and abandoned to remorse, he pinched his thighs with convulsive agony, and scowled gloomily around the room, when he fancied himself unobserved. After enduring, in this situation, the taunts of all who beheld him, he was replaced in the arm-chair, and carried to the hospital, called the *hotel-de-Dieu*, where his wounds were dressed, merely to prolong his existence, and from thence was sent to the prison of the Conciergerie. He was brought before the revolutionary tribunal the same day, together with his accomplices, in number twenty-one; as they were all out of the law, the identification of their persons alone was necessary, and sentence of death was demanded against them by their former friend and creature Fouquier Tainville, the public accuser. In the evening of the same day, at about five o'clock, they were conducted to the place of execution, amidst the acclamations of numerous spectators, who considered the procession before them as the earnest of future happiness. The streets, the windows, and the roofs of the houses were crowded; even the guard who escorted them partook of the general transport; and, which they were never before known to do, joined the cry of *Vive la convention!* A group of women stopped the carts and danced around them to testify their joy.

During this fatal progress, Robespierre, pale and disfigured, held down his head on his breast, and never looked up except once, when a woman, decently dressed, approached the cart and uttered those heart-piercing exclamations, and deep-drawn maledictions, which put it almost beyond conjecture that she was a mother whom his cruelty had deprived of a son, or a widow from whom he had snatched her husband; at hearing her horrible denunciations, Robespierre turned his eyes languidly towards her, and shrugged up his shoulders. He suffered last but one; when he was about to be tied to the fatal plank, the executioner snatched the dressing from his broken jaw, which immediately fell, and a profusion of blood gushed out; the horrible

chasm occasioned by the width of his mouth, owing to this accident, rendered his head, when held up by the executioner, the most terrible and disgusting spectacle which can be imagined *.

Thus perished Maximilian Robespierre, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. His life had been for some time past a perpetual provocation of the thunder of the Omnipotent; and his death afforded, in all its circumstances, a most ample vindication of eternal justice. He was cut off in the prime of life, and at the height of unexpected exaltation meditating new crimes, and unrepentant of those he had already committed. He who had shed blood with unexampled profusion, went to the scaffold covered with his own blood; he who had banished from France the sentiment of humanity, was in his last hour overwhelmed with insult, reproach, scorn, and cruelty; he whose life had been a scene of the most atrocious perfidy and ingratitude, died renounced by all mankind, and his death was called for by a man he himself had put into office, and on whom he relied as a friend; he who had abrogated every form of jurisprudential proceeding, was led to execution without the ceremony of a trial. Even the minuter circumstances of his fate were not without a moral. In the prison of the Conciergerie, could he avoid thinking of the persecuted queen whom he had so long shut up there? Must not the sight of the guillotine have conjured up to his imagination an immense crowd of innocent victims, with his murdered sovereigns at their head, clamouring to heaven for vengeance? It is even worthy of observation, that the coat he wore when he was thus called before his Maker, with "his crimes full blown, and all his imperfections on his head," was the same he had worn when wantonly and sacrilegiously he obtruded himself into his sacred presence, and profaned the land where Christianity had been professed, with a mock-festival.

The person of Robespierre was short and puny, and he was of a tender constitution. His complexion was livid and cadaverous, his features harsh and forbidding. The smile of confidence never rested on his lips, but they were almost always contracted by the sour grin of envy aiming to appear disdain. His eye was dead and sunk, except when his irascible propensities were aroused by opposition or the desire of vengeance, and then his look assumed a ferocity so singular, as to lead an accurate observer to compare his general aspect to that of the cat-tyger. Reserved in his temper, and rarely addicted to excess, he never was betrayed into any of those weak efforts of confidence which arise from an unreserved indulgence in love and friendship, and very seldom into those which result from conviviality. His dissimulation was excessive; and he was so ap-

* For the account of Robespierre's decline and fall, with all the antecedent and attendant circumstances, see Conspiracy of Robespierre; Debates; Miss Williams's Letters in 1794, vol. iii. p. 158. 168. et seq.; Pages, vol. ii. p. 201 to 223; New Annual Register for 1794, p. 369 to 381.; Necker on the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 35 to 44.; Playfair's History of Jacobinism, p. 680 to 699.

prehensive of the sentiments of his mind being read in his eyes, that he commonly wore green spectacles, and, on some occasions, covered his eyes with his hands. Ever desirous of admiration, he would not, even when the rage of equality was at its greatest pitch, degrade himself by assuming the blue pantaloon, red cap, and dirty linen; on the contrary, though the word *muscadin* was a term of proscription, he was always well dressed, and sometimes elegantly. Though forbid by nature to riot in the excesses of sensual enjoyment, he was ambitious, even to coquetry, of being admired by the fair sex; and succeeded so far that they were amongst his most zealous partisans. In the earlier part of his life he was supple, insinuating, and complaisant, but latterly uncontrolled power had carried the ferocity of his temper to the excess of unrestrained violence in speech. Whoever contradicted or displeased him was assailed with the coarsest invective; an indecorum which, acting on Gallic sensibility, probably increased the rage of his enemies, and accelerated his fall. Of the extent and nature of his abilities, his life affords a sufficient display. Condorcet estimated them justly when he said, "The French revolution is a religion, in which Robespierre is the leader of a sect; he has all the characteristics, not of the founder of a religion, but the leader of a schism." He possessed considerable vigour of mind, though not sufficient to entitle him to a comparison with Cromwell. His eloquence has been already noticed; its characteristic is elegance rather than closeness of reasoning; he had improved very much from the time of his coming to Paris as a deputy; his enemies, therefore, chose to characterise him by his earlier efforts, rather than those made at a more advanced period. He is described, in the New Annual Register, as being more a statesman than an orator*; I think exactly the reverse: his ideas on negro emancipation, on the penalty of death, on subsistence, and in almost every other particular where he affected to legislate, will sufficiently prove that his rhetoric was superior to his judgment. His ingratitude, and the facility and indifference with which he abandoned, and even sacrificed his friends and former coadjutors, were his constant characteristics. His want of personal courage was remarkable, and bore an exact proportion to his savage and unrelenting cruelty. He was disinterested to a certain degree; that is to say, without children, without affections, he took no pleasure in the sordid folly of amassing unnecessary wealth; but in his life he maintained much more splendor and elegance than a man without patrimony or employment could derive from the salary allowed to a deputy; and though he did not outrage decency by a display of inordinate luxury, he lived in a style equal to his exaltation in other respects. His self-denial in matters of sensuality, arising from the formation of his person, and made conspicuous by an affecta-

* For 1794, p. 283.

tion of austerity, procured him the name of Cato; after his fall he was denominated Catiline, and has been compared to Cromwell; but he is not worthy to associate with either character *. He owed his elevation to accident rather than design, and lost it through his vanity, treachery, and cowardice. His vanity and treachery made him, thinking himself all-sufficient, destroy his only friends; his cowardice rendered him incapable of those exertions which might have turned the impending storm on the heads of his adversaries. His conduct in the great crisis which decided his fate was astonishingly weak and imprudent. When he went to the convention on the 26th of July, he was well apprised of the party which was formed against him, yet he omitted his customary precautions; he had not prepared the tribunes to applaud his speech; he had appointed no clamorous *sans-culottes* to drown the voices of his opponents; no armed ruffians to terrify them in their approach to and passage from the hall. On the 27th, though he must have known that the manner in which his cause was taken up at the Jacobins would bring the contest to an issue, no preparations were made; even his own party were uninstructed how to act. St. Just, uncalled, began a speech in the tribune, which rendered the opposing party furious; Robespierre's adherents out of doors were unprepared; the voice of rumour was the alarm-bell of the Jacobins; and, when they were assembled, the armed force was yet to provide, and yet to seduce. This surprising want of foresight proves that Robespierre owed his elevation to accident and the operations of others, and that he was deficient in the genius, courage, and conduct requisite to form an illustrious chief of a party.

Biographical Anecdotes of the late Tippoo Sultaun; together with an Account of his Revenues, Establishment of his Troops, &c. Taken from the Information of one of Tippoo's Officers, written in the Year 1790, and translated from the Persian, by Captain James Achilles Kirkpatrick. With his Character, by the Editor of the Asiatic Annual Register for this Year.

Tippoo Sultaun is about 43 years of age: his constitution is much impaired: he is subject to two disorders, the frequent return of which obliges him to take medicine daily.

He is from five feet eight to nine inches high; is now rather inclined to fat, although, a few years since, he was very thin; his face is round, with large full eyes; and there is much animation and fire in his countenance: he wears whiskers, but no beard: he is very active, and sometimes takes long walks.

* For descriptions of his person and manners, and remarks on his character, see Roland's Appeal, vol. i. p. 58.; Moore's Journal, vol. i. p. 338. vol. ii. p. 239.; Pages, vol. ii. 17. 21, 22.; New Annual Register for 1794, p. 381, 382, 383.; Necker on the Revolution, vol. ii. p. 37. 39.; Etat de la France, p. 11, 15, 16.; Garat's Memoirs, p. 226.

He has eleven children, of whom only two are in marriage; the elder, a girl of seven years; the younger, a boy of four years.

The eldest of his natural children, is a girl of seventeen years; the second, a son of fifteen years —He is a great favourite, and accompanies his father upon all occasions—his name his Gullaum Heyder. Another son, Abdul Khalick, is ten years old.

His disposition is naturally cruel: his temper is passionate and revengeful; and he is prone to be abusive; and his words are false and hypocritical, as suit his purposes.

His policy, thus far differing widely from his father, has been ruinous to his revenues, as well as hurtful to his government. He professes himself Naib to one of the *twelve Prophets*, who, the Mahomedans believe, are yet to come; and he persecutes all other casts; forcing numbers to become Mussulmen. He is jealous of, and prejudiced against, his father's favourites; most of whom he has removed from their offices, giving to some lesser appointments. When compared to his father, his understanding and judgment are supposed to be inferior: he is esteemed as good a soldier, but a less skilful general; and he is wanting in that great resource which his father so eminently displayed in all cases of danger. His father discriminated merit, rewarded it liberally, and punished guilt with the utmost rigour of a despot: he gives little encouragement or reward; and he punishes more from the influence of passion and prejudice than from any attention to justice. His father was assiduous in gaining the attachment of his army; he is rather negligent of it; and being very parsimonious, he is led to impose upon his troops, whenever opportunities offer: he sometimes retains their pay for several months, and has his own socars to lend his money at an enormous interest, which is stopped when the pay is issued.

On Tippoo's return to Seringapatam, after the conclusion of the war with the English, he took an inventory of his property of every kind, which, in treasure and various other articles, on valuation, stood at twenty crores of pagodas: in the treasury, Bahaudry pagodas (four rupees each), five crores: the remaining fifteen crores were in jewels, valuable clothes, &c. &c.; and

Elephants	700
Camels	6,000
Horses	11,000
Bullocks and cows	400,000
Buffaloes	100,000
Sheep	600,000
Firelocks	300,000
Matchlocks	300,000
Swords and cresses	200,000
Guns in Seringapatam, of different calibres, a few of which are Malabar	1,000
Guns in other forts	1,000

The treasure, and other valuable property, is now kept entirely at Seringapatam. Formerly some part of it was kept in Biddinore, and it is said, that at the time of general Matthew's taking it, there was a treasure of twenty-five lacks of pagodas, besides four crores of pagodas value, in gold, silver, &c.

The full collections amounted to five crores and ninety-two lacks of Cunterary pagodas (of three rupees each); the expense of sebundy, &c. one and a half crore; deficiencies in the collections, from various causes, which lay over, sixty lacks; for building and repairing forts, making docks, and building ships, one crore and eighty-two lacks; paid into the treasury, two crores. Total, five crores and ninety-two lacks.

Since Tippoo assumed the government, the revenues have diminished greatly, in consequence of his having adopted a different policy from his father. He removed from the hamauldaries, all the Brahmans, and others of the Hindû cast, who were well versed in country business, and put Mussulmen in their places. He forbade the sale of arrack and gunja throughout his dominions, which had produced a very considerable revenue to the circar. He removed, from the Biddinore and Soanda countries, about 70,000 Christian inhabitants, who were the cultivators of the ground, by which the revenues of these countries sustained a great loss. The Biddinore country alone yielded to Hyder a net revenue of eighteen lacks of pagodas: it has since fallen to ten lacks. From these and other causes, arising from bad management, Tippoo's revenues have been greatly diminished; insomuch that his net revenue did not exceed, after the foregoing deductions, the first year, one and a half crore, instead of two, as in his father's time; and every succeeding year only one crore. He has not thrown any money into the standing treasury since his government, and he has drawn from it fifty lacks of pagodas.

Since the conclusion of the late war, he has thrown into Seringapatam, provisions for 100,000 men, for twelve months; and into his other forts, provisions in proportion to their strength and importance: and as a precaution to prevent treachery, he has appointed, to some of his principal forts, six killedars; to others, three; to others, two; such as are not intended for defence have only one. Although all these are commonly called killedars, yet, properly speaking, there is but one killedar; the others go under the denomination of munshoor (or counsellors). The first is buckshy, or commander of the sepoys; the second, buckshy of the peons; the third, buckshy of the commatties and artificers; the fourth darogah, in charge of the works; the fifth, darogah, for superintending the making of bricks and chunam.—When Tippoo writes, he addresses the killedar and munshuraun; when they write to him, it is, in like manner, from the killedar and munshuraun: they have all their respective orders from the circar; and each is at liberty to detect the other, if any thing is done contrary to order.

The Establishment of his Forces.

Cavalry.

His own stable, horse for service	7000
Hired horse	12,000
Total	19,000

Artillery.	
Golandauze - -	2000
Lascars for the guns -	8000
Total	10,000
European Artillery, two companies - -	30

Infantry.	
Assadoulla, or Chelys from the Carnatic -	2,500
Ditto, from Chittledurg	500
Ahmuddy, or Christians from Biddinore -	1,500
Mahomedy, Chelys, from Coerg - - -	1,500
Dismounted troopers -	8,000
Sepoys - - - -	55,000
Total	69,000
Fighting Peons - -	40,000
Rocket-men - - -	5,000
Total	45,000
Commatties - -	10,000
Peons for carrying dooleys, &c. and working at the roads with the Commatties - -	60,000
Total	70,000
Two Rissallas of Topasses, one of them having a company of Europeans attached to it of 100 strong - -	900

Lally's Party.	
European Cavalry, one troop - - -	50
Ditto Infantry, intermixed with country-born -	180
Topasses - - - -	150
Sepoys - - - -	250
Total	630

With the party, 1 six pounder.

Tippoo has made great alterations in the establishment of his troops. His father was partial to his cavalry, and kept up a much larger body than he does: he is partial to his infantry, and has made great augmentation to them: 5000 of his own stable horse are formed and trained regularly, and 2000 are as Mogul horse; and there are not above 3000 of the hired horse that can be called good cavalry, the rest are more of the plundering kind. He has adopted Persian terms for the words of command, which were heretofore given partly in English and partly in French; he has also altered the terms for the formation of the troops. In the cavalry, a troop (95 strong) is called a *yews;* the subidar, a *yewsdar;* a jemidar, *surkele:* a regiment (four yews) is called a *tub;* the commandant, *tubdar;* a *mowkoub* is composed of four tubs; the commander, *mowkoubdar:* the troopers are called *oskur.* In the infantry, a company (125 strong) is called a *jowk;* the subidar, *jowkdar;* a jemidar, *surkele:* a battalion of four jowks is called a *rissallas;* the sepoys are called *jish.* A sentinel is called *ezuddar;* the rounds, *kirwaun;* the parole, *nishane;* a guard, *munkulla;* each tub has two galloper-guns, three pounders, and each rissalla has two six pounders. A *koushoun*, or legion, is composed of one tub

of cavalry, four rissallas of infantry, and two eighteen pounders. The galloppers are drawn by mules, and all the draught cattle belong to the circar. Each koushoun has an elephant attached to it, which is harnessed like a horse, to assist the guns through difficulties. The cavalry and infantry are clothed alike, in a striped blue and white stuff, of country manufacture. The artillery have also a cotton stuff, white ground, with large round blue spots.

The Manner of his passing his Time in Camp.

He rises sometimes at 7 o'clock, but more commonly at eight or nine in the morning; on halting days, washes and takes medicines; the barber then begins to shave him, during which the head aukbar neoise, or news-writer, comes in with the letters that have arrived by the tappauls, and relates the news of the different countries, as he has received it. The officer commanding his guard then comes in, and makes his report; after which the adjutants of corps come, and make a report of their respective corps. About twelve o'clock he goes to dinner, which is over in about an hour: he then holds his durbar, and transacts all business, civil and military, until five o'clock: he then gives out the parole, which he takes from the planets, or signs of the zodiac, writing it himself in a book, which is deposited with his own guard, where the adjutant-general (for each cutcherry has an adjutant-general) comes and takes it; after which he lays down and sleeps about an hour, rises, and makes his second meal: the mounchies, or secretaries, are then called in; they read the letters that have been received during the day, and he gives his orders for answering them:—all this done, and the letters prepared for dispatch, about two or three in the morning he goes to rest. On marching days, where there is no immediate exigency, the army seldom moves before eight o'clock, after Tippoo has taken his breakfast: he goes in his palankeen, on the march; and if any thing particular occurs, he immediately mounts his horse. The order of march is varied according to circumstances; during his late war against the Mahrattas, as they were greatly superior to him in cavalry, his infantry marched in four columns,

thus with the cavalry and baggage in the centre: he encamps in a square; his infantry and guns occupying the four faces—the cavalry, within the square; each face has an open street in its centre, with a buzzar. A koushoun forms the picquet of the front face, and is advanced from twelve to fifteen hundred paces; a rissalla is advanced from it, about five hundred paces; and on the march all these picquets from the advance and rear guards, and flanking guards to the columns. The infantry are disencumbered of their baggage on the march, bullocks being allowed by the circar for carrying it.

The army marches, in common, about four coss Sultany *; in expedition, the whole army marches

* The Sultany coss has been established by Tippoo; and the principal roads through his dominions have three trees, of particular kinds, planted on one side, to make the coss. The Carnatic coss is about 2½ miles; the Cunteary, or old Mysore coss, is about three miles; the Sultany coss is about four miles.

about six or seven coss Sultany; but a body of horse only, in order to make a push, have gone, in little more than a day and a night, a very considerable distance. During the late war in the Carnatic, Hyder marched with a body of horse, from Oombly, near Tritchinopoly, to Chillimbrum, in 27 hours; he moved off at three o'clock in the morning, and at seven the next morning, he reached Chillimbrum, a distance of about seven gow, or twenty-eight coss, equal to seventy miles; the third day his infantry and guns came up. At the commencement of Tippoo's late war against the Mahrattas, he lay with his army at Perour, in the Riadurg country: marching at three o'clock in the morning, he arrived, at seven o'clock the next morning, at Kirchungood, near to Adoni, and attacked a body of 4000 Mahratta plunderers.

He keeps in his pay 300 hircarrahs, at three pagodas a month each: such as prove themselves most active and clever, are employed for intelligence. Besides these, he stations news-writers in such principal places as he thinks necessary; and these are instructed to write in the style of soucars, and the intelligence required is made applicable to the coins, &c. treated of; so that if a letter is intercepted, no discovery is made: should there be any thing that cannot be so introduced, it is given verbally to the bearer of the letter. Tippoo seldom rewards with presents; and when he does, they are very trifling, perhaps not more than five rupees.

These anecdotes place the character of Tippoo Sultaun in its true light. His abilities have undoubtedly been over-rated. He was neither so wise a statesman, nor so able a general, as he has been represented. Though he possessed a considerable share of prudence, and was not wanting either in promptitude or judgement, yet was he greatly deficient in that comprehension and vigour of mind, which are essential ingredients in the composition of all true greatness. Selfish, cunning, and rapacious, in government as well as in war, he acted upon narrow principles.

His Revenue Regulations *, which are certainly framed with great ability, and which seem well calculated to enrich both the prince and people, were frustrated in their operation by his shifting and shallow policy. As a warrior, he was brave, cautious, and intrepid: but his courage was tinctured with ferocity; and his firmness proceeded from obstinacy rather than from a just confidence in his own powers; and he never displayed any depth of foresight, or spirit of enterprize. As a politician, he shewed little discernment, and less sagacity: though his understanding was full of artifice, he seldom employed it suc-

* See the Mysorean Revenue Regulations, translated by Burrish Crisp, Esq. from the Persian original, under the seal of Tippoo Sultaun, in the possession of Col. John Murray.—See also, a Dissertation on the Revenues of Mysore, at once luminous and concise, in historical and political view of the Deccan, by James Grant, Esq. Printed for J. Debrett, 1797.

cessfully; and the schemes which he laid to over-reach his enemies, generally proved abortive. Cruel in his disposition, and impetuous in his temper, he was often guilty of enormous acts of tyranny; though, for the most part, his prudence taught him to rule over his own subjects with a degree of justice, that rendered them less oppressed than those of any other Mohamedan prince in India. Tippoo was ambitious to surpass his father in every thing; and he had the vanity to imagine that he was infinitely superior to that extraordinary man. But, in truth, he surpassed him in nothing but the low arts of private treachery and public intrigue. Hyder was not only endowed with great genius, but with many exalted virtues: he was a consummate statesman, an enterprising warrior, a generous conqueror, a faithful ally, a strict observer of the laws of war, a benevolent sovereign, a Mohamedan free from superstition, a steady friend, and an indulgent parent.—Tippoo's talents were not much above mediocrity; the qualities of his heart were greatly below it: in state affairs, he was narrow-minded and prejudiced: in the conduct of his army, he never shewed any masterly generalship; the few victories which he gained, were sullied with the most atrocious cruelties: in his alliances, he was faithful, out of hatred to his enemies, not from any principal of honour or integrity: in war, he disregarded almost all the rules that are observed by civilized nations: in the administration of his government, he was lenient only because it suited his own interest; in his religion he was a fierce and gloomy bigot; he was unsusceptible of friendship, and destitute of parental tenderness.—Hyder, without the benefits of education, raised himself, by the dint of his own abilities, from a private station, to the throne of a powerful kingdom. Tippoo, though instructed from his earliest youth in the art of politics, and left by his father at the head of the best disciplined army that any Indian prince had ever commanded, lost that kingdom to his posterity, and sacrificed his army, by the grossest mismanagement. Hyder had the address to render the assistance of the French subservient to his own purposes. Tippoo allowed himself to be duped by their intrigues and to be made the mere instrument of their ambitious projects.

Nor did Tippoo differ less from his father in private, than in public life. The father possessed the utmost frankness of manners, enlivened with humour and cheerfulness: the son was proud, distant, sullen, and austere. The father despised the pageantry of the eastern courts: the son maintained the pomp and haughtiness of the most voluptuous despotism. The father was liberal and sincere: the son was parsimonious and treacherous. In fine, Hyder possessed all those qualities which seem requisite for the splendid actions he performed, and who, if he had been an European instead of an Asiatic prince, would have been considered as one of the first politicians, as well as one of the greatest heroes, of any age or nation; whereas Tippoo can only be

ranked among the despots of India, as a crafty but impolitic prince, whose passions domineered over his judgment, who was ever ready to gratify his revenge at the expense of his interest, and who fell a sacrifice to his own hypocrisy.

Character of the late Pope, Pius VI. From the first Volume of Historical and Philosophical Memoirs of Pius the Sixth, and his Pontificate.

"It is, above all, in the conduct of Pius VI. in regard to the Jesuits, that the principal traits of his character are perceptible. He never cordially acquiesced in their proscription. He was sensible that the Roman pontiff had lost in them, the principal support of his power; but, at the same time, that their intriguing ambition might render them formidable. During the greater part of his reign they sometimes excited his regret, and sometimes his fears. He never dared either to protect or to prosecute them openly. They were odious to the crowned heads, whose good will it was so much his interest to conciliate. They increased the irresolution to which he was naturally inclined; and often obliged him to act with duplicity, the usual attendant upon weakness. This situation, which would have been embarrassing even to a mind far more energetic than his, gave birth to such a strange inconsistency of conduct, that those who for more than twenty years had observed him narrowly, could not at the moment of his fall, flatter themselves that they were thoroughly acquainted with his character.

"Heaven forbid, however, that we should wish to paint him in too odious colours. It would be unjust, even were he still in possession of his elevated rank. It would be base, after the catastrophe which has precipitated him from it. No; Pius VI. was neither wicked nor weak; but he had several glaring defects, which could not escape the least discerning eye; and caprices which formed a striking contrast with the majestic gravity of the part he had to play. Nobody denied him several brilliant qualities, considerable capacity, an agreeable turn of mind, manners at once noble and prepossessing, an easy and florid style of elocution, as much information as could be expected in a priest imbued with the principles of his profession, and a taste for the arts tolerably correct. Impatient, irascible, obstinate, and susceptible of prejudices, he was, however, neither obstinately rancorous, nor premeditately malevolent. Few instances can be quoted of his sensibility; many may be adduced of his good nature. In less difficult circumstances, and with means proportioned to his views, he would perhaps have passed for a prudent sovereign. But his ruling passion was an excessive love of fame, which was the principal source of his faults and of his misfortunes. It was that love of fame, which, when not joined to a strong mind, often degenerates into puerile vanity. He would have wished to signalize his pontificate in every manner, and to associate his name with the most

splendid enterprizes. His vanity which was apparent in every thing drew upon him frequent mortifications. Descended from a family scarcely noble, he plumed himself, from the very beginning of his reign, upon his illustrious race. To the modest coat of arms of his ancestors, he added all the vain embellishments of blazonry; and composed an escutcheon which afforded ample room for ridicule. It is well known that the Italian people are more apt, perhaps, than any other, to lay hold of any thing ridiculous with merciless avidity. To two wings, of which the arms of his family consisted, he added an eagle, *fleurs-de-lys*, and stars. These pompous armorial bearings were cruelly criticised in the following distich:

'Redde aquilam imperio, Francorum lilia regi,
Sidera redde polo; cætera, Brasche tua.'

'Restore your eagle to the empire; 'his lilies to the king of France; and the 'stars to heaven: the rest, Braschi, is 'your own.'

"His arms, and his name, were repeated a thousand times over in Rome, and in the rest of the ecclesiastical state. They are to be seen, not only upon the monuments which he erected, and upon such as he repaired, but even upon those in which he made the smallest change; and unless Rome be utterly destroyed, the name of *Pius Sextus*, thanks to his provident vanity! will descend to the latest posterity. While changing the Roman government, the French commissaries expunged it from all the profane monuments: but it still exists upon all the sacred edifices in which Pius VI. had the most remote concern. It was calculated in 1786, that this rage for availing himself of the slightest pretence for immortalizing his name had already cost the treasury two hundred thousand crowns. It was this incurable vanity, rather than his piety or taste for the arts, which suggested to him the idea of constructing a sacristy by the side of St. Peter's church. He there displayed a magnificence which may dazzle at first sight, but which cannot conceal its numerous defects from the eye of the connoisseur. Good taste may indeed apply to him the famous sentence pronounced by Apelles upon the Venus of a painter of his time: *you have made her fine, because you could not make her beautiful.* In like manner the sacristy of St. Peter's, which cost more than sixteen hundred thousand Roman crowns, is overloaded with all the most gaudy decorations which architecture, sculpture, gilding, and painting, can afford; but it only appears so much the meaner when compared with the superb edifice by the side of which it stands. It is the design of *Carlo Marchionni*, an architect of inferior talents, and recalls to mind the defective school of Boromini; the style being altogether low and ignoble. Its dimensions are contrary to the rules of art; and it is full of nothing but breaks, niches, and projections. The columns and the altars are in a manner, concealed in obscure corners; and the whole is surcharged with ornaments of the most tasteless kind.

"In order to erect this monument to his glory, much rather

than to that of the God whose vicar he called himself, it was necessary to pull down the temple of Venus, for which Michael Angelo had so much veneration, that he would have considered the mere idea of touching it as sacrilege.

"It may be easily conceived that Pius VI. was not sparing of inscriptions in the sacristy of St. Peter's. Over the principal entrance were inscribed these words:

"*Quod ad Templi Vaticani ornamentum publica vota flagitabant, Pius VI. Pontifex maximus, fecit perfecitque anno*, &c *.

"How great must have been his mortification, when under this inscription he found the following insolent lines:

'Publica! mentiris. Non publica vota fuêre,
Sed tumidi ingenii vota fuêre tui.'

'Thou liest! the public voice was not consulted, thou followedst the dictates of thy vanity alone.'

"That motive actuated him in all his enterprizes: before his elevation to the pontificate he had possessed the abbey of Subiaco, at the distance of twenty miles from Rome. There also he displayed, in the most expensive manner, his taste for magnificence. An abbey in which he had resided, a church in which he celebrated the holy mysteries, could not be suffered to remain in obscurity. He spent considerable sums in embellishing Subiaco; and this is not one of the smallest reproaches that may be brought against his prodigality.

"A protector of the arts, more out of ostentation than taste, he connected his name with the famous museum, which constituted one of the most beautiful and most useful ornaments of the Vatican; and the kind of glory, thence resulting to his pontificate, is not altogether usurped. That glory had tempted him when he was as yet only treasurer of the Apostolical Chamber. The famous statue of Apollo Belvedère was, in a manner, exiled, with several others, in one of the court-yards of the Vatican. Braschi suggested to Clement XIV. the idea of forming on that spot a collection of ancient monuments; and, as treasurer, presided over the first rudiments of this establishment. When seated upon the pontifical throne, he added body and consistence to his brilliant project. He built round the court-yard of the Apollo vast apartments, which he ornamented with statues, busts, terms, and *bas-reliefs*; and gave to the rich collection a title which associated his name with that of his predecessor. He called it the *Musæum-Pium-Clementinum*. That museum gradually became one of the most valuable in Europe; Pius VI. neglecting nothing to enrich it. He claimed the right of pre-emption whenever any antique was discovered; and by thus eluding the greedy interference of the antiquaries, procured monuments of art at the first hand, and at a moderate price. There it

* "What the *public voice* demanded for the decoration of the Church of the Vatican, Pius VI. sovereign pontiff, began and completed in the year, &c."

was that his vanity provided abundantly for its own gratification. Beneath each piece of sculpture which he had acquired, these words were engraved in letters of gold: *Munificentiâ Pii VI. P. M.* Most of these monuments of art stood in a bad light, and could not be seen to advantage without the assistance of a torch, the wavering gleams of which added to their beauty, by giving them life (if it may so be said); the only thing in which some of them were defective. It was thus that connoisseurs went to admire the Ganymede, the Apollo Musagetes, the Torso, the Laocoon, and above all, the famous Apollo Belvedère, which alone is worth a whole museum.

"Engravings and explanations of the principal works of art thus collected, began to be published in 1783, under the auspices of Pius VI. who was much flattered by the compliment. Lewis Myris undertook the task; and the learned Visconti, who, in the first moment of the revolution, was elevated to the consulate of Rome, added to the plates a luminous commentary, which at once proves his taste, his sagacity and his erudition. They were both, it must be confessed, powerfully seconded by the pope. The first six volumes of this work, in folio, had already appeared in 1792; and the seventh was ready when the political commotions in Italy began. All lovers of antiquity must regret the suspension of this undertaking; which does double honour to the pontificate of Pius VI.

"Wherever there was any thing more splendid than useful to be done, the zeal of that pontiff, and particularly his name, were sure to appear. Wishing to embellish the entrance of the Quirinal palace, where he resided during the summer season, he raised at great expense, in 1783, the obelisk which was lying upon the ground near the *Scala Santa*, and placed it between those two equestrian statues, that have given to the eminence on which the palace stands the name of *Monte Cavallo*.

"Though the erection of this obelisk was in itself a thing little meritorious, adulation made it serve as a pretence for lavishing upon the holy father, in pompous inscriptions, the most ridiculously bombastic praise. But the Roman people who were suffering a privation of the most necessary articles of life, while the treasury was exhausting itself in embellishing their city, did not partake of the enthusiasm felt by the authors of those inscriptions. A wag, who preferred food to obelisks, gave on this occasion a lesson to his holiness, by applying to him a well-known passage of the gospel. He wrote these words at the bottom of the obelisk:

'*Signore, di a questa pietra che divenga pane,*'

'Lord, command that these stones be made bread.'

"Pius VI. took pattern from him, whose vicar he was, and abstained from the miracle.

"This rage for putting his name every where, and for suffering his munificence to be celebrated upon the most trifling occasions, exposed him to more than one sarcasm of a similar kind. It is well known that there

was no other bread made at Rome but little round loaves, weighing a few ounces, which were called pagnotta, and which cost two baiocchi, or about two French sous a piece. The price never varied; but according as corn was more or less dear, the size of the pagnotta was diminished or increased. At a moment of scarcity, when the administrators of provisions had been obliged to make an extraordinary reduction in the weight of the pagnotta, one of those innocent malcontents, who exhale all their gall in raillery, thought proper to put an exceedingly small pagnotta into the hand of Pasquin, and to write under the statue those pompous words, so often repeated in Rome: —Munificentia Pii Sexti.

"Bells had a double title to his predilection. They were connected with that worship, by the pomp of which he was so much flattered; and the greater their size, the farther off did they announce the holy personage by whose orders they were set in motion." Malignity reproached him, in this particular, with more than one grave puerility. There was, in St. Peter's church at Rome, a bell which only weighed 21,244lb. He ordered it to be re-cast in the year 1783, with the addition of 400 quintals of metal. Three years afterwards he had another cast of 280 quintals, and christened it with great solemnity. Barbarous verses were afterwards engraved upon it, which attracted the admiration of the devout, and offended men of taste. It was loaded with valuable pearls, and decorated with eight dolphins, a crown, and a thousand other ornaments; but the founder's art had failed him: the bell had no sound. The wags made themselves merry at the expence of the bell, the founder, and the godfather. They voted that this abortion should be deposited either in the *Musæum-Pio-Clementinum*, or in the arsenal, after the example of the Abderitan sages, who were of an opinion somewhat similar in regard to a well, which was very skilfully constructed, and which wanted nothing but water.

"In general Pius VI. was not fortunate in the enterprises suggested by his vanity. The sovereigns of Rome, from the time of the emperors down to the present day, have prided themselves upon enlarging, fortifying, and embellishing the port of Ancona. The ruins of the beautiful monument erected there by the senate in honour of Trajan, still attest the beneficence of that emperor. In modern times Clement XII. is the pope who has paid the most attention to the embellishment of that port. A triumphal arch erected in honour of him, opposite to that of Trajan, and his statue in marble, are testimonies of the gratitude of its inhabitants. Pius VI. wished also to give a lustre to his pontificate, by making some additions to the works of his predecessors. The port of Ancona is indebted to him for several improvements; among others, for a lighthouse: but he was still more anxious to have his statue erected there than to deserve it. In 1789, while the workmen were employed on it, part of the scaffolding gave way, and killed a great number of them. This

accident joined to so many others, was considered as a bad omen; and in fact Pius VI. was now approaching the era of his greatest misfortunes.

"But it was in the performance of his pontifical functions, above all, that his taste for ostentation was displayed; and that his vanity found frequent opportunities of gratification. It must be confessed, that, on those occasions, he was as much favoured by nature as by the pompous ceremonies of the Roman catholic church. He was in all respects one of the handsomest men of his time. To a very lofty stature he joined a noble and expressive set of features, and a florid complexion, which the hand of Time itself seemed to spare. He contrived to wear his pontifical habits in such a way, that they deprived him of none of his personal advantages. In every thing he did he displayed them with a refinement of coquetry which gave great scope to ridicule. When elevated to the papacy, he had, in conformity with a custom that had grown into a law, laid aside the peruke, which he wore while cardinal. His forehead was entirely bald; but there remained behind, and on each side of his head, a ring of hair of the most brilliant white, which gave him a look at once noble and venerable. He had also one of the handsomest legs in Italy; and was not a little vain of it. Not wishing that his long pontifical robes should entirely conceal that part of his person, to the adorning of which he was always scrupulously attentive, he took great care to hold them up on one side, so that one of his legs was entirely exposed to view. This affected display of his hair and legs, so unworthy of a grave pontiff, gave occasion to the following distich, which, though bad enough in itself, serves, however, as a proof that no opportunity was lost of turning him into ridicule:

'*Aspice, Roma, Pium. Pius! haud est: aspice mimum—*
Luxuriante comâ, luxuriante pede.'

'Rome, look at Pius. He Pius! not indeed:
He is a comedian. Behold the display of his hair;
And see how vain he is of his leg.'

"Nothing, indeed, was more striking than to see him, on days of great parade, crowned with the triple diadem, arrayed in robes of the most dazzling white, which contrasted with the splendour of the Roman purple, soaring in a manner over a crowd of ecclesiastics of every rank, and seeming thereby to announce his sway over the universal church. On these solemn occasions all the members of the clergy came and adored him repeatedly; and each class in a different way. The cardinals were not permitted to kiss his hand till they had bowed down before his throne. The prelates and heads of orders bowed still more humbly, and only rose as high as his knees; while the inferior clergy remained at his feet. The allegory of the statuary, prostrate before the work of his own hands, was never better applied, than to this stupid veneration, particularly of the cardinals for the sovereign pontiff—the creature of their intrigues and of their caprices; in which not one of them, perhaps, seriously thought

that he saw the work of the Holy Ghost.

"It is needless to say with what an eye of pity philosophy looks down upon this humiliating homage, paid by a multitude of reasonable beings to one of their fellow-creatures. Many spectators, however,—many even of those who were the most strongly guarded against all these vain illusions, could not help feeling a strong emotion at the sight of the pomp that surrounded St. Peter's chair, especially while it was occupied by Pius VI. The greatest magnificence accompanied him whenever he went out. A carriage, at the back of which he was seated alone in an arm chair richly ornamented, moved forward, escorted by servants on horseback, and in long clothes, driven by a coachman and postillions with their heads uncovered, rolling along majestically slow between two rows of foot soldiers, and followed by detachments of light horse and cuirassiers. It was impossible for any thing to be more striking.

"But when he officiated in the grand ceremonies of the church, it was difficult even for heretics, for free-thinkers even, to avoid feeling a sort of religious enthusiasm.

"Pius VI. like him whose vicar he called himself, was endowed with a two-fold nature. Clad in his pontifical habits, surrounded by the pomp of religious ceremonies, and employed in the distribution of celestial treasures, Pius VI. appeared to the Romans to be a god. On his return to the Vatican, he was no more in their eyes, particularly during the last years of his pontificate, than a man exposed to their murmurs, and to their sarcasms. This double sovereignty was so far singular, that the sceptre considered itself as inviolable under shelter of the tiara; that the devotion of the subjects seem to insure their obedience; and that the benedictions, the indulgences, and all the celestial favours, of which the monarchical demi-god had undertaken to be the distributor, had at once for object and result to sanctify, to overawe, and to disarm them. Accordingly nothing less than the violent hurricane of the French revolution was necessary to tear up by the roots that gigantic tree,

'De-qui la tête au ciel étoit voiciene,
Et dont les pieds touchoient à l'empire des morts*.'

"It remains to be observed, that all these pompous mummeries, of which we have just given a few specimens, had long been an appendage of the pontifical throne; but no pope had combined, in the same degree as Pius VI. every thing necessary to insure their effect. His predecessor, much more meritorious than he in a variety of respects, was humane, affable, and generous. He possessed all the domestic virtues; but he retained under the tiara all the modesty of his former situation in life; and felt a sort of philosophical disdain for ostentation. The principal persons about him, sensible how much the parade of ceremonies

* "Of which the head approached the skies, and the feet reached down to the mansions of the dead."

added to the temporal power of the Roman Catholic church, and increased the illusion of which it stands so much in need, were vexed at Ganganelli's neglecting, with a sort of affectation, that external dignity which imposes so much upon the vulgar. The sacred charm was about to vanish. The pontiff seemed desirous of distinguishing himself only by his simplicity. Braschi, on the contrary, possessed in his manners, in his taste, and in his exterior, every thing that was capable of impressing mankind with respect. The striking contrast that existed, in that particular, between him and his predecessor, gave rise to a belief that the cardinals, in electing Pius VI. had been actuated above all by the hope that the chair of St. Peter, debased by Ganganelli, would rise again, and shine with renovated splendour. An English traveller observed, that in this they imitated the Roman senate, which sometimes chose a dictator in order to restore the ancient discipline.

"The hope of the cardinals was not deceived, at least in that respect. No pope ever displayed more pomp than Pius VI. in the performance of his functions; nor was the prevailing taste of any of his predecessors ever more favoured by circumstances. The rage for visiting Italy was become general: and had reached every country and every rank. Pius VI. had the good fortune, so dear to his vanity, of reviewing a whole crowd of great personages including most of the princes of Europe, of receiving their homage, and of doing the honours of his court and church in the presence of the most illustrious visitors.

"The epoch at which he was elected procured him, during the very first year of his pontificate, one of those occasions of unfrequent occurrence, on which the Romish church displays the greatest pomp, and is most lavish of spiritual treasures; we mean the jubilee, which was a real *bonne fortune* to Pius VI. It will soon be forgotten in France; but, perhaps, it is yet remembered, that there were jubilees of two kinds; the one which recurred periodically was properly called the *Holy Year;* the other was the *Jubilee of Exaltation,* and was celebrated at the accession of a new pope to a pontifical throne. The first, as being the most uncommon, was beyond comparison the most solemn.

"It was first established in 1300, by Boniface VIII. who wishing to sanctify the profane institution of the secular games of ancient Rome, conceived the idea of indicating the first year of each century as that in which heaven, more particularly propitious, would in future shower down upon the faithful a larger portion of those blessings, of which the popes called themselves the dispensers. Clement VI. was of opinion, that these periods, so favourable to the faithful, and so glorious to the Holy See, were too distant; and ordered that they should recur every fifty years. The second jubilee was therefore celebrated in 1350. Sextus V. improved still farther upon the liberality of his predecessors: and ordained that the jubilee should take place every five-and-twenty

yeras, which has been the practice ever since.

"Clement XIV. already attacked by the lingering disease of which he died, had, in the month of April, announced the opening of the holy year in full consistory. It was reserved for another to celebrate it. Pius VI. had *that happiness* in the following year; and, but for the catastrophe which precipitated him from his throne, would probably have enjoyed it a second time.

"The jubilee of 1775, in all probability the last, was celebrated with a degree of magnificence, surpassing that of all the preceding ones. It was on this occasion, that Pius VI. gave the first proof of his taste for pompous ceremonies. One of the principal circumstances of the festival, that indeed which may be called the first act of it, is the opening of the famous *porta santa*, or sacred door. This door, which is one of those of St. Peter's church, remained constantly shut, except during the holy year. It was then opened with a parade of which Pius VI. took care not to diminish the effect. It was his office to preside over the demolition of a brick wall, that closed the entrance of the sacred door. Advancing with majestic gravity, he struck the first stroke, and instantly the wall fell to the ground under the redoubled blows of the workmen, to whom the signal had been given. The pious spectators eagerly seized upon the materials; each stone being an object of high veneration. By their contact with that which was laid four-and-twenty years before by the sacred hands of the sovereign pontiff, they had acquired the virtue of curing all sorts of diseases. According to custom, the *porta santa* remained open during all the holy year, and was the scene of the most ridiculous mummery. The pope himself did not pass through it without exhibiting marks of the most profound respect; while the pilgrims, disdaining the numerous passages which lead into the church of St. Peter, entered it only by crawling under the sacred door upon their hands and knees. It was shut with great solemnity at the end of the year. The pope approached, sitting upon a kind of throne, and surrounded by the cardinals; and an anthem was sung, accompanied by loud music; it was the lyre of Amphion about to rebuild the walls of Thebes. The pontiff then descended with a gold trowel in his hand; laid the first stone of the wall which was to last twenty-five years; put a little mortar upon it, and re-ascended his throne. Real masons took his place, and completed the blocking up of the sacred door, the ceremony closing with a solemn mass. Thus did the Roman Catholics lavish the august mysteries of their religion, sometimes upon the baptism of a bell, and sometimes upon the rebuilding of a wall.

"The following day the festival was continued, Pius VI. displaying in it all his great talents for acting which were hitherto but little known. He was already near sixty years of age: but his complexion still retained somewhat of the brilliant colouring of youth. The Romans accustomed to see their pontiffs bending under the weight of years, and labouring

in the performance of their public functions, which were often long and fatiguing, admired the address and grace with which the new pope acquitted himself of his task. The church seemed to grow young again and to have a right, as well as Pius VI. to expect prosperous days.

"It was shortly afterwards that the beauty of his person received an homage to which the vicars of Jesus Christ were not accustomed. While Pius VI. was passing through a street of Rome, carried along with a splendour suitable to his dignity, a voice was heard from one of the windows, which were crouded with curious spectators. It was that of a young woman: *Quanto è bello! quanto è bello!* cried she in a moment of enthusiasm. An old woman in haste to correct any thing that might appear too profane in this exclamation, replied with her hands joined, and her eyes lifted up to heaven. *Tanto è bello quanto è santo!* It is said, that such a compliment gave Pius VI. more secret satisfaction than all the incense lavished upon him by the prelates at the altar, and all the genuflexions of the sacred college.

"We do not mean, however, that an inclination common to many of the cardinals, was ever included in the charges brought against him during the course of his long pontificate. His very enemies, if not altogether unjust, must confess that he has always been irreproachable as to purity of morals. In the early days which he passed at Rome, ambition made him seek the society of a lady of high rank, and of a very intriguing disposition, who was supposed to possess considerable influence. This was madame Falconieri, mother of the young lady, afterwards duchess of Braschi. He was indebted to her for his first success in his ecclesiastical career. But Madame Falconieri, though worthy of attention as a patroness, had nothing that could make her desirable as a mistress. Braschi visited her for a short time; kept away as soon as he had obtained the only favour he expected from her; and was solely indebted for the reputation, which he acquired in these latter times, of being Mademoiselle Falconieri's father to the ill humour of his subjects, and to his blind partiality for her after she became his niece.

"During the time that he was treasurer of the Apostolical Chamber, that is to say, from 1766 to 1773, he was remarkable for his constant application to business, for his contempt of worldly pleasures, and for the regularity of his conduct; which procured him general esteem. He did not forfeit this character during his cardinalate, which lasted only two years; and when he was seated in St. Peter's chair, excepting indeed the duplicity of which he was suspected, and which the embarrassment of circumstances seemed to render excusable, he was free from all serious reproach. Since his elevation to the papacy, his defects, which he had either concealed, or had no opportunity of developing, have excited a great deal of hatred; but calumny, which has not spared him, has

scarcely ever attacked him upon the score of his morals. Gorani, is, perhaps, the only one who treats him as ill in that respect as in every other. He throws suspicions upon the motives of the affection which Cardinal Ruffo manifested for him in his youth; he pretends that it was not ambition alone that led to his connexion with Madame Falconieri; and he even insinuates, that gallantry was one of the principal means of his elevation to the papal throne. It is in fact of no great consequence whether these charges be founded or not. The salvation of Pius VI. may be much concerned; but his glory is very little interested in his having faithfully practised one of the first Christian virtues. It is a duty, however, that we owe to truth, to affirm, that those who have known him long, and well, never perceived any thing that could give rise to the smallest doubt as to the purity of his morals, at least from the time in which he was appointed treasurer, to the end of his pontificate. If the amorous connexions of a temporal sovereign cannot escape the vigilance of his numerous attendants, how can a pope, all whose steps and movements are counted, conceal himself from the nice observation of the conscientious, or from the keen eye of malignity, and cover his secret intrigues with an impenetrable veil? Pius VI. divided all his time between his religious duties, his closet, and the library of the Vatican. He went out very seldom, and never without company. He had no taste for a country residence, nor even for those innocent amusements which the gravest men allow themselves as a relaxation after their labours. He passed the summer season at the Quirinal palace, and the rest of the year at the Vatican. His only recreation was the visit which he paid almost every year to the Pontine marshes. Constantly taken up with serious occupations, or the duties of his office, he avoided, instead of seeking, the society of women.

"As pope, he could not then lead a more exemplary life; but as a man, and as a sovereign, he no doubt exposed himself to many and serious reproaches. An erroneous opinion had been formed of him in many respects. When rendered more conspicuous by his eminent station, he soon discovered a great ignorance of worldly affairs, particularly of politics; an obstinacy which never yielded to a direct attack; and an invincible attachment to certain prejudices, inseparable perhaps from his profession, but of which he neither suspected the inconvenience nor the danger. This we should have frequent opportunity of observing in the course of these memoirs. He entertained the most favourable idea of his own capacity. Rather headstrong than firm, he was constantly undoing what he had done; and this mixture of vanity and weakness was attended with too serious inconveniences. What was no more than inconsistency, and want of resolution, was taken for duplicity. Coldly affable, he never felt a real affection for any one; nor ever knew what it was com-

pletely to unbosom himself, unless when fear rendered him communicative.

"Out of the five cardinals, who were successively his secretaries of state, there was not one who could flatter himself with having enjoyed his entire confidence. He granted it, but still under certain restrictions, to Gerdyl and Antonelli, two other cardinals; consulting them solely about matters in which he thought he could derive advantage from their talents.

"Hasty, impetuous, and sometimes even passionate, he required to be curbed by fear, or soothed by affectionate language, which indicated an attachment to his interest, without hurting his pride. Cardinal de Bernis said of him, towards the end of the year 1777, 'I watch over him incessantly, as over a child of an excellent disposition; but too full of spirits, and capable of throwing itself out of the window if left a moment alone.

"That excellent disposition was afterwards in a great measure spoiled by adulation, the possession of power, and the want of somebody bold enough to tell him the truth, or inclined to take the trouble. Faults gradually manifested themselves that the most clear-sighted had not even suspected. His long pontificate was, besides, a grievance which neither the cardinals nor the people of Rome could pardon him. In short, a concurrence of unlucky circumstances, to which he knew not how to accommodate himself, added to his improvidence and to his vanity, the principal source of his prodigality, and of his taste for brilliant, but expensive enterprises, rendered him, in the end, more odious than many princes who have been really wicked."

Character of General Washington. From Weld's Travels through North America.

"On this day, General Washington terminated his 64th year; but though not an unhealthy man, he seemed considerably older. The inumerable vexations he has met with in his different public capacities, have very sensibly impaired the vigour of his constitution, and given him an aged appearance. There is a very material difference, however, in his looks when seen in private, and when he appears in public full drest; in the latter case the hand of art makes up for the ravages of time, and he seems many years younger.

"Few persons find themselves for the first time in the presence of General Washington, a man so renowned in the present day for wisdom and moderation, and whose name will be transmitted with such honour to posterity, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor do these emotions subside on a closer acquaintance; on the contrary, his person and deportment are such as tend rather to augment them. There is something very austere in his countenance, and in his manners he is uncommonly reserved. I have heard some officers who served immediately under his command in the American War say, that they never saw him smile during

all the time they were with him. No man has ever yet been connected with him by the reciprocal and unrestrained ties of friendship; and but a few can boast even of having been on an easy and familiar footing with him.

"The height of his person is about five feet eleven; his chest is full, and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped, and muscular. His head is small, in which respect he resembles the make of a great number of his countrymen. His eyes are of a light grey colour; and in proportion to the length of his face, his nose is long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent Portrait painter told me, that there are features in his face totally different from what he ever observed in that of any other human being; the sockets of the eyes, for instance, are larger than what he ever met with before, and the upper part of the nose broader. All his features, he observed, were indicative of the strongest and most ungovernable passions, and had he been born in the forests, it was his opinion, that he would have been the fiercest man among the savage tribes. In this Mr. Stewart has given a proof of his great discernment and intimate knowledge of the human countenance; for although General Washington has been extolled for his great moderation and calmness, during the very trying situations in which he has been so often placed, yet those who have been the longest and the most intimately acquainted with him say, that he is by nature a man of a fierce and irritable disposition; but that, like Socrates, his judgement and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast in the eyes of the world. He speaks with great difficulty, and sometimes hesitates for a word; but it is always to find one particularly adapted to his meaning. His language is manly and expressive. At levee, his discourse with strangers principally turns upon the subject of America; and if they have been through any remarkable places, his conversation is free and particularly interesting, as he is intimately acquainted with every part of the country. He is much more open and free in his behaviour at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies still more so than solely with men.

"General Washington gives no public dinners or other entertainments, except to those who are in diplomatic capacities, and to a few families on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Washington. Strangers with whom he wishes to have some conversation about agriculture or any such subject are invited sometimes to tea. This is by many attributed to his saving disposition; but it is more just to ascribe it to his prudence and foresight; for as the salary of the President, as I have before observed, is very small and totally inadequate of itself to support an expensive style of life, were he to give numerous and splendid entertainments, the same might possibly be expected from subsequent Presidents, who, if their private fortunes were not considerable, would be unable to live in the same style, and might be exposed to many ill-natured observations, from the relinquish-

ment of what the people had been accustomed to; it is most likely also, that General Washington has been actuated by these motives, because in his private capacity at Mount Vernon, every stranger meets with a hospitable reception from him.

"General Washington's self moderation is well known to the world already. It is a remarkable circumstance, which redounds to his eternal honour, that while President of the United States, he never appointed one of his own relations to any office of trust or emolument, although he has several who are men of abilities and are well qualified to fill the most important stations in the government." P. 59.

Some Peculiarities in the Character of Gainsborough. From "Jackson's Four Ages and Essays."

"In the early part of my life, I became acquainted with Thomas Gainsborough, the Painter; and as his character was, perhaps, better known to me than to any other person, I will endeavour to divest myself of every partiality, and to speak of him as he really was. I am the rather induced to this, by seeing accounts given of him and of his works, by people who were unacquainted with either, and consequently have been mistaken in both.

"Gainsborough's profession was painting, and music was his amusement—yet, there were times when music seemed to be his employment and painting his diversion. As his skill in music has been celebrated, I will, before I speak of him as a painter, mention what degree of merit he possessed as a musician.

"When I first knew him he lived at Bath, where Giardini had been exhibiting his *then* unrivalled powers on the violin. His excellent performance made Gainsborough enamoured of that instrument; and conceiving, like the servant maid in the Spectator, that the music lay in the fiddle, he was frantic until he possessed the *very* instrument which had given him so much pleasure—but seemed much surprised that the music of it remained behind with Giardiani!

"He had scarcely recovered this shock (for it was a great one to *him*) when he heard Abel on the viol-di-gamba. The violin was hung on the willow—Abel's viol-di-gamba purchased, and the house resounded with melodious thirds and fifths from "morn to dewy eve"! Many an Adagio and many a Minuet were begun, but none completed—this was wonderful, as it was Abel's *own* instrument, and therefore *ought* to have produced Abel's *own* music! Fortunately my friend's passion had now a fresh object—Fischer's hautboy—but I do not recollect that he deprived Fischer of his instrument: and though he procured a hautboy, I never heard him make the least attempt upon it. Probably his ear was too delicate to bear the disagreeable sounds which necessarily attend the first beginnings on a wind instrument. He seemed to content himself with what he heard in public, and getting Fischer to play to him in private—not on the hautboy, but the violin—but this was a profound

secret, for Fischer knew that his reputation was in danger if he pretended to excel upon two instruments.

"The next time I saw Gainsborough, it was in the character of King David. He had heard a harper at Bath—the performer was soon left harpless—and now Fischer, Giordini, and Abel were all forgotten—there was nothing like Chords and Arpeggios! he really stuck to the harp long enough to play several airs with variations, and, in a little time, would nearly have exhausted all the pieces usually performed on an instrument incapable of modulation, (this was not a pedal harp) when another visit from Abel brought him back to the viol-di-gamba.

"He now saw the imperfection of sudden sounds that instantly die away—if you wanted a *staccato*, it was to be had by a proper management of the bow, and you might also have notes as long as you please. The viol-di-gamba is the only instrument, and Abel the prince of musicians!

"This, and occasionally a little flirtation with the fiddle, continued some years; when, as ill luck would have it, he heard Crosdill—but by some irregularity of conduct, for which I cannot account, he neither took up, nor bought, the violincello; all his passion for the Bass was vented in descriptions of Crosdill's tone and bowing, which was rapturous and enthusiastic to the last degree." P. 147.

A Short Account of the Life and Writings of Desaussure. By A. P. Decandole. From Nicholson's Journal.

Horace Benedict Desaussure was born at Geneva in the year 1740; his father, an enlightened cultivator, to whom the Public is indebted for some memoirs concerning rural economy, resided at Conches, a country-house situated on the banks of the river Arve, half a league from Geneva. This habitual residence in the country, together with an active education, was undoubtedly the cause which developed in Desaussure that natural strength of constitution so necessary to the practical cultivator of natural history. He went every day to the town, in order to profit by the advantage of public education. Residing at the foot of the Salêve, a mountain he has since rendered famous by his researches, it was an entertainment to him to climb its rugged paths. Living thus surrounded by the phenomena of nature, and possessing the advantage of study, he became attached to natural history, without imitating those learned men who form theories without leaving their cabinets, nor those men of mere practice, who being continually surrounded by natural scenes, become incapable of admiring their beauty.

His first passion was for botany. A varied soil, producing numerous different plants, invited the inhabitant of the borders of the Leman lake to cultivate this agreeable science. This taste of Desaussure led him to form a connection with the great Haller. He paid him a visit in 1764, during his retirement at Bex, and gives an account in his travels of

his admiration for this suprising man, who excelled in all the natural sciences. Desaussure was still more excited to study the vegetable kingdom by his connections with Charles Bonnet, who had married his aunt, and who soon perceived the value of his nephew's increasing talents. Bonnet was then employed on the leaves. Desaussure also studied these organs of vegetables, and published the result of his enquiries under the title of "Observations on the Bark of Leaves." This little work, which appeared soon after the year 1760, contains some new observations on the epidermis of leaves, and in particular on the miliary glands which cover them *.

About this time the place of professor of Philosophy became vacant. Desaussure, then just in his twenty-first year, obtained it. Experience proves, that if very early recompences extinguish the zeal of those who exert themselves merely for the sake of reward, on the contrary they increase the industry of those who are in search of truth. At that time the two professors of plilosophy taught by turns natural philosophy and logic. Desaussure, filled these two offices with equal success. He gave a practical, we may say an experimental, turn to the science of Logic. His course, which began with the study of the senses, in order to arrive at those general laws of the understanding, shewed that he was even then a close observer of nature.

Natural philosophy being the object of his attachment, led him to study chemistry and mineralogy: and soon afterwards he re-commenced his travels in the mountains, not only to examine the plants, but to observe the mountains themselves, whether he considered their composition or the disposition of their masses. Geology, a science then scarcely known, gave a charm to his numerous walks in the Alps. Here it was that he discovered himself to be a truly great philosopher. During the fifteen or twenty first years of his professorship he was employed in performing the duties of his office, and in surveying the mountains in the neighbourhood of Geneva. He extended his excursions on one side as far as the banks of the Rhine, and on the other to Piedmont. About this time he made a journey into Auvergne, to examine the extinct volcanoes; and another to Paris, Holland, and England, and afterwards to Sicily. These voyages were not merely excursions from one place to another. They had only one object, namely, the study of nature. He never travelled without being provided with every instrument that might be useful to him; and always before he set out, he sketched the plan of the experiments and observations he intended to make. He often mentions in his works, that he found this method of great utility to him.

In 1779 he published the first volume of his Travels in the Alps. We there find a complete description of the environs of Geneva, and an excursion to Chamouni, a village at the foot of Mont Blanc. Natural philosophers will

* He resumed this subject eighteen months before his death.

read with pleasure the description of his magnetometer. The more he observed the mountains, the more he perceived the importance of mineralogy. In order to study it to greater advantage, he learned the German language; and in the last volumes of his Travels, we may easily perceive how much new mineralogical knowledge he had acquired.

During his numerous excursions among the Alps, and even in the midst of the political troubles of Geneva in 1782, he found opportunities to make his experiments on hygrometry, which he published in 1783 under the title of "An Essay on Hygrometry." This work, the best he ever wrote, completed his reputation as a natural philosopher. We are indebted to him for the invention of an hygrometer. Deluc had already invented an hygrometer of whalebone, on which subject a dispute was maintained between him and Desaussure, which was even attended with a considerable degree of earnestness.

In 1786 Desaussure resigned the place of professor, which he had held for nearly 25 years, to Pictet, his disciple and colleague, who performed with reputation to himself the difficult task of succeeding this great philosopher.

Desaussure being called upon by his office to attend to public education, made it a particular object of his attention. He presented a plan for reforming the course of education at Geneva. He proposed to teach children very early the natural sciences and mathematics; he was even attentive to their physical education; and, that it might not be neglected, proposed the adoption of gymnastic exercises. This plan excited great attention in a town where every one is aware of the importance of education. It found both admirers and censurers. The mediocrity of their pecuniary resources was a great obstacle to every important innovation. They were apprehensive that in changing the form they might lose sight of the principle, and that an alteration, even for the better, might destroy the good they possessed. The Genevese were attached to their form of education, and they had cause, for it had not only introduced general information among them, but had given the first spring to the talents of several distinguished mathematicians *, and natural philosophers †.

Public education did not alone claim the attention of Desaussure. He attended himself to the education of his two sons and his daughter, who have shown themselves worthy of such an instructor. His daughter unites to the accomplishments of her sex, an extensive knowledge in the natural sciences. His eldest son is already known by his works in natural philosophy and chemistry.

The second volume of his Travels was published in 1786. It contains a description of the Alps which surround Mont Blanc. The

* Abauzit, Cramer, l'Huiler, F. Trembley, &c.

† Jalabert, A. Trembley, Bonnet, Lesage, Deluc, Senebier, Prevost, Pictet, and Desaussure himself.

author considers them as a mineralogist, geologist, and natural philosopher. It contains, in particular, some very interesting experiments on electricity, and a description of his electrometer, which is one of the most complete we possess. We are likewise indebted to him for several instruments of measurement; his cyanometer, designed to measure the intensity of the blue of the heavens, which varies according to its elevation; his diaphanometer, or his method of measuring the diaphaneity of the air; and his anemometer, in which, by means of a kind of balance, he weighs the power of the wind.

Some years after the publication of his second volume, Desaussure, was received as a foreign associate of the academy of sciences, and Geneva could boast of having two of its citizens in these eminent situations. Desaussure not only honoured but was desirous of serving his country. He founded the society of arts, to which Geneva is indebted for that prosperity it has gained through its industry within the last thirty years. He presided in this society to the very last; and it was one of his principal objects to support that useful establishment.

He also shewed his zeal to serve his country while he was member of the Council of Five Hundred, and of the National Assembly. It was from his assiduous labour in that assembly that his health first began to fail; and in 1794 a paralytic stroke deprived him of the use of one side of his body. However painful his situation might then be, he lost nothing of the activity of his mind; for it was after this accident that he drew up the two last volumes of his Travels, which appeared in 1796. They contain an account of his travels in the mountains of Piedmont, Switzerland, and in particular of his ascent to the summit of Mont Blanc. These two last volumes, so far from appearing to partake of the weakness of his condition, offer a considerable mass of important facts and observations in natural philosophy.

He gave the last proof of his attachment to science in publishing the Agenda, which completes the fourth volume. Here this great man has surpassed himself. He conducts the young naturalist amidst the mountains, and teaches him to observe them to advantage. This Agenda is a proof of his genius, and the strength of mind he preserved amidst all his sufferings. During his illness, he also published, his observations *on the fusibility of stones with the blowpipe;* and he directed the *experiments on the height of the bed of the Arve.* When he was at the baths of Plombieres for his health, he observed the mountains at a distance, and procured specimens of the strata he perceived in the most steep rocks. He had announced to the public, that he intended to complete his Travels by his ideas on the primitive state of the earth; but the more new facts he acquired, and the more he meditated on this subject, the less could he determine with regard to those great revolutions which have preceded the present epoch. In general he was a Neptunian, that is to say, he at-

tributed to water the revolutions of this globe. He admitted it to be possible that elastic fluids, in disengaging themselves from the cavities might raise mountains.

Though his health was gradually impaired by degrees, he still retained the hope of re-establishing it. The French government having appointed him professor of natural philosophy in the school of Paris, he did not despair of possessing that honourable office at some future day; but his strength failed him, and a general want of energy succeeded the activity he had formerly enjoyed. His slow and embarrassed pronunciation no longer displayed the activity of his mind, but formed a striking contrast with the agreeable vivacity which formerly distinguished him. It was an affecting sight to behold this great man so worn out at a time of life when the mind is most active in meditation, or at least when he should have enjoyed the fame and knowledge he had acquired.

It was in vain he tried all the remedies which medicine, assisted by the natural sciences, could offer. Life and strength abandoned him by slow and painful degrees, and towards the end of the 6th (republican) year, his decay became more evident; his memory failed; and at length, on the 3d of Pluvoise, in the 7th year, at the age of 59, he completed his brilliant career, much regretted by a family who loved him, a country to which he was an honour, and Europe, whose knowledge he had increased.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Some Account of the Persian Cotton Tree. By Matthew Guthrie, M.D. F.R.S. &c. &c. From Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts.

Cotton is a plant of both the old and the new world; at least it is found wild in both: but I have my doubts whether it was a native of America before the Europeans carried it over, and shall assign reasons for my incredulity when I come to treat of the *Persian cotton*, which is the very species that is said to be American.

Five species of the Cotton-tree are enumerated by Linnæus; and there is reason to suspect the existence of a sixth, if what we are told of the extreme fineness and silky nature of a particular kind reared in some of the Antilles be literally true. This curious variety is called Siam cotton, because the seed was originally obtained from Siam.

The first species of cotton is the *gossypium arboreum*, or *Indian cotton-tree*, which has been cultivated and manufactured in the East Indies from the remotest period of the authentic history of that country, or between three and four thousand years. It delights in a sandy soil.

The second species is the *gossypium religiosum*, which is likewise a native of India, and a tree, or at least a high shrub; but why Linnæus dignified it with so singular a specific name I shall leave the learned Asiatic Society in Bengal to determine, as they must know if it be used for any religious purposes by the Bramins. This species of cotton is said to be that which is cultivated by the French in Martinico.

The third is the *G. barbadense*, a species of biennial cotton shrub cultivated in our British island of Barbadoes, from which it obtains its specific name. I believe it is likewise the same species which is cultivated in Jamaica.

The fourth is the *G. hirsutum*, an American *perennial* cotton shrub in the warmer provinces, but *annual* in the colder, as is sometimes the case with plants in climates where their roots lose their vegetating power by winter frost.

The fifth and last species is the *G. herbaceum*, or *G. annuum*, an annual cotton plant which rises to

the height of three or four feet, and is sown and reaped, like corn, twice a year in hot countries, and once a year in colder climates. It bears a large yellow flower with a purple centre, and fruit about the size of a walnut containing the cotton.

This is the famous *Persian cotton* properly the subject of the paper, although a slight mention of other species was necessary to give a more complete view of the subject. Linnæus calls it a native of America; and there is no doubt but that it is become so, although there is much more reason to suppose America naturalized a Persian plant than that Persia got it from the new world; especially if we are to credit a paper lately presented by a British merchant to the Economical Society at Petersburgh, in which it is positively asserted that several of the European nations furnished their American colonies with *Persian cotton* seed procured at Smyrna. Now this fact (if sufficiently authentic, which I do not doubt from my knowledge of the veracity of the author) will easily account for the *G. herbaceum* being found wild in America; when we recollect the wonderful provision of nature for the wide dispersion of seeds, and Linnæus's assertion that the *Erigeron canadense* was dispersed from the botanic garden of Paris by the winds over a great part of Europe, and several other plants * from the botanic garden of Upsal over a whole province.

My reasons for suggesting these doubts relative to the native country of this species of cotton are, that all vegetables of this genus are supposed to have been indigenous in Persia exclusively, and that even the East Indies derived the cotton plants from thence; a conjecture which seems to have acquired some degree of credit from the late discovery of Sir William Jones, viz. that the Hindoos, or inhabitants of India, were originally a colony of the ancient Iran or Persia, which seems to have been the cradle of the human species, since its ancient language appears to have been the mother of all those now existing (with the exception of the Arabic and Tartarian), of which nevertheless it contained many words.

Now it is very possible that the first colony carried the cotton plant with them to India, and that it was afterwards dispersed from Hindostan to the adjacent countries and islands. The cotton plant is widely dispersed likewise throughout Europe and some parts of Africa, particularly the annual or herbaceous species (the very plant treated of here) reared in the north of Persia, and which is also cultivated in Malta †, Sicily, Chio, Lemnos, and other islands of the Archipelago, although possibly the cotton of these islands may be varieties of the species from difference of soil, climate, &c.

The best of the European cot-

* The Antirrhinum minus, the Datura strantonium, the Gnaphalium americanum, &c.

† There is a kind of cotton cultivated in Malta, of a nankeen colour, which exceeds in fineness all other cotton, and is much superior even to that from the Antilles.

ton is brought from Cyprus; but Smyrna, Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, &c. furnish likewise a quantity of cotton at least equal to the European.

Cultivation of Cotton in Persia.

The annual cotton, or this last species, of which we have treated more amply, is much cultivated in the northern or colder provinces of Persia bordering on the Caspian Sea (as the perennial is in the southern); and it is from thence that the seeds now sent to Portugal have been obtained through the Bucharian Tartar merchants, and are the production of the *Gossypium herbaceum* of Linnæus, the *Gossypium annuum* of Pallas. It is sown in Persia from the end of March to the end of April, and reaped in September. This species requires a rich soil mixed with sand; and therefore where the land is not rich enough they manure it with cow or sheep dung; although we are told that when the plants are once raised above the ground any species of soil will answer. The ground is worked in the spring, and the seeds are planted at the distance of eight or ten inches from one another, whilst care is taken to weed it, to give air to the young plants. Dry summers give the best crop, as rain is more particularly hurtful when it falls in great quantities during the flowering and ripening of the cotton. It is gathered, as is said above, in September, care being always taken to collect a sufficient quantity of seed for the next year. Lastly, watering the young plants with a mixture of wood-ashes and water in certain situations is sometimes necessary to guard them from destructive worms.

The Russians have cultivated the same species of Persian cotton in the government of Caucasus, and rear enough of it to serve their own national manufactures, which are not as yet either numerous or considerable; but on the Terck, at the foot of the Caucasus, where it is reared, they do not sow till the middle of May, lest a late spring frost, which is sometimes felt in those parts, should destroy the hopes of the planter. With that one exception, the Russians strictly observe the Persian mode of cultivation.

There is a species of silky cotton much cultivated at present in Germany, which possibly may merit the attention of Portugal for their plantations in America. It is the *Asclepias syriaca* of Linnæus, and affords so fine a species of cotton (if I may so name it) that fabricks have been erected in Saxony, where stuffs are made of it which rival in lustre, &c. the true animal silk. But this new vegetable silk has circumstances attending it that seem to recommend its cultivation in some of the American colonies and islands: First, because it is originally the native of a hot climate, as Linnæus specific name indicates; and of course it is likely to be in its greatest beauty and excellence in climates which approach nearest to that of its native country. Secondly, because its stalks afford a coarse sort of cloth well calculated to clothe negroes, whilst from the pith of them paper is made.

Experiments and Observations to prove that Snow does not contain Oxygen, either in Solution or in Combination, and that its fertilizing Quality does not depend on this Cause. By Dr. Joachin Carradori de Prato.

The generally-received opinion, that snow produces fertility, is true, because it is proved by experience; but I do not think it can be admitted in the sense which is commonly received. I am well convinced that snow produces this effect, but I conceive, as many others have also done, that it acts in a negative manner only, by defending the plants in winter from a degree of cold below that of freezing, and not, as is commonly thought, from its imparting any principle of fertility. But Citizen Hassenfratz at present thinks he has confirmed this last opinion, by a discovery of the cause of the phenomenon, which he thinks must be ascribed to a quantity of oxygen in combination in the snow, which it afterwards communicates to the seeds which are developed when it is converted into water, and he undertakes to prove by several experiments, that snow water contains much oxygen in the state of combination *.

I shall prove by incontestable facts, that snow water does not contain pure oxygen in the state of solution or aggregate, nor in the state of fixity or combination; and consequently that the snow cannot impart fertility by virtue of this principle.

In the month of August of the present year, I took the purest snow I could find, and after having washed it, I filled a small glass bottle with a long neck, and when it began to dissolve, I covered it with very pure oil olive, in order that it might not absorb any air from the atmosphere. About sixteen hours afterwards, I first removed the whole of the oil from its surface, then threw in a small fish, and immediately afterwards covered the water with fresh oil. When the fish entered the water it began to struggle, and died almost instantly. I threw in another with the same precautions, and it also died. Lastly, I took a portion of water of the same snow, which had been kept for the same time exposed to the air, in a receiver with a large mouth, and poured it into a small glass bottle equal to the former. Into this I threw a fish of the same size as before, and immediately covered the water with oil olive; but in this water the fish gave no signs of uneasiness, and lived quietly for more than three quarters of an hour. The thermometer stood at nineteen degrees of Reaumur during these experiments, and the barometer at about 27 inches and a half.

As I have elsewhere proved † that fish by their respiration in water, have the faculty of absorbing all the oxygen it contains, and that they immediately die in water which is entirely deprived of oxygen: I inferred from these experiments, that snow water does not contain oxygen in a state of solution.

In order to confirm my deduction, I immediately poured the

* Journal Politechnique, IV. Cahier.

† Annales de Chimie, et Hist. Nat. de Pavie, tome 5 et 14.

water, in which the fishes had died, into a receiver, which presented a large surface to the air, and, a few instants afterwards, I threw in a fish of the same species, which lived very well in it, and might have remained as long as I chose. It is, then, an incontestable truth, that the mere want of oxygen was the cause of the death of the two fish thrown into the snow water in the first experiment; for it is very evident, that when the snow water was placed in a situation to re-absorb the oxygen, of which it had been deprived by its congelation, it became as capable of maintaining the life of fishes as any other water.

But it seems certain, from several experiments, that snow water re-absorbs oxygen from the atmosphere more slowly than other waters which were deprived of it. I have before remarked, that snow water having been exposed during sixteen hours to the air, contained so little oxygen, that it could scarcely support the respiration of a small fish for an hour; whereas I knew from other trials, that water commonly contains a sufficient quantity of oxygen for the respiration of a small fish in the same circumstances for several hours. It seems proper, therefore, to conclude, that the water by its conversion into snow loses part of its disposition to absorb the oxygen of the atmosphere. But in order to determine this more accurately, I chose to make some trials.

I exhausted all the oxygen contained in two pounds of well water, by the respiration of a fish which was kept in the water included in a narrow-necked bottle until it died. When the fish was dead, I cleared the bottle very exactly of the whole of the oil, and poured the water into a vessel with a large aperture, in which I kept it exposed to the air for sixteen hours. I then returned the water into the same bottle, introduced a fish of the same size and kind, and immediately covered it with oil. At the end of four hours the fish was still alive, but, after half an hour longer, it died in convulsions, in the same manner as fishes ordinarily die for want of air. Well water, therefore, though totally deprived of oxygen like snow water, that is to say, to the point of being incapable of maintaining the respiration of fishes during the same time, did re-absorb more oxygen than snow water.

This cannot be attributed to the quantity of foreign matters usually contained in snow water, on the supposition that they either hinder the water from re-absorbing oxygen, or the fish from extracting it by respiration; for I have found that fishes live for several hours in turbid water exposed to the same circumstances as the snow water: and I have also proved that this water, after having been deprived of oxygen, re-absorbs it in less time than snow water.

Nevertheless, snow water, after a long interval of time, becomes again charged with all the oxygen it can contain, and becomes capable of maintaining the respiration of fish, like every other water. In the month of September, I kept clear snow water for five days in a bottle; and in order that the oxygen might insinuate

itself more easily, I first filtered it through a paper, and afterwards agitated it every day in the receiver. This water so treated, absorbed as much oxygen as it was capable of holding; for when it was introduced into a small bottle with a narrow neck, it supported the life of a fish for nine hours, which was introduced and the water covered with oil.

But snow water does not even contain oxygen in a combined state, as Hassenfratz pretends. I have proved this by the most decided experiments. If melted snow be oxygenated water, containing oxygen in the state of combination, it will follow that when exposed to the sun it will emit the oxygen again into the gaseous form, by the combination of caloric and light, precisely in the same manner as it escapes and shews itself when the nitric or oxygenated muriatic acids are exposed to the solar light. But certainly since snow water does not contain oxygen in solution, but can absorb it successively as often as it is exposed to the atmosphere, it must at least, if this principle do exist in snow, contain it in the aggregate state. I therefore, in the month of September, in the present year, put very pure snow in small pieces into a small glass bottle with a narrow neck, and before it was entirely melted, I poured oil upon its surface, in order to prevent the communication with the air, and afterwards exposed it for three successive days to the sun; so that the whole time of exposure amounted to eighteen hours; and afterwards, having well cleared it of the oil, I introduced a small fish: it died instantly, as in the snow water immediately after liquefaction. And notwithstanding the long exposure to the sun, which rendered it very perceptibly warm, though I observed it with every possible attention, I never perceived the smallest bubble or indication of oxygen. Consequently it cannot be admitted that this water was charged with oxygen in combination, because it must have escaped in the form of gas; and if it had afterwards absorbed it, the fish, which is the surest indication of the smallest quantity of oxygen in water, would have availed itself of it, and lived for some time.

The experiments of Hassenfratz, which seem to prove by analysis the presence of combined oxygen in snow water, are not, in my apprehension, conclusive, because they are not confirmed by synthesis. It is not an exclusive property of water saturated with pure oxygen in a combined state to alter the tincture of turnsol to a red colour, and to precipitate the solution of sulphate of iron.

It has already been observed by Bergman, in his analysis of waters, that snow recently liquefied is absolutely without air; but his assertion is not well proved, because the method he made use of to ascertain the existence of vital air, or oxygen in water, namely, boiling, is absolutely imperfect. Water retains its oxygen too strongly, to allow its being extracted by boiling, as this experiment would require. I filled a small matrass with well water, and boiled it for an hour and a half, and upon taking it from the fire, I poured it out beneath oil, in order that no air might enter.

When it was cold, I took off the oil and put in a fish, immediately after which I covered it again with oil-olive. Notwithstanding the boiling, the fish found a sufficient quantity of oxygen in this water to enable him to live more than three hours.

Fresh water fish are true eudiometers for water, for when they respire, they have the faculty of absorbing all the oxygen it contains. From this property, natural philosophers may have recourse to them for measuring the quantity of oxygen contained in different waters, by taking fish of the same species and size, and observing the time they live in equal quantities of the water. In this way a series of experiments might be instituted, to determine the true proportions of oxygen contained in different waters; as has been done by Fontana, though by the uncertain method of boiling. But it will be necessary to take into consideration the variations of the barometer and thermometer, because I have observed that water contains less oxygen in summer than in winter; and when the barometer is high than when low, the reason of which is sufficiently evident.

Bergman affirms, that snow affords an indication of nitrous acid. If this be true, it accounts for its effect in burning leather, and other substances plunged therein; as Hassenfratz has remarked, who ascribes it to the combined oxygen, with which he thinks it is saturated. Is it probable that this acid should be formed at the moment of the congelation of the water, by the concentration or mechanical approach of the parts, caused by the cold in the oxygen gas, with which the water is charged, and the azotic gas which may be afforded by the atmosphere?

Let this be as it may, a question will present itself concerning this commonly supposed activity of snow, namely, how it can, if reduced according to the assertion of Hassenfratz, into water possessing the same qualities, prove beneficial for developing the tender embryos of vegetables?

It seems, therefore, that from the whole consideration of the subject, we are justified in concluding, that there is no reason to believe that snow communicates any positive fertility to the earth; its good effects must be attributed merely to the simple preservation of plants from intense cold, which, by altering their organization, would destroy the powers of life.

Observations on the Means by which the Mountains in the Cevennes are rendered fertile. By Citizen Chaptal.

Industry is the child of want: this axiom, of which the truth is established on the experience of every age and climate, directs our search after prodigies of agriculture to those places only which appear to be absolutely deprived of natural advantages. In no place has this truth received a more striking degree of confirmation than in the dry and barren chain of mountains called the Cevennes. They are almost entirely formed of steep rocks; but the power of man has successively converted them into fertile lands; and this

soil, which in past ages would not have afforded subsistence for one family of savages, does, at this moment, support two or three hundred thousand inhabitants. In this district, every thing is the product of art; and here it is that we may, with the greatest effect, study the creative powers of human industry. I shall here relate the means by which these changes have been made.

I shall confine myself at present to the description of two processes, which are still daily practised, and which may hereafter be adopted with advantage in many parts of France.

It is a well-known fact that the waters which flow down the sides of a mountain carry the earth along with them, and wear furrows or ravins of a greater or less depth, according to the hardness of the rock, and steepness of the descent. These two effects are constant and inevitable. By a series of these progressive degradations, the hardest rock is laid bare; deep ravins are cut in its face, and every resource of which the cultivator might avail himself is utterly destroyed. The inhabitants of the Cevennes have found means to correct this double effect of the waters; and to restore by processes no less simple than ingenious, the grounds which had been lost.

I shall first describe the method of filling the ravins, and converting them into fertile land; and afterwards speak of the method of covering the bare flanks of the mountains with vegetable mould.

The first Process.

To fill up a ravin, they begin by raising, at the very foot of the mountain, a wall of loose stones quite across the ravin, and two or three metres, (or yards,) in height, towards the middle, according to the depth of the ravin itself. This wall forms a kind of dyke, which opposes its flank to the current of the waters, and suffers them to pass through while they are clear; but when, after a storm or heavy shower of rain, they become turbid, and bring down earth and stones, these substances are deposited against the wall while the water escapes between the stones nearly pure. By the continuance of this process, the triangular space above the wall at length becomes filled.

At the other extremity of this plat of new formed ground, another wall is then built like the first, which in the same manner detains the earth and vegetable mould, and forms a second piece of ground. By a succession of similar operations, other platforms are produced; and by this ingenious process, the ravin is converted, to the very top of the mountains, into a number of platforms of good ground, forming steps one above the other. Under these circumstances, the waters no longer rush in destructive torrents down the sides of the mountains, but flow gently along the level ground, or are filtered through the porous earth deposited against the walls of support. The mountain, which formerly presented a scene of desolation in every point of view, is thus made to exhibit amphitheatres of vegetable ground capable of the richest cultivation.

Thus far the labours of the husbandman are employed in the

conquest of natural difficulties; but this being accomplished, he directs his attention to obtain the products of the ground. In the former instance, he claims our admiration; in the latter, we feel an emotion of gratitude for benefits conferred. He plants the vine against the upper part of the wall, and causes it to creep along the external surface, that it may not uselessly employ a space destined to other purposes. On these small platforms he plants mulberry-trees; he cultivates Indian corn, potatoes, every kind of grain; and varies his culture to the greatest advantage on this virgin soil, which is well watered, and in general of the highest fertility. These vines, these trees, and other vegetable products, give firmness to the ground, and bid defiance to the floods of subsequent times. Seldom indeed does it happen that this valuable work of human ability is considerably damaged by the fury of the tempest.

The second process.

The industry of the inhabitant of the Cevennes is no less surprising, when his exertions are directed to give fertility to the slope of a calcareous mountain. Most of these mountains are formed by beds of stone about a demi-metre, or half a yard, in thickness. These different strata form shelves, one above another, according to the inclination of the mountain. But the cultivator gives an equal width to all these stages by breaking away the rock, the fragments of which he employs in constructing a low wall on the edge of the platform itself. He fills this cavity with a bed of vegetable earth taken out of the clefts of the rock, or conveyed upon his back from the very foot of the mountain, where it has been gradually deposited by the waters. In this manner, after unremitted labour, the side of the mountain becomes covered with low walls parallel to each other, which confine beds of vegetable earth from one to three yards in width.

It often happens that these beds of earth are carried away, and the walls overset, in consequence of a violent wind, or storm of rain. On these occasions, the determined spirit of the cultivator is shewn in repairing the mischief. The life of the inhabitant of the Cevennes is one continued struggle against the elements, which seem to conspire against his efforts. I was acquainted at St. Jean de Gardonenque, with Cit. Pestre, an industrious man, an enlightened cultivator, and skilful physician. This man, at the first threatenings of a storm, clothed himself in a long garment of oil-cloth, with an enormous hat of tinned iron, firmly fixed by means of straps. Thus defended, he hastened into the midst of his possessions, where alone, with a mattock in his hand, he directed the water to the feet of his trees, and collected the surplus in cavities which he had formed in the rock itself. By these laborious exertions he constantly prevented inundations, and procured water for his grounds at such times as the burning heats rendered them necessary. His neighbours, who, as usual in such cases, at first derided his extraordinary solicitude, were constrained to admire

his industry, and envy his gains. They have all admitted to me, that by this labour, of which few of them are capable, he quadrupled the usual product of his grounds. Such instances of prodigious agricultural exertion are not unfrequent in the Cevennes; but my present object being to speak of general methods, it is sufficient, that I have described the ingenious method of giving fertility to a mountain. We cannot avoid feeling a sentiment of admiration, and even personal vanity, when we consider one of these mountains converted by the hands of man from a state of absolute barrenness to a high degree of fertility, and covered from its base to its summit with trees, fruits, grain, and other useful productions.

He who doubts the extensive powers of labour and industry in the affairs of agriculture, needs only to visit the Cevennes to become convinced of his error *.

On a submarine Forest, on the East Coast of England, by Joseph Correa de Serra, LL.D. F.R.S. A.S. from the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.

In geology, more perhaps than in any other branch of natural history, there exists a necessity of strictly separating the facts observed, from the ideas which, in order to explain them, may occur to the mind of the observer. In the present state of this science, every well ascertained fact increases our still narrow stock of real knowledge; when, on the contrary, the reasonings we are enabled to make, are at best but ingenious guesses, which too often bias and mislead the judgment. I shall therefore endeavour, in this paper, to give, first, a mere description of the object, unmixed with any systematical ideas, and shall afterwards offer such conjectures on its cause as seem to me to be fairly grounded on observation.

It was a common report in Lincolnshire, that a large extent of islets of moor, situated along its coast, and visible only in the lowest ebbs of the year, was chiefly composed of decayed trees. These islets are marked in Mitchel's chart of that coast, by the name of *clay huts*; and the village of Huttoff, opposite to which they principally lie, seems to have derived its name from them. In the month of September, 1796, I went to Sutton, on the coast of Lincolnshire, in company with the right honourable president of the society, in order to examine their extent and nature. The 19th of the month, being the first day after the equinoctial full moon, when the lowest ebbs were to be expected, we went in a boat, at half past twelve at noon, and soon after set foot upon one of the largest islets then appearing. Its exposed surface was about thirty yards long, and twenty-

* This practice of converting the sides of mountains into platforms for the purposes of agriculture is common in China, and gives a singular aspect to the country around Canton. But it did not appear to me that the practice was directed to the same object, namely, that of giving fertility to barren mountains. On the contrary, these last were left in a state of nature.

five wide, when the tide was at the lowest. A great number of similar islets were visible around us, chiefly to the eastward and southward; and the fishermen, whose authority on this point is very competent, say, that similar moors are to be found along the whole coast, from Skegness to Grimsby, particularly off Addlethorpe and Mablethorpe. The channels dividing the islets were, at the time we saw them, wide, and of various depths; the islets themselves ranging generally from east to west in the largest dimensions.

We visited them again in the ebbs of the 20th and 21st; and, though it generally did not ebb so far as we expected, we could notwithstanding ascertain, that they consisted almost entirely of roots, trunks, branches, and leaves of aquatic plants. The remains of some of these trees were still standing on their roots; while the trunks of the greater part lay scattered on the ground, in every possible direction. The bark of the trees and roots appeared generally as fresh as when they were growing; in that of the birches particularly, of which a great quantity was found, even the thin silvery membranes of the outer skin were discernible. The timber of all kinds, on the contrary, was decomposed and soft, in the greatest part of the trees; in some, however, it was firm, especially in the knots. The people of the country have often found among them very sound pieces of timber, fit to be employed for several economical purposes.

The sorts of wood which are still distinguishable are birch, fir, and oak. Other woods evidently exist in these islets, of some of which we found the leaves in the soil; but our present knowledge of the comparative anatomy of timbers is not so far advanced as to afford us the means of pronouncing with confidence respecting their species. In general, the trunks, branches, and roots of the decayed trees, were considerably flattened; which is a phænomenon observed in the *Surtarbrand* or fossil wood of Iceland, and which Scheuchzer remarked also in the fossil wood found in the neighbourhood of the lake of Thun, in Switzerland.

The soil to which the trees are affixed, and in which they grew, is a soft greasy clay; but, for many inches above its surface, the soil is entirely composed of rotten leaves, scarcely distinguishable to the eye, many of which may be separated, by putting the soil in water, and dexterously and patiently using a spatula, or a blunt knife. By this method, I obtained some perfect leaves of *ilex aquifolium*, which are now in the Herbarium of the Right Hon. Sir Joseph Banks; and some other leaves which, though less perfect, seem to belong to some species of willow. In this stratum of rotten leaves, we could also distinguish several roots of *arundo phragmites*.

These islets, according to the most accurate information, extend at least twelve miles in length, and about a mile in breadth, opposite to Sutton shore. The water without them, towards the sea, generally deepens suddenly, so as to form a steep bank. The channels between the several is-

lets, when the islets are dry, in the lowest ebbs of the year, are from four to twelve feet deep; their bottoms are clay or sand, and their direction is generally from east to west.

A well dug at Sutton, by Joshua Searby, shows that a moor of the same nature is found under ground, in that part of the country, at the depth of sixteen feet: consequently, very nearly on the same level with that which constitutes the islets. The disposition of the strata was found to be as follows:

Clay,	16 feet.
Moor, similar to that of the islets,	from 3 to 4 ditto.
Soft moor, like the scowerings of a ditch bottom, mixed with shells and fit,	20 ditto.
Marly clay,	1 foot.
Chalk rock,	from 1 to 2 feet.
Clay,	31 yards.

Gravel and water; the water has a chalybeate taste.

In order to ascertain the course of this subterraneous stratum of decayed vegetables, Sir Joseph Banks directed a boring to be made, in the fields belonging to the Royal Society, in the parish of Mablethorp Moor, of a similar nature to that of Searby's well, and of the islets, was found, very nearly on the same level, about four feet thick, and under it a soft clay.

The whole appearance of the rotten vegetables we observed, perfectly resembles, according to the remark of Sir Joseph Banks, the moor which in Blankeney fen, and in other parts of the east fen in Lincolnshire, is thrown up in the making of banks; barks, like those of the birch tree, being there also abundantly found. This moor extends over all the Lincolnshire fens, and has been traced as far as Peterborough, more than sixty miles to the south of Sutton. On the north side, the moory islets, according to the fishermen, extend as far as Grimsby, situated on the south side of the mouth of the Humber; and it is a remarkable circumstance, that in the large tracts of low lands which lie on the south banks of that river, a little above its mouth, there is a subterraneous stratum of decayed trees and shrubs, exactly like those we observed at Sutton; particularly at Axholme isle, a tract of ten miles in length, by five in breadth; and at Hatfield-chase, which comprehends one hundred and eighty thousand acres. Dugdale* had long ago made this observation, in the first of these places; and de la Pryme† in the second. The roots are there likewise standing in the places where they grew; the trunks lie prostrate. The woods are of the same species as at Sutton. Roots of aquatic plants and reeds are likewise mixed with them; and they are covered by a stratum of some yards of soil, the thickness of which, though not ascertained with exactness by the above-mentioned observers, we may easily conceive to correspond with that which covers the stratum of decayed wood at Sutton, by the circum-

* History of Embanking and Draining. Chap. xxvii.
† Philos. Trans. Vol. XXII. p. 980.

stance of the roots being (according to Mr. Richardson's observations *) only visible when the water is low, where a channel was cut, which has left them uncovered.

Little doubt can be entertained of the moory islets of Sutton being a part of this extensive subterraneous stratum, which, by some inroad of the sea, has been there stripped of its covering of soil. The identity of the levels; that of the species of trees; the roots of these affixed, in both, to the soil where they grew; and, above all, the flattened shape of the trunks, branches, and roots, found in the islets, (which can only be accounted for by the heavy pressure of a superinduced stratum), are sufficient reasons for this opinion.

Such a wide spread assemblage of vegetable ruins, lying almost in the same level, and that level generally under the common mark of low water, must naturally strike the observer, and give birth to the following questions:

1. What is the epoch of this destruction?

2. By what agency was it effected?

In answer to these questions, I will venture to submit the following reflections:

The fossil remains of vegetables hitherto dug up in so many parts of the globe, are, on a close inspection, found to belong to two very different states of our planet. The parts of vegetables, and their impressions, found in mountains of a cotaceous, schistous, or even sometimes of a calcareous nature, are chiefly of plants now existing between the tropics, which could neither have grown in the latitudes in which they are dug up, nor have been carried and deposited there by any of the acting forces under the present constitution of nature. The formation, indeed, of the very mountains in which they are buried, and the nature and disposition of the materials which compose them, are such as we cannot account for by any of the actions and re-actions which, in the actual state of things, take place on the surface of the earth. We must necessarily recur to that period in the history of our planet, when the surface of the ocean was at least so much above its present level, as to cover even the summits of these secondary mountains which contain the remains of tropical plants. The changes which these vegetables have suffered in their substance, is almost total: they commonly retain only the external configuration of what they originally were. Such is the state in which they have been found in England, by Llwyd; in France, by Jussieu; in the Netherlands, by Burtin: not to mention instances in more distant countries. Some of the impressions or remains of plants found in soils of this nature, which were, by more ancient and less enlightened oryctologists, supposed to belong to plants actually growing in temperate and cold climates, seem, on accurate investigation, to have been parts of exotic vegetables. In fact, whether we suppose them to have

* Philos. Trans. Vol. XIX. p. 528.

grown near the spot where they are found, or to have been carried thither from different parts, by the force of an impelling flood, it is equally difficult to conceive, how organised beings, which, in order to live, require such a vast difference in temperature and in seasons, could live on the same spot, or how their remains could (from climates so widely distant) be brought together to the same place, by one common dislocating cause. To this ancient order of fossil vegetables belong whatever retains a vegetable shape, found in or near coal-mines, and (to judge from the places where they have been found) the greater part of the agatized woods. But, from the species and present state of the trees which are the subject of this memoir, and from the situation and nature of the soil in which they are found, it seems very clear that they do not belong to this primeval order of vegetable ruins.

The second order of fossil vegetables, comprehends those which are found in strata of clay or sand; materials which are the result of slow depositions of the sea or of rivers, agents still at work under the present constitution of our planet. These vegetable remains are found in such flat countries as may be considered to be of a new formation. Their vegetable organization still subsists, at least in part: and their vegetable substance has suffered a change only in colour, smell, or consistence; alterations which are produced by the development of their oily and bituminous parts, or by their natural progress towards rottenness. Such are the fossil vegetables found in Cornwall, by Borlase; in Essex, by Derham; in Yorkshire, by De la Pryme and Richardson; and in foreign countries, by other naturalists. These vegetables are found at different depths, some of them much below the present level of the sea, but in clayey or sandy strata (evidently belonging to modern formation) and have, no doubt, been carried from their original place, and deposited there by the force of great rivers or currents, as it has been observed with respect to the Mississippi *. In many instances, however, these trees and shrubs are found standing on their roots, generally in low or marshy places, above, or very little below, the actual level of the sea.

To this last description of fossil vegetables, the decayed trees here described certainly belong. They have not been transported by currents or rivers; but, though standing in their native soil we cannot suppose the level in which they are found, to be the same as that in which they grew. It would have been impossible for any of these trees and shrubs to vegetate so near the sea, and below the common level of its water: the waves would cover such tracts of land, and hinder any vegetation. We cannot conceive that the surface of the ocean has ever been lower than it now is; on the contrary, we are led by numberless phænomena to believe, that the level of the waters in our globe is much below what

* La Coudreniere *sur les Depots du Mississippi. Journ. de Phys.* Vol. XXI. p. 230.

it was in former periods; we must therefore conclude, that the forest here described grew in a level high enough to permit its vegetation: and that the force (whatever it was) which destroyed it, lowered the level of the ground where it stood.

There is a force of subsidence (particularly in soft ground) which being a natural consequence of gravity, slowly though perpetually operating, has its action sometimes quickened and rendered sudden by extraneous causes; for instance, by earthquakes. The slow effects of this force of subsistence have been accurately remarked in many places; examples also of its sudden action are recorded in almost every history of great earthquakes. The shores of Alexandria, according to Dolomieu's observations, are a foot lower than they were in the time of the Ptolemies. Donati, in his natural history of the Adriatic, has remarked, seemingly with great accuracy, the effects of this subsidence at Venice; at Pola, in Istria; at Lissa, Bua, Zara, and Diclo, on the coast of Dalmatia. In England, Borlase has given, in the Philosophical Transactions *, a curious observation of a subsidence, of at least sixteen feet, in the ground between Sampson and Trescaw islands, in Scilly. The soft and low ground between the towns of Thorne and Gowle, in Yorkshire, a space of many miles, has so much subsided in latter times, that some old men of Thorne affirmed, "That whereas they could before see little of the steeple (of Gowle), they now see the church-yard wall †." The instances, of similar subsidence which might be mentioned, are innumerable.

This force of subsidence, suddenly acting by means of some earthquake, seems to me the most probable cause to which the actual submarine situation of the forest we are speaking of may be ascribed. It affords a simple easy explanation of the matter; its probability is supported by numberless instances of similar events; and it is not liable to the strong objections which exist against the hypothesis of the alternate depression and elevation of the level of the ocean; an opinion which, to be credible, requires the support of a great number of proofs, less equivocal than those which have hitherto been urged in its favour, even by the genius of a Lavoisier ‡.

The stratum of soil, sixteen feet thick, placed above the decayed trees, seems to remove the epoch of their sinking and destruction far beyond the reach of any historical knowledge. In Cæsar's time, the level of the north sea appears to have been the same as in our days. He mentions the separation of the Wahal branch of the Rhine, and its junction to the Meuse; noticing the then existing distance from that junction to the sea: which agrees,

* Vol. XLVIII. p. 62.
† Gough's edition of Camden's Britannia, T. III. p. 35.
‡ *Mem. de l'Acad. de Paris*, 1789, *p.* 351.

according to d'Anville's inquiries*, with the actual distance. Some of the Roman roads constructed by order of Augustus, under Agrippa's administration, leading to the maritime towns of Belgium, still exist, and reach the present shore †. The descriptions which Roman authors have left us, of the coasts, ports, and mouths of rivers, on both sides of the North sea, agree in general with their present state; except in the places ravaged by the inroads of this sea, more apt, from its form, to destroy the surrounding countries, than to encrease them.

An exact resemblance exists between maritime Flanders and the opposite low coast of England, both in point of elevation above the sea, and of internal structure and arrangement of their soils. On both sides, strata of clay, silt, and sand, (often mixed with decayed vegetables,) are found near the surface; and, in both, these superior materials cover a very deep stratum of bluish or dark-coloured clay, unmixed with extraneous bodies. On both sides, they are the lowermost part of the soil, existing between the ridges of high lands ‡, on their respective sides of the same narrow sea. These two countries are certainly coeval; and, whatever proves that maritime Flanders has been for many ages out of the sea, must, in my opinion, prove also, that the forest we are speaking of was long before that time destroyed, and buried under a stratum of soil. Now it seems proved, from historical records, carefully collected by several learned members of the Brussels academy, that no material change has happened to the lowermost part of maritime Flanders, during the period of the last two thousand years §.

I am therefore inclined to suppose the original catastrophe, which buried this forest, to be of a very ancient date; but I suspect the inroad of the sea, which uncovered the decayed trees of the islets of Sutton, to be comparatively recent. The state of the leaves and of the timber, and also the tradition of the neighbouring people, concur to strengthen this suspicion. Leaves and other delicate parts of plants, though they may be long preserved in a subterraneous situation, cannot remain uninjured, when exposed to the action of the waves and of the air. The people of the country believe, that their parish-church once stood on the spot where the islets now are, and was submerged by the inroads of the sea; that, at very low water, their ancestors could even discern its ruins; that their present church was built to supply the place of that which the waves washed away; and that

* D'Anville *Notice des Gaules*, p. 461.

† Nicol. Bergier. *Hist. des grands Chemins des Romains. Ed. de Bruxelles.* Vol. II. p. 109.

‡ The ridges of high lands, both on the British and Belgic side, must be very similar to each other, since they both contain parts of tropical plants in a fossil state. Cocoa nuts, and fruits of the areca, are found in the Belgic ridge. The petrified fruits of Sheppy, and other impressions of tropical plants, on this side of the water, are well known.

§ Vide several papers in the Brussels *Mémoires*; also *Journ. de Phys.* T. XXXIV. p. 401.

even their present clock belonged to the old church. So many concomitant, though weak testimonies, incline me to believe their report, and to suppose that some of the stormy inundations of the north sea, which in these last centuries have washed away such large tracts of land on its shores, took away a soil resting on clay, and at last uncovered the trees which are the subject of this paper.

An Account of the Pearl-Fishery in the Gulph of Manar, in March and April, 1797, by Henry J. Le Beck, Esq. From the Asiatic Researches, Vol. 5.

From the accounts of the former pearl-fisheries at Ceylon, it will be found, that none have ever been so productive as this year's. It was generally supposed that the renter would be infallibly ruined, as the sum he paid for the present fishery was thought exorbitant when compared with what had been formerly given; but this conjecture in the event appeared ill founded, as it proved extremely profitable and lucrative.

The farmer this time was a Tamul merchant, who for the privilege of fishing with more than the usual number of donies or boats, paid between two and three hundred thousand Porto-novo pagodas, a sum nearly double the usual rent.

These boats he farmed out again to individuals in the best manner he could, but for want of a sufficient number of divers, some of them could not be employed.

The fishing, which commonly began about the middle of February, if wind and weather allowed, was this year, for various reasons, delayed till the end of the month; yet so favourable was the weather, that the renter was able to take advantage of the permission granted by the agreement, to fish a little longer than the usual period of thirty days.

The fishery cannot well be continued after the setting in of the southern monsoon, which usually happens about the 15th of April, as, after that time, the boats would not be able to reach the pearl-banks, and the water being then so troubled by heavy seas, diving would be impracticable; in addition to which, the sea-weed, a species of fucus, driven in by the southerly wind, and which spreads to a considerable distance from the shore, would be an impediment.

Many of the divers, being Roman Catholics, leave the fishery on Sundays to attend divine service in their church at Aripoo; but if either a Mahomedan or Hindoo festival happens during the fishing days, or if it is interrupted by stormy weather, or any other accident, this lost time is made up by obliging the Catholics to work on Sundays.

The fear of sharks, as we shall see hereafter, is also another cause of interruption. These, amongst some others, are the reasons that, out of two months, (from February till April,) seldom more than thirty days can be employed in the fishery.

As this time would be insufficient to fish all the banks (each of which has its appropriate name,

both in Dutch and Tamul,) it is carried on for three or four successive years, and a new contract annually made till the whole banks have been fished, after which they are left to recover.

The length of time required for this purpose, or from one general fishing to another, has not yet been exactly determined; it was, therefore, a practice to depute some persons to visit the banks annually, and to give their opinion, whether a fishery might be undertaken with any degree of success *?

From various accounts, which I have collected from good authority, and the experience of those who assisted at such examinations, I conjecture, that every seven years such a general fishery could be attempted with advantage, as this interval seems sufficient for the pearl-shells to attain their growth: I am also confirmed in this opinion, by a report made by a Dutch governor at Jasnas of all the fisheries that have been undertaken at Ceylon since 1722; a translation of which is to be found in Wolfe's Travels into Ceylon. But the ruinous condition in which the divers leave the pearl-banks at each fishery, by attending only to the profit of individuals, and not to that of the public, is one great cause, that it requires twice the above mentioned space of time, and sometimes longer, for rendering the fishing productive. They do not pay the least attention, to spare the young and immature shells that contain no pearl; heaps of them are seen thrown out of the boats as useless, on the beach between Manâr † and Aripoo; if these had been suffered to remain in their native beds, they would, no doubt, have produced many fine pearls. It might, therefore, be adviseable, to oblige the boat people to throw them into the sea again, before the boats leave the bank. If this circumspection, in sparing the small pearl-shells, to perpetuate the breed was always observed, succeeding fisheries might be expected sooner, and with still greater success: but the neglect of this simple precaution will, I fear, be attended with similar fatal consequences here, as have already happened to the pearl-banks on the coast of Persia, South America, and Sweden, where the fisheries are by no means so profitable at present as they were formerly.

Another cause of the destruction of numbers of both old and young pearl-shells, is the anchoring of so many boats on the banks, almost all of them use differently formed, clumsy, heavy, wooden anchors, large stones, &c. &c. If this evil cannot be entirely prevented, it might, at least, be greatly lessened, by obliging them to use anchors of a particular sort, and less destructive.

This season the Sewel bank only was fished, which lies above twenty miles to the westward of Aripoo, opposite to the fresh water rivers of Moosalee Modragam and Pom-

* A gentleman, who assisted at one of the last visits, being an engineer, drew a chart of the banks, by which their situation and size are now better known than formerly.

† Manara, properly Manar, is a Tamul word, and signifies a sandy river, from the shallowness of the sea at that place.

paripoo. It has been observed, that the pearls on the north-west part of this bank, which consists of rock, are of a clearer water than those found on the south-east, nearest the shore, growing on corals and sand.

Condatchey is situated in a bay, forming nearly a half-moon, and is a waste, sandy district, with some miserable huts built on it. The water is bad and brackish, and the soil produces only a few, widely scattered, stunted trees and bushes. Those persons who remain here during the fishery are obliged to get their water for drinking from Aripoo, a village with a small old fort, lying about four miles to the southward. Tigers, porcupines, wild hogs, pangolines, or the Ceylon armadillos, are, amongst other quadrupeds, here common. Of amphibia, there are tortoises, especially the *testudo geometrica*, and various kinds of snakes. A conchologist meets here with a large field for his enquiries. The presents which I made to the people employed in the fishery, to encourage them to collect all sorts of shells which the divers bring on shore, produced but little effect; as they were too much taken up in searching after the mother of pearl-shells to pay attention to any other object. However, my endeavours were not entirely useless; I will specify here a few of the number I collected during my stay: different kinds of *pectines**, *palium porphyreum*, *solen radiatus* †, *Venus castrensis*, *Linn* ‡. *astrea hyotis* §, *ostr. Forskolii*, *ostr. Malleus* ‖, *mytilus hirundo Linn* **. *spondilus crocius*, *pholas pusillus*, *Linn* ††. *mitra episcopalis*, *Linn. lepas striata Pennanti*, (*vide Zool. Brit.*) *patella tricarinata*, *Linn. bulla perfecta maculata* ‡‡, *harpa nobilis*, *porcellana salita*, *Rumph* §§. *strombus scorpio*, and other of inferior kinds. Amongst the *zoophytes*, many valuable species of *spongiæ corallinæ*, *satulariæ*, &c. a great variety of sea stars, and other marine productions, that cannot be preserved in spirits, but should be described on the spot. These, as well as the description of the different animals inhabiting the shells, are the more worthy of our attention, and deserve farther investigation, as we are yet very deficient in this branch of natural history.

During the fishing season, the desert, barren place, Condatchey, offers to our view a scene equally novel and astonishing. A heterogeneous mixture of thousands of people of different colours, countries, casts, and occupations, the number of tents and huts, erected on the sea shore, with their shops or bazars before each of them; and the many boats returning on shore in the afternoon, generally, richly laden; altogether form a spectacle entirely new to an European eye. Each owner runs to

* Scallops.
† Radicated razor shell,
‡ Alpha cockle.
§ Double cocks-comb.
‖ Hammer oyster; these were pretty large, but many broken and some covered by a calcareous crust. It is very probable that, among those, there may be some precious white ones.
** Swallow muscle.
†† The wood piercer.
‡‡ Diving snail, (Grew, Muf.)
§§ Salt-coury, Kl.

his respective boat as soon as it reaches the shore, in hopes of finding it fraught with immense treasure, which is often much greater in imagination than in the shell; and though he is disappointed one day, he relies with greater certainty on the next, looking forward to the fortune promised him by his stars, as he thinks it impossible for the astrological predictions of his Brâhmen to err.

To prevent riot and disorder, an officer with a party of Malays is stationed here. They occupy a large square, where they have a field piece and a flag staff for signals.

Here and there you meet with brokers, jewellers, and merchants of all descriptions; also, suttlers offering provisions and other articles to gratify the sensual appetite and luxury. But by far the greater number are occupied with the pearls. Some are busily employed in assorting them; for which purpose they make use of small brass plates perforated with holes of different sizes; others are weighing and offering them to the purchaser; while others are drilling or boring them; which they perform for a trifle.

The instrument, these people carry about with them for this purpose, is of a very simple construction, but requires much skill and exercise to use it; it is made in the following manner: the principal part consists of a piece of soft wood, of an obtuse, inverted, conical shape, about six inches high and four in diameter in its plain surface; this is supported by three wooden feet, each of which is more than a foot in length. Upon the upper flat part of this machine are holes, or pits, for the larger pearls, and the smaller ones are beat in with a wooden hammer. On the right side of this stool, half a cocoa nut shell is fastened, which is filled with water. The drilling instruments are iron spindles, of various sizes, adapted to the different dimensions of the pearls, which are turned round in a wooden head by a bow. The pearls being placed on the flat surface of the inverted cone, as already mentioned, the operator sitting on a mat, presses on the wooden head of his instrument with the left hand, while, with his right, he moves the bow which turns round the moveable part of the drill; at the same time, he moistens the pearl, occasionally dipping the little finger of the same hand into the water of the cocoa nut shell, with a dexterity that can only be attained by constant practice.

Among the crowd are found vagabonds of every description, such as *Pandarams*, *Andee*, or *Hindu*, monks, fakirs, beggars, and the like, who are impertinently troublesome. Two of these wretches particularly attracted the attention of the mob, though their superstitious penance must have disgusted a man of the least reflection; one had a gridiron, of one and a half foot long and the same in breadth, fastened round his neck, with which he always walked about, nor did he take it off either when eating or sleeping; the other had fastened round that member, which decency forbids me to mention, a brass ring, and fixed to it was a chain, of a fathom in length, trailing on the ground,

the links of this chain were as thick as a man's finger, and the whole was exhibited in a most scandalous manner.

The pestilential smell occasioned by the numbers of putrifying pearl-fishes, renders the atmosphere of Condatchey so insufferably offensive when the south-west wind blows, that it sensibly affects the olfactory nerves of any one unaccustomed to such cadaverous smells. This putrefaction generates immense numbers of worms, flies, muskitoes, and other vermin; altogether forming a scene strongly displeasing to the senses.

Those who are not provided with a sufficient stock of money suffer great hardships, as not only all kinds of provisions are very dear, but even every drop of good water must be paid for. Those who drink the brackish water of this place are often attacked by sickness. It may easily be conceived what an effect the extreme heat of the day, the cold of the night, the heavy dews, and the putrid smell, must have on weak constitutions. It is, therefore, no wonder that of those who fall sick many die, and many more return home with fevers, fluxes, or other equally fatal disorders.

The many disappointments, usually experienced by the lower classes of men in particular, make them often repent of their coming here. They are often ruined, as they risk all they are worth to purchase pearl-shells; however, there are many instances of their making a fortune beyond all expectation. A particular circumstance of this kind fell within my own observation: a day-labourer bought three oysters* for a copper sanam (about the value of twopence) and was so fortunate as to find one of the largest pearls which the fishery produced this season.

The donies appointed for the fishery are not all procured at Ceylon; many came from the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, each of which has its distinguishing number. About ten o'clock at night a gun is fired as a signal, when they sail from Condatchey with an easterly or land wind, under the direction of a pilot. If the wind continues fair, they reach the bank before day, and begin diving at sun-rise, which they continue till the west or sea breeze sets in, with which they return. The moment they appear in sight, the colours are hoisted at the flag-staff, and in the afternoon they come to an anchor, so that the owners of the boats are thereby enabled to get their cargoes out before night, which may amount to 30,000 oysters, if the divers have been active and successful.

Each boat carries twenty-one men and five heavy diving stones, for the use of ten divers, who are called, in Tamul, *kooly kárer*, the rest of the crew consists of a tandel, or head boat-man, and ten rowers, who assist in lifting up the divers and their shells.

The diving stone is a piece of

* The East India pearl-shell is well known to be the *matrix perlarum* (mother of pearl) of Rumphius, or the *mytilus margaritiferus* of Linneus; consequently the general term pearl-oyster must be erroneous; however, as it has long been in common use, I hope to be excused for continuin g it.

coarse granite, a foot long, six inches thick, and of a pyramidical shape, round at the top and bottom. A large hair rope is put through a hole in the top. Some of the divers use another kind of stone, shaped like a half-moon, to bind round their belly, so that their feet may be free. At present these are articles of trade at Condatchey. The most common, or pyramidical stone, generally weighs about thirty pounds. If a boat has more than five of them, the crew are either corporally punished or fined.

The diving, both at Ceylon and at Tutucorin, is not attended with so many difficulties as authors imagine. The divers, consisting of different casts and religions, (though chiefly of Parrawer * and Mussulmans,), neither make their bodies smooth with oil, nor do they stop their ears, mouths, or noses, with any thing, to prevent the entrance of salt water. They are ignorant of the utility of diving bells, bladders, and double flexible pipes. According to the injunctions of the shark conjuror they use no food while at work, nor till they return on shore, and have bathed themselves in fresh water. These Indians, accustomed to dive from their earliest infancy, fearlessly descend to the bottom in a depth of, from five to ten fathoms, in search of treasures. By two cords a diving stone and a net are connected with the boat. The diver putting the toes of his right foot on the hair rope of the diving stone, and those of his left on the net, seizes the two cords with one hand, and shutting his nostrils with the other, plunges into the water. On reaching the bottom, he hangs the net round his neck, and collects into it the pearl-shells as fast as possible, during the time he finds himself able to remain under water, which usually is about two minutes. He then resumes his former posture, and making a signal, by pulling the cords, he is immediately lifted into the boat. On emerging from the sea, he discharges a quantity of water from his mouth and nose, and those who have not been long enured to diving, frequently discharge some blood; but this does not prevent them from diving again in their turn. When the first five divers come up and are respiring, the other five are going down with the same stones. Each brings up about one hundred oysters in his net, and if not interrupted by any accident, may make fifty trips in a forenoon. They and the boat's crew get generally, from the owner, instead of money, a fourth of the quantity they bring on shore; but some are paid in cash, according to agreement.

The most skilful divers come from Collish, on the coast of Malabar; some of them are so much exercised in the art, as to be able to perform it without the assistance of the usual weight; and for a handsome reward will remain under water for the space of seven minutes: this I saw performed by a Caffre boy, belonging to a citizen at Karical, who had often frequented the fisheries of these banks. Though Dr. Halley

* Fishermen of the Catholic religion.

deems this impossible, daily experience convinces us, that, by long practice, any man may bring himself to remain under water above a couple of minutes. How much the inhabitants of the South-Sea-islands distinguish themselves in diving we learn from several accounts; and who will not be surprized at the wonderful Sicilian diver Nicholas, surnamed the Fish * ?

Every one of the divers, and even the most expert, entertain a great dread of the sharks, and will not, on any account, descend until the conjuror has performed his ceremonies. This prejudice is so deeply rooted in their minds, that the government was obliged to keep two such conjurors always in their pay, to remove the fears of their divers. Thirteen of these men were now at the fishery from Ceylon and the coast, to profit by the superstitious folly of these deluded people. They are called in Tamul, *Pillal Kadtar*, which signifies one who binds the sharks and prevents them from doing mischief.

The manner of enchanting consists in a number of prayers learned by heart, that nobody, probably not even the conjuror himself, understands, which he, standing on the shore, continues muttering and grumbling from sun rise until the boats return; during this period, they are obliged to abstain from food and sleep, otherwise their prayers would have no avail, they are, however, allowed to drink, which privilege they indulge in a high degree, and are frequently so giddy, as to be rendered very unfit for devotion. Some of the conjurors accompany the divers in their boats, which pleases them very much, as they have their protectors near at hand. Nevertheless, I was told, that in one of the preceding fisheries, a diver lost his leg by a shark, and when the head conjuror was called to an account for the accident, he replied that an old witch had just come from the coast, who, from envy and malice, had caused this disaster, by a counter-conjuration, which made fruitless his skill, and of which he was informed too late; but he afterwards shewed his superiority by enchanting the poor sharks so effectually, that though they appeared in the midst of the divers, they were unable to open their mouths. During my stay at Condatchey, no accident of this kind happened. If a shark is seen, the divers immediately make a signal, which, on perceiving, all the boats return instantly. A diver who trod upon a hammer oyster, and was somewhat wounded, though the was bit by a shark, consequently made the usual signal, which caused many boats to return; for which mistake he was afterwards punished.

The owners of the boats † sometimes sell their oysters, and at

* According to Kircher, he fell a victim amongst the polypes, in the gulph of Charybdis, on his plunging, for the second time, in its dangerous whirlpool, both to satisfy the curiosity of his king, Frederick, and his inclination for wealth. I will not pretend to determine, how far this account has been exaggerated.

† These are the individuals which farm one or more boats from the renter; and though they are in possession of them only during the fishery, they are commonly called the owners of the boats.

other times open them on their own account. In the latter case some put them on mats in a square, surrounded with a fence; others dig holes of almost a foot deep, and throw them in till the animal dies; after which they open the shells and take out the pearls with more ease. Even these squares and holes are sold by auction after the fishery is finished, as pearls often remain there, mixed with the sand.

In spite of every care, tricks in picking out the pearls from the oysters can hardly be prevented. In this the natives are extremely dextrous. The following is one mode they put in practice to effect their purpose: when a boat owner employs a number of hired people to collect pearls, he places over them an inspector of his own, in whom he can confide; these hirelings previously agree that one of them shall play the part of a thief, and bear the punishment, to give his comrades an opportunity of pilfering. If one of the gang happens to meet with a large pearl, he makes a sign to his accomplice, who instantly conveys away one of small value, purposely, in such a manner as to attract notice. On this the inspector and the rest of the men take the pearl from him: he is then punished and turned out of their company. In the mean time, while he is making a dreadful uproar, the real thief secures the valuable pearl, and afterwards the booty is shared with him who suffered for them all. Besides tricks like these the boat-owners and purchasers often lose many of the best pearls, while the dony is returning from the bank; for, as long as the animal is alive and untouched, the shells are frequently open near an inch, and if any of them contain a large pearl, it is easily discovered and taken out by means of a small piece of stiff grass or bit of stick, without hurting the pearl-fish. In this practice they are extremely expert. Some of them were discovered whilst I was there, and received their due punishment.

Gmelin asks if the animal of the *mytilus margaritiferus* is an *ascidia?* See Linn. Syst. Nat. tom. I. p. vi. 3350. This induces me to believe that it has never yet been accurately described: it does not resemble the *ascidia* of Linnæus, and may, perhaps, form a new genus. It is fastened to the upper and lower shells by two white flat pieces of muscular substance, which are called by Houttuin * *ears*, and extend about two inches from the thick part of the body, growing gradually thinner. The extremity of each ear lies loose, and is surrounded by a double brown fringed line. These lie almost the third of an inch from the outer part of the shell, and are continually moved by the animal. Next to these, above and below, are situated two other double fringed moveable substances, like the branchiæ of a fish. These ears and fringes are joined to a cylindrical piece of flesh, of the size of a man's thumb, which is harder and of a more muscular nature than the rest of the body. It lies about the centre of the shells, and is firmly attached to

* Vide Houtt. Nat. Hist. Vol. I. p. xv. p. 81, seq.

the middle of each.—This, in fact, is that part of the pearl-fish which serves to open and shut the shells. Where this column is fastened, we find on the flesh deep impressions, and on the shell various nodes of round or oblong forms, like imperfect pearls. Between this part, and the hinge (*cardo*) lies the principal body of the animal, separated from the rest, and shaped like a bag. The mouth is near the hinge of the shell, enveloped in a veil, and has a double flap or lip on each side; from thence we observe the throat (œsophagus) descending like a thread to the stomach. Close to the mouth there is a carved brownish tongue, half an inch in length, with an obstuse point; on the concave side of this descends a furrow, which the animal opens and shuts, and probably uses to convey food to its mouth *. Near its middle are two bluish spots, which seem to be the eyes. In a pretty deep hole, near the tape of the tongue, lies the beard (*byssus*,) fastened by two fleshy roots, and consisting of almost one hundred fibres, each an inch long, of a dark green colour, with a metallic lustre; they are undivided, parallel, and flattened. In general the *byssus* is more than three quarters of an inch, without the cleft (*rima*;) but if the animal is disturbed, it contracts it considerably. The top of each of these threads terminates in a circular gland or head, like the *stygma* of many plants. With this *byssus* they fasten themselves to rocks, corals, and other solid bodies; by it the young pearl-fish cling to the old ones, and with it the animal procures its food, by extending and contracting it at pleasure. Small shell-fish, on which they partly live, are often found clinging to the former. The stomach lies close to the root of the beard, and has, on its lower side, a protracted obtuse point. Above the stomach are two small red bodies, like lungs; and from the stomach goes a long channel or gut, which takes a circuit round the muscular column above mentioned, and ends in the anus, which lies opposite to the mouth, and is covered with a small thin leaf, like a flap. Though the natives pretend to distinguish the sexes, by the appearance of the shell, I could not find any genitalia. The large flat ones they call males, and those that are thick, concave, and vaulted, they call females, or *pedoo-chippy*; but, on a close inspection, I could not observe any visible sexual difference.

It is remarkable that some of these animals are as red as blood, and that the inside of the shell has the same colour, with the usual pearly lustre, though my servants found a reddish pearl in an oyster of this colour; yet such an event is

* The depth at which the pearl fish generally is to be found, hindered me from paying any attention to the locomotive power, which I have not the least doubt it possesses, using for this purpose its tongue. This conjecture is strengthened by the accurate observations made on *muscles* by the celebrated Reaumur, in which he found that this body serves them as a leg or arm, to move from one place to another. Though the divers are very ignorant with regard to the economy of the pearl-fish, this changing of habitation has been long since observed by them. They allege, that it alters its abode when disturbed by an enemy or in search of food. In the former case they say it commonly descends from the summit of the bank to its declivity.

very rare. The divers attribute this redness to the sickness of the pearl-fish; though it is most probable that they had it from their first existence. In the shade they will live twenty-four hours after being taken out of the water. This animal is eaten by the lower class of Indians, either fresh in their curries, or cured by drying; in which state they are exported to the coast; though I do not think them by any means palatable.

Within a mother of pearl-shell I found thirteen *murices nudati* (vide Chemnitz's New System, Cabt. vol. XI. tab. 192, f. 1851 and 1852,) the largest of which was three quarters of an inch long; but as many of them were putrid, and the pearl-fish itself dead, I could not ascertain whether they had crept in as enemies, or were drawn in by the animal itself. At any rate turtles and crabs are inimical to the animals, and a small living crab was found in one of them.

The pearls are only in the softer part of the animal, and never in that firm muscular column above mentioned. We find them in general near the earth, and on both sides of the mouth. The natives entertain the same foolish opinion concerning the formation of the pearl which the ancients did. They suppose them formed from dew drops in connection with sun-beams. A Brahman informed me that it was recorded in one of his Sanscrit books, that the pearls are formed in the month of May at the appearance of the Sooatee star (one of their twenty-seven constellations) when the oysters come up to the surface of the water, to catch the drops of rain. One of the most celebrated conchologists*, supposes that the pearl is formed by the oyster in order to defend itself from the attacks of the pholades and boreworms. But we may be assured that in this supposition he is mistaken, for although these animals often penetrate the outer layers of the pearl-shell, and there occasion hollow nodes, yet, on examination, it will be found, that they are never able to pierce the firm layer, with which the inside of the shell is lined. How can the pearls be formed as a defence against exterior worms, when, even on shells that contain them, no worm-holes are to be seen? It is, therefore, more probable these worms take up their habitations in the nodes, in order to protect themselves from the attacks of an enemy, than that they are capable of preying on an animal, so well defended as the pearl-fish is. It is unnecessary to repeat the various opinions and hypotheses of other modern authors; it is much easier to criticise them, than to substitute in their place a more rational theory. That of Reaumur, mentioned in the memoirs of the French Academy for 1712, is the most probable, viz. that the pearls are formed like bezoars and other stones in different animals, and are apparently the effects of a disease. In short it is very evident, that the pearl is formed by an extravasation of a glutinous juice either within the body, or on the surface of the animal: the former case is the most common. Between one

* The Rev. Mr. Chemnitz, at Copenhagen.

and two hundred pearls have been found within one oyster. Such extravasations may be caused by heterogeneous bodies such as sand, coming in with the food, which the animal, to prevent disagreeable friction, covers with its glutinous matter, and which as it is successively secreted forms many regular lamellæ, in the manner of the coats of an onion, or like different strata of bezoars, only much thinner; this is probable, for if we cut through the centre of a pearl, we often find a foreign particle, which ought to be considered as the nucleus, or primary cause of its formation. The loose pearls, may originally have been produced within the body, and on their increase may have separated and fallen into the cavity of the shell. Those compact ones, fixed to the shells seem to be produced by similar extravasation, occasioned by the friction of some roughness on the inside of the shell. These and the pearl-like nodes have a different aspect from the pearls, and are of a darker and bluer colour. In one of the former I found a pretty large, true oval pearl, of a very clear water; while the node itself was of a dark bluish colour. The yellow or gold coloured pearl, is the most esteemed by the natives; some have a bright, red lustre; others are grey or blackish, without any shining appearance, and of no value. Sometimes when the grey lamella of a pearl is taken off, under it is found a beautiful genuine one, but it oftener happens that after having separated the first coat you find a worthless impure pearl. I tried several of them, taking one lamella off after another, and found clear and impure by turns, and in an impure pearl I met with one of a clear water, though in the centre of all I found a foreign particle. The largest and most perfect pearl which I saw during my stay at Condatchey, was about the size of a small pistol bullet, though I have been told since my departure, many others of the same size have been found. The spotted and irregular ones are sold cheap, and are chiefly used by the native physicians as an ingredient in their medicines.

We may judge with greater or lesser probability by the appearance of the pearl-shell, whether they contain pearls or not. Those that have a thick calcareous crust upon them, to which *serpulæ* (seatubes) *Tubuli marini irregulariter intorti, Christa-gali Chamar lazuras, Lepas tintinabulum, Madreporee, Millipore, Cellipore, Gorgontæ, Spongiæ*, and other Zoophytes are fastened, have arrived at their full growth, and commonly contain the best pearls: but those that appear smooth, contain either none, or small ones only.

Were a naturalist to make an excursion for a few months to Manar, the small island near Jafna and the adjacent coast, he would discover many natural curiosities, still buried in obscurity, or that have never been accurately described.

Indeed no place in the East Indies abounds more with rare shells, than these: for there they remain undisturbed, by being sheltered from turbulent seas, and the fury of the surf. I will just name a few of them, viz. *Tellina foliaca* Linn *, *Tell, Spenglerii, Arca culculata* †, *Arca Noæ, solen ana-*

* The golden tong.

† Mounkscape.

timus Linn. *Ostrea Isognomum, Terebullum, albidum, striatum, Turbo scalaris* * *Bula volva,* Linn †. *Vexillum ingritarum, &c.* Amongst the beautiful cone shells: *conus thalassiarchus. Anglicanus cullatus* ‡, *amadis thassiarchus con. generalois* Linn. *c. capitaneus* ‖, *c. miles* §, *c. stercus muscarum* ¶, *c. reteaureum, c. glaucus* **, *c. cereola, regia corona murus lapedius, canda erminea societas cordium.* There are many others, besides those already mentioned, equally valuable and curious.

The great success of the Rev. Doctor John, in conchology, when at Tutucorin, and assisted by G. Angelbeck, with a boat and divers: and the capital collections made by his agents, whom he afterwards sent there with the necessary instructions and apparatus, may be seen in Chemnitz's elegant cabinet of shells, in 4to. (with illuminated plates,) and how many new species of zoophytes he discovered, we learn from another German work by Esper, at Erlangen, the third volume of which is nearly finished.

Account of the Fishery for the Morse or Sea-Horse. From Tooke's View of the Russian Empire.

"The people who go out to catch the Morse are hired for that purpose by a master or ship-owner, who not only furnishes them with the necessary vessels, but fits them out with provisions, stores, and whatever they are likely to want on the voyage, but either agrees to give them a share of what they take, or pays them certain wages. The latter, however, seldom exceed five or ten rubles for the summer; a trifling sum when we consider the hardships, toils, and dangers attending this profession. The Morse-catchers usually take with them a year's provisions, as they are often obliged to pass the winter on board their ships. Every vessel has an oven for baking bread and cooking their victuals, for the supply of which they take the needful stock of wood. The only drink they carry out with them is water, with which, when they go on shore they prepare quas. The time of departure varies according to circumstances; some set out at the beginning of the summer, when the White Sea is free from ice, others not till autumn, especially if they intend to winter on the voyage. The greatest peril to which they are exposed at sea, is that of being hemmed in by the driving masses of ice; in this case, the ice by its force beats in the side of the vessel, and the Morse-catchers are then reduced to the dreadful alternative either of being buried in the waves on the spot, or of getting on the fields of ice floating at the mercy of the winds, till cold and hunger put an end to their sufferings. And yet it has happened, though very rarely, that some of these poor fellows have been brought alive to land on their flakes of ice.

* Royal staircase.
† Weaver's shuttle.
‡ Red English admiral.
‖ Green stamper.
§ Garter stamper.
¶ Great sand stamper.
** Caps. Gottw.

"When the Morse-catchers are happily arrived at the place of their destination, the first thing they do is to conduct their vessels to some safe anchorage, where they generally find little huts that have been constructed by their predecessors in this hazardous warfare, and then commit themselves to the small boats, of which every vessel takes with it one or two, to proceed to the conflict with the beasts of the ocean. This is usually done on the first fine day, because then the Morses delight in going on the land or on the ice to repose; and besides they are at times stimulated to leave their native element, for a length of time, for the purpose of copulation, which business lasts with these monsters for a month or two, or to cast their young, or to rescue themselves from the bite of the sea-lice, by which the Morse in summer is perpetually tormented, and from which they have no other means of escaping than by fleeing into an element which deprives these creatures of life. All these causes collect them frequently on the beach or fields of ice, in prodigious numbers. When the captors discover one of these multitudes, they must have the precaution to approach them against the wind, because these animals have so fine a smell, that they perceive the approach of men with the wind at a great distance, and then immediately take to the water; whereas in the contrary case, they continue lying undisturbed, though they even see the boat advancing towards them. Besides, the Morse-catchers, by this means, have the advantage of discovering sooner the place where the prey has couched; for these fat animals, especially in summer, emit far round them a horrid stench.

"When the captors have reached this formidable encampment, they immediately quit their Karbasses or boats, armed with nothing but their pikes, cut off the way to the sea from the Morses, and then pierce those animals which first come to save themselves in the water. As it is the way with the Morses to scramble over one another in their attempts to escape, from the numbers of the slain there soon arises a bulwark which effectually choaks up the passage to the living, and then the captors proceed to the slaughter till they have not left one alive. It sometimes happens that after such an engagement so great are the heaps of the dead, that the vessels can only contain the heads or the teeth, and the people are obliged to leave the fat or blubber and the skins behind.

"But, easy as it is for the captors to conquer the Morse by land, it is dangerous to combat with them in their own element. We have only to recollect that the Morse is commonly of the size of a large ox, and that, besides their sharp-teeth, they are provided with two long stout tusks, for judging how a sea-fight of this kind is likely to terminate. When any of the Morses escape into the water before they can all be killed, the captors leap upon the ice, and fall upon the animals with harpoons, which they strive to strike into their breasts or belly, and to each of which is fastened a long cord. This done,

they drive a stake into the ice, wind the other end of the long harpoon-string round it, and are now drawn about, on the piece of ice on which they stand, by the animal until he has lost his strength, when they draw him upon the ice by the cord, and kill him outright. But when the Morses lie so near the water, that they can leap in ere the attack begins, then the captors fasten the cord, when they have thrown the harpoon, only to the head of the boat, which is then drawn by the huge animal so deep into the water that the sailors must all immediately run a-stern. The Morse having fruitlessly endeavoured to get loose from the cord, rises erect upon the surface of the water, and makes a furious attack upon his persecutors. In this he is sometimes so successful as to shatter the boats with his tusks, or to throw himself suddenly, by a proportionate leap, into the midships. Then nothing is left to the crew but to jump overboard and hold by the gunnel, till other Morse-hunters come to their assistance in this perilous situation.—To mitigate the danger of these misfortunes, the captors not only previously take all proper methods, but it is even laid down by laws and regulations what conduct every one is to observe during the voyage and in the actual encounter with the Morses. Each of these companies generally consists of a Master or Pilot, two Harpooners, two barrelling people, a Steersman, and several Rowers, each of whom has his appointed duty." Vol. III. p. 95.

USEFUL PROJECTS.

Pyrometrical Essays to determine the Point to which Charcoal is a Non-conductor of Heat. By Citizen Guyton. From Nicholson's Journal.*

Since the experiments and researches of philosophers have been directed to the matter of heat, the state in which it is found, and the various manner in which it affects bodies, it has been well ascertained that charcoal is one of the worst conductors of heat. From this observation it has been proposed to form a double wall to furnaces, and to fill the intermediate space with charcoal; and, very recently, an happy application of this property has been made in the construction of vessels designed for the preserving the temperature of warm infusions.

I am not, however, acquainted with any researches which may have been made to fix, even comparatively, the limits of this kind of insulation. The effect of the non-conducting power of charcoal has been so slightly considered, even by the most accomplished chemists, that they have not thought it necessary to take any account of this effect in the result of their operations. Hence it is, that the celebrated Klaproth, in a series of experiments upon the alteration which stones undergo when exposed to extreme heat, seems to think that the heat might have been nearly equal in such as were contained in crucibles of porcelain, and those which were entirely surrounded with charcoal. The reduction of the oxides of tungsten, titanium, and uranium, has also been attempted in crucibles of charcoal, though it is well known that the highest degree of heat is here required for the fusion, and that, in other respects, every endeavour must be made to expose them to the most intense ignition.

These reflections have led me to conclude, that it might be of some importance to obtain a more

* Read to the French National Institute, 6th Germinal, in the 6th year of the Republic (March 26, 1798) and inserted in the Annales de Chimie, XXVI. 225.

accurate measure of this insulating effect of charcoal. The following are the experiments which I have made upon this subject.

Out of the same parcel I took two pyrometic pieces perfectly alike, and placed one, which I shall call A, in a crucible filled with pure siliceous sand dried over the fire. The crucible was 8 decemeters high, 6 in diameter at the mouth; the cylinder of clay was placed in the middle, and the crucible had its cover luted on.

The other piece, B, was placed in a similar crucible, with this difference, that the crucible was filled with powder of charcoal, which had been previously ignited in a close crucible.

The two crucibles were then placed beside each other on the grate of a large melting furnace, in which the fire was kept up for about three quarters of an hour.

When the crucibles were cooled, the cylinder A was taken out of the sand, and presented to the pyrometic scale of Wedgewood; it had undergone a contraction of 89 degrees. The cylinder B was then taken out of the charcoal, and stopped in the gage at 60,25 degrees. It had acquired a grey tinge, but without any appearance of glazing.

Hence it follows, that the transmission of heat through the sand, is to the transmission through the charcoal nearly in the proportion of 3 to 2. In proportion as this difference is in itself striking, the more it becomes necessary to attend to such precautions as are required to prevent deception arising from foreign circumstances. The crucibles had most assuredly undergone the same degree of fire. The state in which they were found exhibited the traces of its action: the conditions were therefore as equal as possible; but it might, possibly, be suspected that some defect, or want of uniformity in the pyrometic piece, or some imperfection in its composition, or fabrication, might have altered its disposition to contract equally, and proportionally to the heat it might undergo. There was a very simple method of removing these doubts; namely, to ascertain whether the same piece put into the sand, and exposed to a much stronger heat, would resume the common course of contraction, and agree with the former. This, in fact, was performed; the same two pieces, A and B, were inclosed in one and the same crucible filled with sand, so that they were not more distant from each other than about 7 or 8 millimetres, and the crucible was exposed for half an hour to the most violent heat of a forge, urged by three twyers.

The crucible, when cold, was found to have lost some of its thickness by vitrification, so that there was a crack in one of its sides. The sand, however, was not deranged within.

The piece A marked 163,5 upon the pyrometic scale, it weighed no more than 1,491 grammes; its specific gravity was 2,232.

The piece B exhibited 160 degrees on the pyrometer, it weighed 1,53 grammes, and its specific gravity was 2,346. It had almost lost the grey tinge which it had acquired in the charcoal, and was no longer distinguishable from the other but by a black

vitreous point, produced by the accession of some foreign matter.

I confess I did not expect to be so completely successful in this verification: the small difference of $3\frac{1}{2}$ degrees is nothing, when we consider that the piece first inclosed in the charcoal, and which had stopped at 60, was still capable of contracting through an additional 100 degrees. It is, besides, known to be physically impossible, that two bodies placed in the same crucible, and in contact with the same substance, should be strictly in the same situation as to the reception of heat, particularly when the blast is directed from three different nozzles, which are necessarily unequal. The advanced state of one of the sides of the crucible, with respect to the fusion, is a proof that this was in fact the case.

We may therefore conclude from these essays, that the body included in the charcoal in the same fire, does not receive more than about two-thirds of the heat of a body surrounded with quartzose sand; that the reduction of metals which do not flow at a lower degree of heat than 130 degrees, cannot be effected in charcoal; that the pyrometric pieces do not afford an accurate judgment of the heat communicated, unless they be in contact with substances of the same kind as those which surround the body, on which the chemical process is performed; and lastly, that with these attentions we may make an advantageous use of this instrument, of which the applications will not be sufficiently known, until we shall be able to procure, at pleasure, cylinders fabricated after the manner of Wedgewood, of a clay susceptible of losing 0,18 of its volume by contraction; or, which is the same thing (supposing no elastic matter to fly off) of passing from the specific gravity of 2,05 to 2,45, between the degree of ignition required for baking the biscuit of earthenware, and the highest heat of furnaces, without undergoing a commencement of fusion.

I have made a great number of experiments, with the intention of discovering a clay which might naturally exhibit these properties, or which might acquire them by easy and cheap preparation. I hope I shall be shortly able to communicate satisfactory results to the class of the institute.

On Stereotype Printing, from Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts.

I shall take this opportunity of noticing the stereotype method of printing, which Didot has pursued with much spirit, and with the advantage, as I understand, of support from the French government in these tables. The term stereotype is derived from the words στερεος, *firmus*, τυπος, *nota*; doubtless on account of the immutable connection between all the parts of the form from which the impression is to be given. I have not heard what may be the peculiarities of the method of Didot, for every ingenious man will make his improvements in the art he undertakes to carry into effect;

but I scarcely need take notice to those who are acquainted with printing, that the project of soldering a whole form together, or of casting a new form from an impression made by a general system of types, or page ready composed, is not in itself new. Rochon mentions* the Sallust of Ged, under the title, *C. Crispi Salustii Catilinarii et Jugurthini Historiæ, Edinburgi, Guill. Ged, Auri Faber edinenses non typis mobilibus ut vulgo fieri solet, sed tabellis seu laminis fusis excudebat*, 1744, *in* 16*mo.* which, he says, is well printed, and perfectly similar to a book printed with moveable types. Didot now, it seems, follows the same process as Ged, that is to say, he casts plates, from which he afterwards makes his impressions; but the logarithms are from soldered types. The advantage of Ged's method is, that only a few original types, comparatively speaking, are necessary to form the page, which is to serve as the pattern for the subsequent casts; that these casts or plates, setting the type at liberty to be again used in other works, may be preserved for the purpose of printing as many impressions of the work as may afterwards be wanted; that the risk of any greater number of impressions than the public may actually call for, is, by this invention, done away, and that even the plates themselves may become an article of commerce, not only for shop-bills, advertisements, and other similar articles, but also for books of constant sale and invariable structure, such as mathematical works, the classics, religious books, and the works of celebrated authors deceased. How far this invention might be of value, with regard to books which are altered and improved in every subsequent edition, may, perhaps, be questioned; but on a loose consideration of the subject, it seems as if it would, in every case, be advantageous to a bookseller to print a few copies of a work, and keep the press standing to print others as they may be wanted;—I say it would be advantageous if it were not for the immense value in types, which would, by that means, be locked up. But the stereotype method has all the advantage of keeping the press standing, with none of its inconveniences, unless the weight and charge of metal in the plates should approach to that of the types they represent. To form some judgment of this, it may be stated, that the works of Virgil, printed by Didot, in 18mo. which I have had from De Boffe, form a beautiful volume of 418 pages, of 35 lines each. The character ranges line for line with that called burgeois, No. 2. in Caslon's book of specimens, the face of the letter being rather smaller; and we are told † that the price of the plates of this work is twelve hundred franks, or 50*l.* sterling. From this fact some judgment may be formed of the commercial question, but I am not at present provided with the means of making the statement.

Besides the Virgil and the Logarithms, Didot has printed †,

* Journal de Physique, IV. Dr. S. 364. See also Professor Wilson's Paper in Philos. Journal, 11,000.

† La Decade Philosophique, &c. No. 6. An. VII.

the fables of La Fontaine, Cornelius Nepos, Phædrus, the Vicar of Wakefield, the works of Racine, 5 vols.—of Boileau, 3 vols. of J. B. Rousseau, 2 vols.—and Lady Mary Wortley Montague's Letters. He is now employed on an edition of Voltaire's works. All the works here mentioned are of the eighteen size, which, I suppose, to be better adapted to the present state of the art than the larger sizes, perhaps from the difficulty of insuring perfect casts in the latter.

On the same Subject, a Memoir on the Typographic Art, by Alexis Rochon, of the French National Institute, and Director of the Marine Observatory at the Port of Brest. From Nicholson's Journal.

Typography is the art of multiplying copies. Amongst the processes to which the improvement of this art has given rise, there is one for ever memorable in the records of science and of art. This simple designation is sufficient to point out the invention of printing; and the reader will be ready to observe, that it is unnecessary to describe the utility of this happy expedient, the fruitful and inexhaustible source of mental illumination, the ever-durable register of all nations. Men of information well know, that the notions acquired by reading constitute the basis of all our science; and it is to the art of printing that we are most indebted for these acquisitions.

Henceforth the precious deposit of our sciences and arts is preserved, and nothing short of universal convulsion can destroy it. This wonderful art gives to man the faculty of transmitting the result of his enquiries to his fellow men, however dispersed over the surface of the globe, or even though removed to those periods of duration which shall be occupied by our remotest posterity. If this precious invention had been known to the ancients, we surely should not have to regret, at this moment, the numerous master-pieces of composition, and the many useful arts which time has for ever covered with obscurity.

Let those who shew an ignorant contempt for the mechanic arts, direct their attention to this, and repent their errors. Let them renounce those unhappy prejudices which tend to discourage the numerous and respectable class of industrious artists. Much sagacity has certainly been required to carry our arts to the degree of perfection they at present possess. I will say more, and bring the art of printing in support of my assertion. One single happy discovery is sufficient to change the face of the universe. Let us leave those men who have more erudition than genius to seek the origin of printing in the ages of antiquity. They are ignorant that the great advantage of this art consists still more particularly in casting the characters, than in their mobility; for which reason we join in the opinion of those who affirm John of Gottenburgh, Furst, and Schoeffer, made the discovery in 1439. We must, however, observe, that Schoeffer, the clerk or principal workman of the goldsmith, Furst, was the

inventor of moveable types, according to the learned Trithemius, author of the Chronicle Hersanges, who was particularly acquainted with Schoeffer. Trithemius was so well satisfied with this process, that he gave his daughter in marriage to Schoeffer. But whatever may be the decisions respecting this point of history, the immediate object of my memoir will not allow me to enter into any further discussion respecting the degrees of perfection which this art has successively acquired since that memorable epocha. I cannot, however, pass over in silence a method invented in Scotland, by William Ged, to make fixed plates with moveable characters. By means of these plates he printed an edition of Sallust, with the title "*C. Crispi Salustii Catilinarii et Jugurthini Historiæ. Edinburgi, Guill. Ged. Auri Faber edinensis non typis mobilibus ut vulgo fieri solet, sed tabellis seu laminis fusis excudebat*, 1744," in 16mo.

The Sallust of Ged is well printed, and resembles, in every respect, a book printed with moveable characters. But Ged reduced his printing characters to a moderate price, and obtained, besides, a much greater saving on the paper, because he printed no greater number of copies, at a time, than he had reasonable ground to expect he should sell. His process is more particularly advantageous for classical books, which are of slow, though steady, sale. These Polytype plates, as they are now called, are likewise capable of affording a considerable profit to the founder, who may make them, for the purpose of exportation or sale, at great distances from the place of fabrication. Hoffman, an industrious artist, communicated, in 1784, to the French Academy, a process similar to that here described; but he applied his art to the composition of a journal, for which it was little calculated. If we could flatter ourselves with making any any addition to the fame of the Didots, we should not fail to make honorable mention of their labours. But the object of the present communication is less the art of printing, or impression, than of typography. Typography embraces the generality of the art of multiplying copies, whether the plates present an engraving in relief or excavated, and whether the characters be fixed or moveable. It will not be contended, but that the art of typography was very anciently known in China. Duhalde, and every other writer who has treated of the industry of that nation, informs us, that they transfer to a block, of apple or pear tree, the work of which they are desirous of multiplying copies, by first pasting a written copy, upon thin paper, on the face of the block, through which they trace the marks of the writing with a point, and afterwards clear away the blank parts with the graving-tool. Duhalde observes, that this method of procuring copies has the great inconvenience of requiring an excessive multiplicity of blocks for such works as are voluminous. But how could it be possible for the Chinese to make use of moveable cast types, since they have near one hundred thousand characters. Nevertheless, according to the same author,

this people are not ignorant of the use of moveable characters, because they make them in wood, and use them to correct the Account of the State of China, which is printed at Pekin every three months. Duhalde does not here seem to be aware of the inestimable advantage of casting types. The very celebrated Dr. Franklin, who was long a printer at Philadelphia, shewed me some essays which he had made for speedily multiplying the copies of his own hand-writing. I do not here speak of those English presses which answer the purpose of a copyist, but of a process which gave birth to that notion, a considerable time afterwards. This method consisted in writing upon smooth paper, with ink containing much gum, which was afterwards sanded with emery, or powder of cast-iron, and by means of a rolling-press, such as is used by the copperplate-printers, the strokes of the writing were transferred to a plate of rose-copper, or pewter. This plate affords as many copies as the depth of the engraving can permit; but it must be confessed, these copies are very far from being beautiful, and the ground is spotted and soiled. Though Franklin did not immediately communicate his process to me, I shewed him, before the illustrious Turgot, that by writing with a steel point on a copper-plate previously varnished, a more satisfactory result might be obtained by etching the strokes with nitric acid to a sufficient depth for the subsequent use of a liquid ink similar to that of the printers. In this case the plate may be wiped without precaution, and twelve or more copies may be pulled off upon coarse paper. These proofs are foul and reversed; whence, in order to have them neat and in the proper direction of the writing, it becomes necessary to place the same number of leaves of white paper, wetted and prepared, upon the twelve proofs, and, while the ink is still fresh, the whole being passed together through the rolling-press, the same number of counter-proofs are obtained as there were proofs: so that instead of twelve turns of the press, thirteen will be required to afford twelve counter-proofs, very black, neat, and legible, even when the plate has not been perfectly well wiped. This method is certainly not to be compared with fine engraving; but it may be useful in military operations, and all other cases in which a speedy multiplication of copies is required. No precaution is here necessary: whether the nitrous acid be more or less strong, or remain a longer or shorter time upon the plate, or whether the plate be somewhat heated to increase the strength of the solvent, the success of the operation will never fail; provided the steel point, made use of to trace the characters through the varnish, shall lay the copper perfectly bare. It is of advantage that the nitric acid should bite deep, because the counter-proofs are, by this means, much darker. The plate need not be well wiped, because it is of no consequence whether the proof which is used to afford a counterproof should be very clean, provided it do not spot the copy intended to be procured. The most liquid kind of printers' ink may be made use of.

The art of multiplying copies by a copper-plate engraved by excavation, appears to have been an invention of the fifteenth century. The Italians and Germans contend for the honour of this discovery. This art, which is particularly distinguished by the name of engraving, is, nevertheless, more generally attributed to a goldsmith of Florence, named Thomas Siniguerra. It is more especially used to transmit to posterity copies of paintings and designs of great masters. Engravers, or rather copperplate-printers, have, in certain circumstances, made use of counter-proofs; but they are little esteemed. These counter-proofs have put me in possession of a method of procuring, with celerity, a number of copies of a manuscript of no great extent; and I can affirm that this application of the art has not been without considerable utility. Interesting memoirs, of which the impression had been prohibited, were printed in this manner. The same process has also been used in the publication of flying gazettes. Without attaching any particular importance to a process of such easy invention after what was previously known, I shall only add, that it may be usefully applied in all cases where a printing-press cannot be had recourse to. The process here described may be also found in a work which I published in 1783, on mechanics and natural philosophy. They are contained in a memoir, entitled, "*Description d'une Machine à graver.*"

It was the illustrious Turgot who engaged me, after these first essays, to turn my attention to the mechanical method here described. The restraint under which the liberty of the press then laboured, caused this great man to wish that authors should be able to compose and print their works under their own inspection. The learned Morellet, who became strongly interested in this project, gave me some punches, which I used in my first attempts. If I have not entirely accomplished the wish of Turgot and Morellet, I have, nevertheless, produced a machine which has contributed to the perfection of paper-money, and will probably be useful, hereafter, in the process which God has pointed out for the composition of classical works. It would, no doubt, be difficult, without the assistance of a great number of drawings, to shew, in detail, the different parts of this machine, which is necessarily very complicated, though its action is infinitely simple: for when it is used, a detent is held by one hand, and the other, by means of a handle, brings the letter which is required under the pressing tool, which letter, as well as its place, is precisely indicated by a moveable piece, which passes along till it is properly disposed with regard to an index: the detent is then let go, and firmly retains a wheel which carries the letters of hardened steel: a small lever is then moved, of which the stop is nearer or further off, according to the width of the letter: the lever, while it strikes the stop, delivers the pressing-screw from a tooth which stopped its action; so that by these three operations, any letter whatever is spaced and

struck with equal precision and facility.

Franklin was desirous of making a comparison between the time employed with this machine, to engrave a plate of nine hundred letters, and that required by a skilful compositor in performing the same work by moveable characters. He was very much surprized to see, that, without practice, the machine engraved the plate in nineteen minutes, without any fault, and his compositor employed twenty-three minutes to set up the same, which still required to be corrected *.

A report of the commissaries of the Academy of Sciences, of the 23d December, 1781, will serve to give a first notion of this machine. " The characters intended to be engraved are disposed in a circle, on a moveable wheel, successively brought under a pressing-screw, which engraves them upon a plate of pewter. The inventor has imagined different means, as well for speedily bringing the desired character beneath the screw, as to regulate the pressure in proportion to the extent of the letter itself, in order that all the different impressions may be made to the same depth. The plate itself has a double motion, one of which serves to space the letters and the words, and the other to regulate the distance between the lines. These motions are performed in such a manner, that any distance, at pleasure, may be allowed between the letters, the words, and the lines, and these distances possess the most perfect equality. The different widths of the letters present an obstacle here: in fact, it may easily be understood, that in order to render these spaces equal, it is necessary, not that the letters themselves should occupy equal portions of the line, but that a constant interval should be allowed between them. The beauty of printing, likewise, demands that these spaces should be, in some instances, varied in a small degree, in order that the justification should be perfect, that is to say, that the ends of the lines should present to the eye a regular and straight termination. The machine of our author affords the means of doing this.

" This machine appears to us to unite several advantages: 1. Engraved editions of books may be executed, by this means, superior to those which can be made by the hand of the engraver, however skilful; and these engraved originals will be made with much more speed, and much less expence. 2. As this machine is portable, and of no considerable bulk, it may become very useful in armies, fleets, and public offices, for the impression of orders, instructions, &c. 3. It possesses the advantage which, in a variety of circumstances, is highly valuable, of being capable of being used by any man of intelligence and skill, without requiring the assistance of any

* Nine hundred characters are contained in about twelve lines of this journal. It seems probable, that the machine of the author was worked nearly at the same rate as the compositor placed his types in the stick, but that the latter being necessitated to take up his spaces, might lose time on this account. The speediest writer with a pen, who has come under my observation, would have written the same quantity, perfectly legible, in six minutes.

professional workman. And, lastly, it affords the facility of waiting for the entire composition and engravings of a work before any of the copies are pulled off; the expence of plates, even for a work of considerable magnitude, being an object of little charge; and this liberty it affords to authors, may prove highly beneficial in works of which the chief merit consists in the order, method, and connection of ideas.

"So that even if it should prove, as experience only can shew, that it could not acquire the same speed as the common method of printing, nor an equal degree of facility for alterations and corrections, it would, nevertheless, be of very great utility.

"We think, therefore, that the idea of this machine being new, and the means adopted by the inventor, to give it the degree of perfection to which it is brought, being simple and ingenious, and its application being of great utility, the same is worthy of the approbation of the Academy; and that the description of the machine, executed with the machine itself, and presented by the author, is worthy of being published under the privilege of that Academy.

(Signed)

"Condorcet and Bossut.

"Given at the Louvre,
22nd Dec. 1781."

[Here follows a detailed description of the Machine, too voluminous for insertion; and which cannot be clearly understood without a reference to the plates. The memoir then concludes thus:]

While I was employed in the construction and improvement of my machine for engraving, Condorcet engaged me to make use of, in a short memoir of the celebrated Dupati, a method I had imagined to compose a large work with a very small number of types. I complied with his demand, and presented to the academy a polytype plate, entitled *Essai d'imprimerie, présenté à l'académie des sciences le* 8 *Février*, 1786.

The number of moveable cast types which I possessed, was contained in a box of the form of a book, and was sufficient to compose only four lines. When these four lines were composed, I took their impression in fine plaister, mixed with charcoal-dust*; this mould enabled me to cast a number of copies of the four lines which I had composed. I soon perceived that the first and last letter of each line lost its position by sinking further back than the face of the other letters. It was easy for me to obviate this defect, by placing a small metallic support at a certain distance from the beginning and end of each line, to prevent the sinking of the letters. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the mould ought to be very dry, and that a slight pressure upon the metal while in the half fluid state, is useful to obtain a good plate: seven or eight of these are required to form a page in octavo. I can take upon me to assert, that this process is neither

* The material used by the celebrated Tassie, in a similar process of extreme delicacy, was a mixture of sulphate of lime (plaister of Paris,) and tripoli. See Philos. Journal, II. 63.

tedious nor embarrassing, and it has the convenience of including the power of making corrections and additions.

This, in short, is the account I have to give of my enquiries into the typographic art. Reth, formerly director of the fabrication of assignats, is better acquainted than any other person with what has since been done for the improvement of this important art. I have but a few words to add. In my essay on ancient and modern coins, I described a method of imitating ancient and modern coins in bell-metal, by the polytypic art. For this purpose I place in a cavity in an anvil the piece of bronze heated to a proper degree, to render it soft: the use of the cavity is to enable the metal to sustain the action of that pressure, which it is to receive from the screw or ram at the instant the medallion is applied to it, which is intended to give its hollow impression. If the metal be heated to a proper degree of softness, the original will not be in the least altered, whether it be of gold, silver, or copper; but it is requisite that the piece should not be suffered to become hard by cooling, nor the medallion itself to remain in contact with it a sufficient time to alter its own temperature. The success of this process depends, therefore, on the quickness of the operation, and the practical knowledge of the degree of heat which the object of the impression can bear to soften it without injuring it in other respects: it is necessary to fasten the medal to the face of the screw or ram, in order that it may not touch the heated metal but at the moment of its fall.

Two silver medals struck under the magistrature of Titus Cavisius, Triumvir, Monetarius, which exhibit the instruments used at Rome for coining, suggested to me the notion of the process I have been describing. There are two dies, one superior and the other inferior; the lower die is supported on an anvil, beside which lie a hammer and pair of tongs. The form of the tongs leave no doubt respecting the use to which they were applied; they serve to place the blanks or pieces of metal of the legal weight and fineness between the two dies, and these blanks being sufficiently heated, could, by a single stroke of the hammer, receive both impressions. By this design the ancient art of polytypage is displayed. The two Roman medals which bear for their design, the dies, the pincers, the anvil, and the hammer, were struck at Rome three hundred years before the Christian era, at the epocha of the war with the Tarentines. Andrew Morell, in his work upon the medals of the Roman Families, expresses himself as follows:

Caput Junonis monetæ salutaris: instrumenta monetalia, incus, malleus, forceps, cum vulcani pileo in laurea.

In bello, videlicet, contra Pyrrhum et Tarentinos, quum pecunia destituerenter Romani, eos scribunt Junoni ad comparandam eandem, vota fecisse, deam vero monuisse illos ut Justiciæ armis uterentur; sic enim pecuniam iis non defecturam. Quod monitum quum salutare Romanis fuerit cognomina Monetæ Salutaris inde Juno adopta est. Laurea ad victoriam illam olim deæ monitu relatam respiccre potest.

Of a New Fulminating Mercury. From Nicholson's Journal of Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and the Arts.

Mr. Edward Howard has lately discovered a fulminating mercury, the preparation of which is in no respect similar to those described by Bayen or any other chemist. Two grains laid on an anvil and struck with a hammer (both cold), exploded with a stunning noise, which was felt on the top of the head, and produced a slight temporary deafness. Less than one-fourth of that quantity gave a report like the sound of a whip. Mr. Howard shewed me a powder-proof and the breech of a musquet, both of which had been burst by this powder. The powder-proof consisted of a brass gun, originally of the bore of one-fifth of an inch diameter, and near a quarter of an inch thick, except where a spring had been let in to the diminution of half the thickness. This chamber, which was one inch and quarter long, could contain eleven grains of fine gunpowder, and was filled with the mercurial compound. The explosion tore the barrel open by a longitudinal crack at top, the extreme parts of which were one-fifth of an inch asunder. The bore was enlarged, tapering from the breech to the muzzle, where its smallest diameter was more than twice its original measure. A neat indentation was made on the face of the index to the depth of near one-tenth of an inch, and it was struck off from the wheel to which it was intended to give motion.—The other piece or breech was of the best solid forged iron. It had a small chamber of 0.4 inch diameter, and the same thickness of metal, namely 0.4 inch all round. The explosion rent it asunder by a crack passing through the touch-hole, which was protruded and surrounded with radial cracks: and each of the pieces was flawed and cracked cross-wise.—Hence it should appear that the force (or at least the rapidity of combustion) of this powder is too great for fire-arms; though it may probably be of value in mining.—When a train of about four inches long was fired, the time of successive combustion could not be measured; but a very slender train of twelve inches seemed to employ about half a second. Gunpowder pulverized and burned in the same circumstances could not continue its fire; but when the quantity was greatly increased, the train burned in one second and a quarter, with a noise much less sharp than that of the detonating mercury. It does not explode nor undergo any change by the heat of a water bath; but when a particle was laid on a thin bar of steel, and heat applied at one end, the powder exploded just before the first straw colour reached it. I estimate this to be somewhat higher than 400°. of Fahrenheit.

Some Account of the Projected Tunnel beneath the Thames, from Gravesend in Kent to Tilbury in Essex. From a Pamphlet by R. Dodd, Engineer.

In the month of May, 1798, Mr. Dodd circulated an Intro-

ductory Report or Address to the Nobility, Gentry, &c. of Essex and Kent, in which he states that the extended scale of commerce on the river Thames forbids the construction of a bridge at Gravesend; but that the practice of making passages, tunnels, or drifts, under rivers has been adopted to a great extent in various parts of the kingdom; namely, at the coal-works under the rivers Tyne and Wear, and at Whitehaven under the very ocean; that a tunnel is actually intended to be made under the mouth of the river Tyne, to answer the purposes of a bridge for carriages and passengers;—that the measure now proposed will save a circuit of near fifty miles to carriages passing from one county to the other; and that the situation at or near Gravesend is peculiarly eligible from its natural facilities, as the greatest part of the ground to be passed through is chalk.

On the 18th of July, 1798, a meeting was held in the Town Hall of Gravesend, the Earl of Darnley in the chair; when it was resolved, That there being no reason to doubt the practicability of so desirable a measure, the co-operation of government, the assent of the neighbouring landowners, or the willingness of the public to subscribe to its accomplishment, the opinion of the meeting was, that transferable shares of 100*l.* each would afford the best means of effecting it; and that a subscription should be opened at the office of Messrs. Evans and Son, at Gravesend, for its support and encouragement.

In the report and estimate which the engineer presented to this meeting, he states, that from the actual survey he finds no reason to add to the former estimate, but rather to abate somewhat more than 3000*l.* on account of the excellent chalk which he finds will be afforded at the most eligible place for the excavation. The deviation from an horizontal line of the tunnel, which passes at about thirty feet below the bed of the river, will be four inches in the yard. Several military and commercial advantages of the undertaking are likewise clearly stated, and an estimate given of the cost of a twelve feet tunnel, admitting carriages to pass only one way at a time, in case the sixteen feet tunnel should be thought too expensive. In the subsequent observations the author enlarges still more upon the same interesting topics, and makes a comparison between the communication by tunnels and the great modern improvement of iron bridges, which last erection he shews to be much less durable, and more liable to speedy destruction by an enemy, than the tunnel. He remarks, that the destructive elastic fluids, which are known to be extricated in mines, cannot affect the present work when once finished, because of the clear communication with the external air at both ends; and he gives some practical remarks on the discovery of inflammable air or fire-damp, which, on account of the interesting nature of the subject, I shall here transcribe.

"On entering any excavation under ground, where this fire-damp is suspected to lie, the candle ought to be held in the left hand (the smaller the candle the

more to be depended upon,) and the flame thereof to be shaded by the right-hand fingers being placed horizontal, and on a level with the top of the flame of the candle. If the air be good, and perfectly free from any inflammable air or hydrogen, a small brown top or pinnacle is seen on the top of the flame, the same as is seen in the chamber of a house; but on approaching the real fire-damp another top or spire is seen of a blue colour, above the brown just described as arising therefrom; and on advancing a step or two forward the damp is commonly more dense, and consequently the appearances over the candle assume a more serious aspect by the brown spire or small top beginning to disappear; another step perhaps reduces it altogether, on which the danger commences; and the spire or top sits down altogether blue on the flame. At this last stage it is not safe to proceed further without great circumspection joined with steadiness: a little further the blue top is seen to be more perfect and dense, which if general through the place, all lights should be extinguished, and the workmen be made to quit the place. Perhaps on advancing a very little further a light blue bead appears to circumscribe the other dark blue, as if approaching to flame, and having a more than ordinary pointed spire terminating like a white thread; and the danger becomes very great if to remain any time in this position. The next stage shews the sprents to have taken place, which sprents are similar to those produced by squeezing the moisture from the rind of a lemon into the flame of a candle: at this period sometimes has been observed a small bushy dark-coloured cloud hanging over the top of the flame, still more and more attracting the fire; when in an instant perhaps after this last observation the whole appearance expands into flames, and one general conflagration takes place. The mischief which ensues is in proportion to the accumulated quantity of this pernicious vapour; which if great, flies to the nearest aperture leading to the atmosphere, being abont eleven times lighter than common air, with a dreadful explosion and extraordinary eruption. But in case the said fire-damp or inflammable air be mixed with styth, or black damp, these appearances are somewhat varied; and by being mixed with a very dark brown is in general more safe.

"Black damp or styth" (doubtless carbonic acid, or hydro-carbonate) "which arises in mines is directly the reverse of inflammable air or fire-damp; the former extinguishes the flame of a candle as quickly as if put into water or any other fluid; the other causes the candle to burn too fast. This styth or black damp prevails most where there is little or no inflammable air, and when the due circulation of atmospheric air is neglected."

It was of essential consequence, by way of shewing the practicability of the present undertaking, that Mr. Dodd should impress the minds of his employers with the fact that such tunnels had been made with success on a much larger scale. For this purpose he relates various historical mat-

ters, besides those already mentioned, from which we may notice, that the earliest tunnel for inland navigation was executed by M. Riquet, to convey the canal of Languedoc through a mountain near Bezieres. The first executed in this country was by the celebrated Brindley on the Duke of Bridgewater's canal near Manchester. The next is the famous tunnel of Hare Castle Hill, in Staffordshire, by the same engineer, which is 2880 yards long, and passes through a variety of strata, quicksands, &c. more than seventy yards below the surface of the earth, and serves as the receptacle for part of the Grand Trunk Canal. The tunnel of Saperton is two miles and three quarters long, and was carried through two miles of solid rock. Many other drifts or tunnels have been made in this kingdom, through rocks and obstacles of various kinds, in a course of time and at expence much less than would be apprehended by persons unacquainted with works of this nature.

Mr. Dodd's report and estimate on the projected dry tunnel under the river Tyne contains illustrations and argument of nearly the same import. His pamphlet concludes with a proposal for an inland canal from the Thames near Gravesend, to the Medway near Stroud; which, by a short course of about six miles, would save the circuitous and less certain passage of forty-seven miles by the way of the Nore. The peculiar advantages of this cut to the country at large, and to the government establishments on these rivers, as well as the nature of the ground itself, are strongly and perspicuously stated.

On the Art of cleaning Woollen and other Cloths. By M. Chaptal. From the Bulletin des Sciences.

The art of cleaning cloths supposes, first, a knowledge of the various substances which can occasion spots upon them. Secondly, That of the substances to which we must have recourse in order to remove those substances, when deposited upon the cloth. Thirdly, That of the manner in which the colours of the cloths will be affected, by the re-agents meant to be employed for the removal of the spots. Fourthly, That of the manner in which the cloth itself will be affected by the above re-agents. Fifthly, we should know how to restore the colour of the cloth, when it is changed or rendered faint.

Of the substances which occasion spots upon cloths, some are easily known by their appearance; for instance, grease of every kind. Others produce more complicated effects, such are, acids, alkalies, perspiration, fruits, urine.

The effects of acids upon blacks, purples, blues, (except those produced by indigo or by Prussian blue) and some other colours, and upon all those shades of colour which are produced by means of iron, archil, and astringent substances, is to turn them red. They render yellows more pale, except that produced by arnatto, which they turn to an orange colour.

Alkalies turn scarlet, and all reds produced by brazil or log-

wood, to a violet colour; they turn green (upon woollen cloths) to yellow; and they give a reddish cast to the yellow produced by arnatto.

The effect of perspiration is the same as that of alkalies.

Spots which are produced upon cloths by simple substances are easily removed by well-known means.

Greasy substances are removed by alkalies, by soap, by yolk of egg, or by fat earths. Oxides of iron, by nitric or oxalic acid. Spots occasioned by acids are removed by alkalies, and *vice versa*.

Spots caused by fruit, upon white cloth, are removed by sulphureous acid, or, what is still better, by oxygenated muriatic acid.

But, when the spots are of a complicated nature, various means must be employed, successively; thus, to remove a spot occasioned by the coom of carriage-wheels, we must first dissolve the alkali by some of the means above mentioned, and then take away the oxide of iron by oxalic acid.

The colours of the cloths are often injured by the re-agents made use of; in order to restore them, we must thoroughly understand the art of dying, and know how to modify the means according to circumstances. This is sometimes difficult, because it is necessary to produce a colour similar to that of the rest of the cloth, and to apply that colour to a particular part only; sometimes also, the mordant which fixed the colour, or the basis which heightened it, has also been destroyed, and must be restored. It is evident that, in this case, the means to be employed depend upon the nature of the colour, and that of the ingredients which produced it; for it is well known that the same colour may be obtained from very different substances.

Thus, when after having made use of an alkali, to remove an acid spot upon brown, violet, or blue cloth, &c. there remains a yellow spot, the original colour is again produced by means of a solution of tin. A solution of the sulphate of iron restores the colour to those brown cloths which have been dyed with galls. Acids give to yellow cloths, which have been rendered dull or brown by alkalies, their original brightness. When black cloths, dyed with logwood, have any reddish spots occasioned by acids, alkalies turn such spots to a yellow colour, and a little of the astringent principle makes them black again. A solution of one part of indigo in four parts of sulphuric acid, properly diluted with water, may be successfully employed to restore a faded blue colour upon wool or cotton. Red or scarlet colours may be restored by means of cochineal, and a solution of muriate of tin, &c.

The choice of re-agents is not a matter of indifference; vegetable acids are generally preferable to mineral ones. The sulphureous acid, however, may be used for spots from fruit: it does not injure blue upon silk, or the colours produced by astringents; nor does it affect yellow upon cotton. The volatile alkali succeeds better than fixed alkalies in removing spots produced by acids: it is usually made use of in the form of vapour, and acts quickly, seldom injuring the colour of the cloth.

The means of removing spots of

grease are well known; namely, alkalies, Fuller's-earth, essential oils dissolved in alcohol, a sufficient degree of heat to render the grease volatile, &c.

Spots of ink, or any other occasioned by yellow oxide of iron, may be removed by oxalic acid; the colour may be restored by alkalies, or by a solution of muriate of tin. Such spots may also be taken away by oxygenated muriatic acid, when they are upon white cloth, or upon paper.

The effects of alkalies and that of perspiration is the same; their spots may be removed by acids, or even by a dilute solution of muriate of tin.

When the spots are owing to various unknown causes, we must have recourse to compositions possessing various powers; of which the following may be considered as one of the most efficacious. Dissolve some white soap in alcohol; mix with this solution four or five yolks of eggs; and gradually some spirit of turpentine, and then stir into the mixture such a quantity of Fuller's earth as will enable it to be formed into balls. The manner of using these balls, is to rub the spots, previously wetted with water, with them; after which, the cloth is to be well rubbed and washed. By these means, all kinds of spots, except those occasioned by ink, or any other solution of iron, will be removed.

The washing of the cloth takes off its gloss, and leaves a dull spot, disagreeable to the eye. The gloss may be restored by passing, in a proper direction, over the washed part of the cloth, a brush wetted with water in which a small quantity of gum is dissolved, and then laying upon the part a sheet of paper, a piece of cloth, and a pretty considerable weight, which are to remain there until the cloth is quite dry.

Experiments and Observations on the glutinous Part of Wheat. By M. Tessier; from the Memoires de l'Institut National.

Of the constituent parts of wheat, that which appears to have most excited the attention of philosophers, is the glutinous part, known also by the name of *vegeto-animal matter.*

Having been employed in examining the various species and varieties of this plant, and being desirous to know every particularity concerning them, it was scarcely possible that I should not seek to discover how much vegeto-animal matter each of them was capable of furnishing; and whether any circumstance contributed to increase its proportion.

I should have carried my inquiries upon this subject (as well as upon many others) to a much greater extent, if some particular circumstances had not stopped my progress. I can therefore offer only a few results; but, trifling and imperfect as they are, they will not be totally useless, if they should engage any other person to pursue the subject, and to fulfil, better than I have been able to do, the end I had in view.

After the harvest of 1791, I caused to be ground twenty sorts (species and varieties) of wheat; some of them were hard, the others soft. They were gathered from

the same soil, which was of an inferior quality. A sufficient quantity of each sort was ground; and such precautions were taken, as to prevent the possibility of a mistake respecting the flour produced from each particular kind of wheat.

I shall not at present speak either of the proportion of flour produced from these different wheats, or of the various kinds of bread I obtained from them; those will furnish matter for another memoir: in this, I shall confine myself to what concerns the glutinous part.

One pound of each sort of flour was made into a thick paste, and afterwards worked for a long time with the hands, (according to the usual manner,) under a very thin stream of water, which ran, or rather dropped upon it; by this means, all the starch was separated from the glutinous part. The latter I weighed while wet, and then dried it gently upon the cover of a saucepan, filled with boiling water, and placed over the fire.

The result of these operations was, first, that two of the forementioned kinds of wheat, one of which had smooth ears of a reddish colour, with diverging beards, and grains of the usual yellow colour, and which ripened very early, and another kind which had white ears, also smooth, without beards, with grains of a white colour, and which came originally from Philadelphia, gave each of them five ounces of glutinous matter from a pound of wheat; whereas, another kind, which had smooth reddish ears, growing close together, with beards, and which seemed to be a variety of that called *bled de miracles*, and another kind which had white ears, with strait beards, and long glumes, with hard long grains, and which is particularly distinguished by the name of Polish wheat, (*Triticum, Polonicum, Linnæi*) gave only the first, two ounces, and the second, two ounces and a half, of this substance, per pound. From another kind, with purplish ears, bearded, and pubescent, with hard spotted grains, and which came originally from Nice and the Canaries, I obtained only half an ounce of the above matter per pound. The other sorts, produced from four ounces to four ounces and a half per pound.

Secondly that the flour of hard-grained wheats produced, in general, less glutinous matter than that of soft ones.

Thirdly, that the glutinous part of some kinds, after being dried, was more brittle than that of others; this was particularly the case with the hard-grained wheats.

Fourthly, that, according to the remarks of M. Parmentier, in his work upon the vegetables used for food, the glutinous part loses much of its weight by being dried *.

Lastly, that the loss of weight

* Our colleague, M. Parmentier, exposed some of the glutinous matter, divided into small pieces, to a very gentle evaporation, till it could be reduced into powder. He found that it lost three-fourths of its weight; and that the best grain contained only an eighth part. This assertion is not exaggerated; for, after having collected the glutinous part of different kinds of wheat, and deprived them as much as possible of their starch, and of their water, and dried them thoroughly, I found, at the end of

is in the inverse ratio of the quantity obtained.

The object of this memoir is merely a comparison of the quantities of glutinous matter furnished by the different kinds of wheat; it is consequently indifferent in what state they are estimated, and also what proportion they bare to the weight of the flour. It is sufficient for me to have shown, that the flour of twenty different sorts of wheat, after being treated in the same manner, furnished a quantity of vegeto-animal matter which, whether it was weighed immediately after this extraction, or not until it was completely dried, was in very different proportions.

This comparative trial having informed me of a circumstance I wished to know, I proceeded to the investigation of another. It appeared to me important to determine, whether manures of any kind could contribute to the information of the glutinous part, and if so, what those manures were. With this view, in the spring of the year 1792, I prepared, in a piece of land, the soil of which appeared to me all of the same nature, nine beds, each containing two perches, of twenty-two square feet; they were exactly similar in every respect, excepting in the manure made use of to them.

In one of these beds, I folded a flock of sheep and goats, amounting in the whole to one hundred and forty; they remained on the bed about two hours; and the result of the folding appeared to me to be such as commonly takes place from that operation in the departments of Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Maine, Loire, and Eure-et-Loir.

Another bed was manured with two sacks of horse-dung, in a rather rotten state.

The third, with two sacks of cow-dung, in the same state.

The fourth, with sixty-four quarts of human urine.

The fifth, with thirty-six quarts of bullock's blood.

The sixth, with the remains of plants, reduced into the state of mould.

The seventh, with three bushels of pigeon's dung.

The eighth, with human excrement in powder, prepared at Montsaucon.

The ninth was not manured at all.

I sowed every one of these beds with the same kind of wheat; namely, that kind which has

four years, a decrease of weight, amounting to two-thirds, to three-fourths, to four-fifths, and even to seven-eighths, according to the species or variety of wheat made use of; and I very seldom obtained more than two ounces, in a state of dryness, from a pound of wheat. It must be observed, however, that the weight of the glutinous part cannot be compared with that of flour in its usual state; because a pound of flour, which did not appear to be wet, being put to dry gradually upon a warm stove, was, in the space of four-and-twenty hours, reduced to fourteen ounces; that is to say, it lost one eighth part, without appearing burnt, or suffering any alteration in its colour. From which it follows, that, in order to estimate truly the loss of weight in the glutinous part of a pound of flour, it must be extracted from a pound of flour, which has already been dried, or else be considered as the produce of only fourteen ounces of flour.

smooth white ears, without beards, the grain of the usual colour, the straw hollow, and which is usually sown in the month of March.

Although a comparison of the quantity of grain produced was not the principal object I had in view, yet I think it right to observe, that the bed manured with pigeon's dung was that which produced the greatest quantity of grain. After that, I gathered the greatest quantity from the two beds manured with human excrement, and with human urine Next to these, the greatest quantity was produced from those manured with bullock's blood, and with horse-dung. The beds manured with the remains of plants, and with cow-dung, were less productive. That which had no manure at all, produced little more than double the quantity which was sown; whereas the others produced more than six times the quantity sown.

With respect to the quantity of glutinous matter, which was the principal object in view, the result of the experiment was as follows: the wheat of the bed watered with urine, produced six ounces of glutinous part from a pound of flour, not dried. That of the bed in which the sheep and goats were folded, and that of those manured with horse-dung, with cow-dung, with pigeon's dung, with bullock's blood, with the remains of plants, also that to which no manure was used, gave five ounces of glutinous part per pound. Lastly, that which was manured with human excrement, gave only four ounces per pound.

It will, undoubtedly, be difficult to conceive, why the eight manured beds above mentioned did not give an equal proportion of vegeto-animal matter; for the wheat was all produced from the same seed, was sown in land which was the same in appearance, and the manure was applied in the usual manner. It is evident that the manure was not the cause of this difference; because from the wheat which grew in the bed not manured, I procured five ounces of glutinous matter per pound; that is, a quantity equal to that procured from the wheat of six other beds manured in various ways; a circumstance which naturally leads us to seek elsewhere for the cause of the variation in the proportion of glutinous matter.

I shall here observe, that the wheat made use of for the above experiments in spring, was the same as one of those on which I made the first mentioned experiments in the autumn of 1791; and that, in the experiments of 1791, it produced only three ounces of glutinous matter per pound, instead of five or six. This would lead us to suppose, that wheat sown in March contains more glutinous matter than that sown in autumn; or at least that the latter, notwithstanding its longer vegetation, does not contain a greater proportion of it.

As a brief recapitulation of the preceding results, I shall state, that different species and varieties of wheat produce various proportions of the glutinous part, which is more or less brittle, and which, before it is dried, sometimes, amounts to more than a third part of the flour; but, when dried, does not commonly exceed one-eighth. Ma-

nures do not appear to contribute to the formation of this singular substance.

Many interesting circumstances respecting this substance still remain unknown; for, it may reasonably be inquired, first, whether it is proved that no other grain contains this glutinous part. It has, without doubt, been ascertained, that it cannot be obtained from rye, from barley, or from oats; but, have experiments been made upon the flour produced from the seeds of other kinds of grasses? Is it not probable, for instance, that it would be found in the grain of what is called manna-grass, so much used in Poland?

Secondly. Rural economy would require that we should examine, whether the wheats of one district always contain more glutinous parts than those of another; this examination would necessarily take up several years.

Thirdly. We should also determine whether the exposition of the land, and the nature of the soil, ought to be admitted among the causes which contribute to the formation of the glutinous part *. For this purpose, it appears necessary that we should form an artificial soil, of which the ingredients were well known; a difficult task, and one which can only be undertaken by a zealous person, who resides in the country.

Fourthly. Supposing that these inquiries should produce merely negative proofs, and that only a concurrent or secondary cause should be discovered, it will then remain to be known, why, of the various grains which serve us for nourishment, wheat is the only one that appears to contain this vegeto-animal matter, or at least that contains so much of it. We must not be too sanguine in expecting to discover this last truth; because it may depend upon the particular organization of the vegetable, which organization we cannot investigate. But, it will be a great deal to have discovered in what consists, or upon what depends, in the various species or varieties of wheat, the greater or less quantity of this glutinous matter, which is of so much consequence in the process of making bread.

List of Patents granted in the course of the Year 1799.

William Alison, of Long-lane Bermondsey, tanner; for manufacturing an article into leather, commonly called Spanish, or Morocco leather. Dated Jan. 4.

John Kent, of Southampton, architect and builder; for a method of applying power to the working of mills and other ma-

* M. Parmentier, in the work already quoted says, that there are some kinds of wheat, particularly those which grow in wet places, or in poor soils, whose product of glutinous matter scarcely amounts to one ounce per pound; and that, on the contrary, there are others which contain near two ounces. I shall not contradict this assertion, for the fact is certain; I shall only observe, that if by poor soils M. Parmentier means dry and stony ones, it appears to me more natural to suppose, that as the wheat which grows in such soils is of good quality, it should contain a greater quantity of glutinous part. This, however, requires to be more carefully examined.

chinery, where power is required. January 5.

James Edgell, of Frome Selwood, Somersetshire, gentleman; for the use and application of metal, of a peculiar quality, and great strength, in the place of common iron, in all cases where common iron hath hitherto been employed. January 16.

William Fitzgerald, late of the Temple, London, Esq. for a signal trumpet, for increasing the powers of sound by sea and land. January 23.

Cater Rand, of Lewes, Esq. for an improved naval and military telescope. January 26.

Thomas Cooke, of Red Lion-square, London, clerk; for an apparatus, which he calls *carbo frugalist;* being an effectual mode of applying fire to boilers, ovens, and other caldronic implements. January 29.

Joseph Barton, of Old-street, London, chymist; for a medicine which he denominates, *compound concentrated fluid vital air,* of great use in the cure of putrid diseases, &c. and another preparation which he calls *ærated preventive fluid,* as preventive from putrid infection, &c.; also, *ærated liquid balm,* for preserving and beautifying the skin. January 29.

Hezekiah Beers Pierpoint, of New York, in North America, merchant, at present residing in Surrey-street, in the Strand; for a new sort of oil, produced or extracted from certain vegetable substances, not heretofore used in this kingdom for that purpose. February 5.

Joseph Watts, of Yeovil, Somerset, tanner and glove manufacturer; for tanning foreign and English kid, goat, sheep, and lamb skins, (or other skins usually tanned into gloves and mittens) into leather fit for gloves and mittens, without lime and bran, in a shorter space of time, and with less expense and labour, than have yet been used. February 5.

Humphrey Jeffereys, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, engineer; for an improvement applicable to bringing or conveying coals from the interior parts of the coal-mines, or other mines; also for an improvement upon machinery for raising coals, ores, or other minerals, in the pit or shaft; also for an improvement in the manner of delivering coals, ores, or other minerals, at the mouth of the pit or shaft. February 12.

Joseph Dale, of St. Mary-le-bonne, music seller; for improvements on the tambourine. February 19.

Samuel Sandy Hickling, of Birmingham, gentleman; for improving and beautifying certain vessels and utensils used for chemical, culinary, and various other purposes. February 28.

John Luccock, of Morley, near Leeds, York, woolstapler; for a machine, upon hydrostatic principles, to produce a very considerable mechanical power, applicable to all the purposes of a steam-engine, but without the use of fire, steam, or water-wheel. February 28.

Joseph Tidmarsh, of the parish of St. Luke, Chelsea, glazier and painter; for an article which may be used alone, as a substitute for paint, or mixed with paints in general for the purpose of enlarging

their quantity, and reducing their price. February 28.

George Medhurst, of Battlebridge, in the parish of St. James, Clerkenwell, engineer; for a condensing wind engine, capable of being applied to all purposes in which either steam, wind, water, or horses, are used. Feb. 28.

David Hardie, of the parish of St. James, Westminster, gentleman; for an improvement in and upon cranes for raising and lowering goods into and out of warehouses, which will considerably lessen the labour usually required to work them. March 8.

Michael Loggan, of Paradise-street, in the parish of St. Mary, Rotherhithe, engineer; for a centrifugal barrel-engine, or central force, for raising water, &c. from great depths, applicable to all manufactories or systems of machinery requiring the action of circular motion, such as, an effectual power in mill-work, water-works, and clock-work. March 8.

Robert Delap, of Banville, near Bambridge, Ireland, bleacher; for economical boilers, for sundry useful purposes. April 6.

William Brodum, of the parish of Christ Church, Surry, doctor of physic; for a medicine denominated Botanical Syrup, for the cure of scorbutic and various other complaints; also for a medicine denominated Nervous Cordial, for the cure of consumptive and many other complaints. April 10.

Samuel Rehe, of the parish of St. Bride, London, mechanist; for an engine or apparatus for giving motion to water, or other fluids, either for the purpose of conveying such fluids from place to place, in any direction, or for any mechanical purposes; which apparatus is also capable of being made the instrument for transmitting the force of water, or any other of the fluids hitherto used as first movers in mills and other machines. April 11.

George Davis, of Windsor, in the county of Berks, locksmith; for a double chamber lock, with cylinders, to which pins are affixed, in different directions, instead of wards. April 11.

Mark Isambard Brunel, of the parish of St. Mary, Newington, Surry, gentleman; for a writing and drawing machine, by which two or more writings or drawings, resembling each other, may be made by the same person, at the same time. April 11.

Henry Widey, of New Compton-street, in the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, smith, for an improved method of applying springs to the poles or shafts of two-wheeled carriages, which he calls Antimobile, or destroyer of the disagreeable sensation produced by the motion of the horses. April 16.

Henry Wood, of Sloane-square, in the parish of St. Luke, Chelsea, statuary; for an instrument or machine to be called a Time Setter, whereby the possessor thereof is enabled to publish to every one, viewing the same, several various purposes intended to be performed by him, at any given future period of time, or within certain given intervals, with great ease and celerity, and without being subject to error. April 20.

Robert Simpson, of the parish of St. John, Clerkenwell, sur-

geon's instrument maker; for an instrument for extracting teeth in a perpendicular direction. April 23.

James Knowles, of the parish of St. Mary, Lambeth, leather-dresser; for a method of dressing or preparing skins, for the purpose of converting them into leather, whereby much trouble, labour, and expense is saved. April 27.

William Gillispie, of Anderston, near Glasgow, calico-printer; for a method of printing, colouring, or staining linens, calicos, or other cloths. April 30.

Charles Tennant, of Darnley, near Glasgow, bleacher; for a method of preparing the oxygenated muriates of calcareous earths, strontites, barytes, and magnesia; and for applying such oxygenated muriates of the above earths to the purpose of bleaching, or removing colours from vegetable or animal substances. April 30.

John Daniel Belfour, of Elsineur, in the kingdom of Denmark; for improvements in his method of manufacturing cordage of all kinds, and for which he obtained former letters patent, dated respectively on or about the 16th day of March, 1793, and the 3rd day of May, 1798, by means of which improvements the work is accelerated and simplified. April 30.

Stephen Wilkins, of the parish of St. Peter, Worcester; for a new-invented composition of a gum to be used in calico-printing. May 25.

Henry Brown, of Derby, chemist; for a new invented method of making and preparing extract of zinc, which he has frequently used and applied to various medicinal purposes. May 28.

John Wilkinson, of Castle-head, Lancaster, iron master; for an improvement in boilers, applicable to salt pans, or any other purpose where a saving of fuel is an object. May 28.

Thomas Chapman, of Bermondsey, skinner and seal-wool manufacturer; for a new invented method of taking off the wool or fur from seal or other skins, in a more perfect state than has hitherto been done, for the purpose of manufacturing the same into hats, or any other article of clothing. June 6.

William King, of the parish of St. Luke, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex, tin-plate worker; for new invented joints, on improved principles, and for applying the same to tea-pots, coffee-pots, coffee biggins, tea-urns, coffee-urns, tea-caddies, and every other article that hath a lid or door to it, either in small or loose work. June 17.

Francis Brewin, of Bermondsey, tanner; for a new invented method of tanning hides and skins. June 18.

John Hayes, of Wokingham, in the county of Wilts, gentleman; for new invented machines or instruments for the cultivation or tillage of all kinds of land. June 18.

John Wilkinson, of Castle-head, Lancaster, iron master; for a new invented method of making ceruse or white lead. June 18.

Amos Whittemore, of Banner-street, Middlesex, cotton and wool card maker, and Clement Sharp, of the same place, merchant; for

a new method of making cards, for carding cotton, wool, silk, and other things. June 26.

Stephen Hooper, of Margate, in the Isle of Thanet, in the county of Kent; for a machine for the purpose of cleansing rivers, creeks, harbours, bars of harbours, and sand banks, or other shoals at sea, by the power of the tide or current. June 26.

Joseph Boyce, of the parish of St. Mary-le-bonne, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for a machine for cutting wheat, and all other corn. July 4.

John Eaton, of Nottingham, frame-work knitter; for a new piece of machinery, to be added and affixed to a stocking frame, for manufacturing, by a more simple, speedy, and neat method, elastic cross stitch, plated hose pieces, gloves, mitts, &c. July 4.

William Chapman, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, gentleman, and Edward Walton Chapman, of the same place, gentleman; for a method or methods of making cords, ropes, and cordage, both tarred and untarred, from the spinning of the yarn to the finishing of the rope or cordage. July 16.

Matthew Murray, of Leeds, York, engineer; for improvements in the steam-engine, for the purpose of saving fuel, lessening the expence of erecting steam-engines, and producing a more steady motion therein than by any means at present practised. July 16.

John Ashforth, of Oldfield, near Manchester, dyer; for a machine or apparatus for a speedy and elegant method of stiffening, drying, and finishing dyed muslins. July 16.

Paul Newham, of Melksham, Wilts, clothier; for a method of figuring and ornamenting, by means of pressure, embossment, or otherwise, cloths, or stuffs of woollen, linen, cotton, velvet, silk, or satin, or any mixture of those materials. July 16.

Wilson Fitzgerald, of the Middle Temple, London, Esquire; for a method of making or producing tallow or fat. July 16.

Samuel Gratrix, of Manchester, calico printer and dyer; for a method of dying and staining colours upon cotton cloth, linen cloth, and cotton and linen cloth mixed, much superior to any method heretofore in use. July 17.

Thomas Bins, of St. Mary-le-bonne, in the county of Middlesex; for a movement producing a retrograde motion, capable of being applied to mangles and calandars. July 20.

James Mitchel, of the hamlet of Poplar and Blackwall, Middlesex, rope maker; for a method of manufacturing cables, hawsers, or shroud-laid ropes, and other cordage, on a scientific principle. July 22.

James Lambie, of Paisley, in North Britain, machine maker; for a mode of applying additional power to various kinds of machinery, by which the force of a man is greatly increased. July 23.

John Grimshaw, of Bishop Wearmouth, Durham, rope maker; for improvements in the method of manufacturing ropes and cordage. August 2.

William Hunt and Wastel Cliffe,

of the Brades, Stafford, steel manufacturers; for a method of grinding corn, malt, and other grain, with steel or iron hardened plates. August 8.

George Dodson, of Blackfriars-road, Surry, cabinet maker, and John Skidmore, of High Holborn, Middlesex, iron founder; for a method of making and casting, with cast iron, brass, or mixed metal, naves or stocks for all sorts of wheels, to be used for all sorts of carriages. August 8.

Edward Woods, of Parr, Lancaster, gentleman; for machinery for the purpose of slitting, fashioning, pointing, sinking down, bottoming, and founding of ivory, bone, horn, tortoiseshell, and box-combs; and for cutting all kinds of fustian. August 13.

Joseph Huddart, of Islington, Esq. for a method of registering or forming the strands in the machinery for manufacturing cordage. August 20.

William Murdock, of Redruth, Cornwall, engineer; for the method of constructing steam engines. August 29.

John Bishop, of Newhaven, in the state of Connecticut, in North America, at present residing in the parish of St. Paul, Covent-garden, in the county of Middlesex; for a method of creating a power useful in moving machinery, and reducing labour, by means of fire, water, and steam, with or without condensation. September 23.

John Crooks, of Edinburgh, chemist; for a method of making soap and bleaching, by means and use of volatile, mineral, and vegetable alkalies, either by joining them with each other, or using the volatile alkali by itself, and of killing vermin. September 23.

William Bolts, of Aldgate-street, London, gentleman; for a mode of improving the form, quality, and use of candles and other lights made of tallow, wax, spermaceti, or any other inflammable substance. September 26.

Anthony George Eckhardt, of Queen's-buildings, Knightsbridge, gentleman, F.R.S.; for a method of constructing and moving the back and bottom of fire-grates, combined with cheeks, on a new construction, which is particularly adapted for kitchen ranges, and can be applied to other grates; by which a great saving of coals will be obtained. October 3.

Joseph Smith, of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, in the county of Middlesex, gentleman; for improvements in the internal bracings of piano fortes, so as to admit the introduction of a drum, tambour, or tambourine, with sticks or beaters thereunto belonging. October 3.

John Hotchkis, Esq. lieutenant in the royal navy; for a mechanical power, for the purpose of lifting weights, moving ships, weighing anchors, &c. Oct. 3.

James Bell, of Chancery-lane, in the county of Middlesex, taylor; for a pocket fastening, to prevent the loss of property. November 4.

Thomas Foden, of the city of Coventry, woollen manufacturer; for a crystalline size or mixture, to be used in sizing and dressing cotton, worsted, and linen yarn. November 4.

William Lonsdale, of Harring-

ton, in the county of Cumberland, mariner; for an improvement in weighing anchors, steering ships, and other advantageous methods of weighing, raising, and uplifting any heavy burthen or weight, on board of ships. November 4.

Richard Hall Gower, of Leadenhall-street, in the city of London, mariner in the service of the East India Company; for a method of rigging vessels upon an improved plan. November 4.

Ralph Gout, of Bunhill-row, in the parish of St. Luke, Old-street, in the county of Middlesex, watchmaker; for improvements on pedometers and pedometrical watches, for the purpose of ascertaining more accurately, and with greater precision, the number of steps the wearer makes in walking; and, when affixed to a saddle, the number of paces the horse makes; and also, when affixed to a curricle or other carriage, the number of revolutions of the wheel. November 4.

Thomas Binns, of Great Barlow-street, Mary-le-bonne, water-closet maker; for a machine answering the purposes of a portable water-closet, or bidet, and easy chair; comprised in one-third of the space occupied by portable water-closets now in use. November 4.

Thomas Foden, of Coventry, cotton manufacturer; for a loom for the purpose of warping, dressing, weaving, and piecing silk, cotton, woollen, or any other yarn. November 4.

Edward Prior, of Brook-street, Holborn; for a method of painting and colouring all kinds of leather. November 4.

John and Joseph Williams, of Holywell-street, Strand, stationers; for an improved method of binding all sorts of books. November 4.

William Tunstall, of Nidd, Yorkshire, gentleman; for a portable hand engine or machine, for thrashing all kinds of grain. November 9.

William Lander, of Mere, Wiltshire, brass-founder; for a method of raising water, by pumps or other engines, by means of an apparatus for moving the piston rod. November 9.

James Burns, of Glasgow, builder; for improvements applicable to fire-grates, stoves, furnaces, and chimnies. November 23.

James Fussell, of Mills, Somersetshire, iron manufacturer, and James Druglass, of Church-street, Surry, engineer; for an apparatus, composed of chains, wheels, rollers, and conductors, for lessening friction in raising, lowering, driving, and conducting heavy bodies, Nov. 28.

Edward Thomason, of Birmingham, manufacturer; for improvements in the cocks of gun locks, applicable to all kinds of fire-arms. November 28.

John Foster, of Oxford-street, breeches-maker; for a new invented bracer or sling, acting by means of a certain spring or springs, made of steel, calculated for the better and more convenient suspending and keeping up breeches, pantaloons, or drawers. December 2.

John Palmer, of Maxstock, Warwickshire, gentleman; for improvements in machinery for clearing grain from the ear or stalk, and for breaking or cutting the straw into provender for cat-

tle, and other useful purposes. December 6.

William Reynolds, of Ketley, Shropshire, iron master; for a method of preparing iron for the conversion thereof into steel. December 6.

John Frederick Chabannes, of Mary-le-bonne, Esq. for a machine for separating coals, and a composition for making small coals into cakes or bricks, to be used for fuel. December 16.

Edward Ludlow, of Walworth, and Ann Wilcox, of London; for their new invented playing-cards, to be named *brilliant new invented knights cards*. December 20.

William Loosemore, of Old-street, factor; for a method of making and manufacturing certain cloth, for general uses and purposes. December 20.

ANTIQUITIES.

*On the Epocha of the Discovery of the Telescope *. From Nicholson's Journal.*

We sometimes find in books which are little known and read, particulars of information of a very interesting nature. I have found in the *Probabilia* of the learned Wesseling, editor of Diodorus Siculus, a chapter (the eleventh) on the antiquity of astronomical telescopes, of which I send you a translation. The researches it contains appear sufficiently curious to deserve to be better known.

The astronomical telescope †, by means of which the moderns have made discoveries in the heavens, which escaped the penetration of the ancients, is, with justice, placed among the most memorable inventions. It has often been enquired whether they were known to the ancient astronomers, and several writers have decided for the affirmative. They ground their opinion on an ancient drawing in the scholastic history of Peter Comestor, in which Conrad, a monk of the thirteenth century, had represented astronomy ‡. "On the right hand of the figure," according to father Mabillon, who had seen the manuscript, and mentions it in his travels in Germany, there was "a figure of Ptolemy observing the stars, with a long instrument resembling an astronomical telescope with four sliding tubes §." This conjecture was fortified by a passage of Ditmar, bishop of Mersborough, who, at the end of his sixth book, speaking of Ger-

* In a letter to citizen Millin, inserted in the Magasin Encyclopédique, v. 66.

† I thus translate the words *tubi obtici*. Note of the writer. His object is to avoid the ambiguity of the French word *lunettes*, which signifies *spectacles* as well as *telescopes*. I have not the original work. N.

‡ The Latin of Mr. Wesseling is not clear in this passage, for the understanding of which, it is necessary to refer to the work of P. Mabillon, from which he quotes only a few lines.

§ Ope instrumenti longioris quod instar tubi optici, quatuor ductus habentis, concinnatum est.

bert, afterwards Pope Silvester II. expressed himself thus: "He perfectly knew the course of the stars, and exceeded his cotemporaries in the variety of his knowledge. When driven from his own country, he repaired to the emperor Otho, at whose court he remained a long time. He constructed a clock at Magdeborough, and to ascertain its accuracy, he observed with a tube the star which directs mariners*." It is thought that Ditmar, by the word tube, meant the astronomical telescope, which, in fact, has a tube. Strabo also mentions a tube of this kind, if we admit that the text is not in this place corrupted. "The disc of the sun acquires a more considerable apparent magnitude at the rising and setting of that luminary out at sea, on account of the quantity of vapours which rise from the water, and because the sight, refracted through these vapours, *in the same manner as through tubes*†, receives the images of a larger size."

These passages appear to me to be the strongest which have been brought in proof that telescopes were known to the ancients. But it is very surprising that this knowledge, if it existed, could have been lost to such a degree, that before the seventeenth century the most skilful and learned astronomers should not even suspect its existence. Men have, at all times, applied to study the course and position of the stars. No one is ignorant with what ardour the Greeks, the Arabs, and the Latins, cultivated astronomy, and how much this study, encouraged by the liberality of princes, has been constantly pursued. Can it be supposed that the ancient observers despised an instrument so useful to their labours? I admit that much of the knowledge of antiquity has been lost by wars, by ravages, and a multiplicity of other causes; but if this subject be attentively examined, it will be seen that the information which has been lost, relates either to objects of luxury, or is of such a nature, that greater subsequent discoveries must have caused them to be neglected; and still they are not so lost but that some trace of their ancient existence remains. But this is not the case with telescopes; for we have no description in the writings of the ancients which can agree with them. Strabo speaks of tubes αυλῶν; but nothing leads us to apprehend that they were used to observe the magnitude and course of the stars; for I cannot say that I place much dependance on the conjecture of Theodore Almeloven, who thinks that Strabo wrote ἀαλων (glasses). In fact, crystal, or glass, is particularly endued with the property mentioned in this passage of the geographer. But let us suppose that Strabo wrote ἀυλῶν (tubes) who shall assure us that these tubes were provided with glasses? The same question may be offered respecting the painting of the monk Conrad. In fact, though it represents an instrument considera-

* Considerata per fistulam quadam stella nautarum duce.
† ὡσ δι ἀυλῶν. Lib. 3. p. 138.

bly resembling a telescope, who can prove that this instrument contained glasses like our telescopes, which without them would be of little utility? I am almost certain that tube of Gerbert, of which Ditmar speaks, had them not; and in order that I may not be accused of deciding easily, I offer the following proof. Father Mabillon, in his Analecta, has published a letter of Gerbert to the monk Constantin, on the construction of the sphere, in which he says, "so that there will be seven perforations, in each of which you will place tubes (fistulas) of six inches. The two extremes, or most remote, are to be placed opposite each other in such a manner that both may be seen through as if composing one tube. —These tubes differ from musical pipes (fistulis organicis) in the equality of their diameter throughout, for fear lest any obstacle should impede the sight while occupied in observing the celestial bodies." If these tubes differed from those of musical instruments only in the uniformity of their bore, it is clear that they had not glasses; consequently they were not telescopes, but dioptræ, and the glory of the invention of telescopes must continue to belong to the seventeenth century.

I may add to this chapter of Mr. Wesseling, which has been inserted in the Journal des Savans, for February, 1679, the different proofs of the existence of telescopes in the thirteenth century. It would follow also, from a passage of John, abbot of Beaugency, that spectacles were used for reading in the twelfth century, if the word bustula, used by this abbot, may be translated spectacles. The following is the passage: "Statim ut litterarum vestratum bajulam vidi, bustulam arripiens, non solum avide legi et perlegi *." The Journal Encyclopédique, for May, 1766, in which there is a long article on the subject, gives his sense to the word, and adds, that the principles, according to which spectacles are fabricated, are found in Euclid and the ancient geometers.

On the Plants used by the ancient People of Europe to poison their Arrows, By C. Ch. Coquebert †. From the same.

All nations that subsist by hunting have sought for quick poisons among vegetables, in which they could dip their arrows, in order to kill with more certainty the animals which constituted their food.

Historians in general have neglected to acquaint us with the plants which our ancestors, the half-savage inhabitants of Eu-

* This passage has very often been quoted in favour of the invention of spectacles in the thirteenth century. It is thought, nevertheless, with much probability, that the word bustula comes from the word buxus (box) and denotes the little box in which the letter was contained. According to this interpretation, the above may be thus translated. "As soon as I saw the bearer of your letters, I seized the small box which contained them, and frequently read them over with avidity;" and not that I snatched up my spectacles. Note of citizen Millin.

† Soc. Philomach. Feb. 1798, No. II.

rope, used for that purpose, in remote ages. I have met accidentally with passages in two Spanish works, which throw much light on this interesting subject.

The first of these works is entitled *Sinopsis stirpium indigenarum Arragoniæ*, printed 1779, and whose author is only designed by the initial letters C. A. R. native of Sarragosa. This author quotes a manuscript of *Cienfuegos*, his countryman, who in 1618, wrote on the botany of Arragon, and in which he relates that in his time the Spanish huntsmen still used to poison their arrows; that the poison in which they dipped them was so speedy in its effect, that the least wound inflicted on the animal was sufficient to secure the huntsman his game. The vegetable from which they prepared it was the *Veratrum album*, (white hellebore) a plant very common on the fields of the Alpine mountains. There was, however, some skill required in preparing the confection of the veratrum for that use; for *Cienfuegos* adds, that the King of Spain had at that time a huntsman wonderfully skilled in that art.

The second work, from which I have received some information, is the history of the war of Grenada, under *Philip* the Second, by *Mendoza*. This author, whom the Spaniards highly esteem for the purity of his diction, the impartiality which distinguishes his writings, and the extent of his knowledge, says that the poison used by the huntsmen, even in his time, (at the beginning of the seventeenth century), was prepared on the mountains of Bejar and Guadarrama, with the black hellebore, called in that part of Spain *el zumo de vedegambre*. The extract made from it was of a brown red. Another poisonous native plant was used for the same purpose on the lofty mountains of the kingdom of Grenada, which is called Yerva by the inhabitants, a word which denotes an excellent or eminently useful plant. It is the aconitum lycoctonum, which grows like the veratrum, on the high mountains.

The animals wounded by these poisoned arrows are affected in the same manner as those which have been wounded by the hellebore, or aconite. The symptoms are a sudden extreme weakness, shivering cold, numbness and blindness, with foam at the mouth, and convulsions of the diaphragm. *Mendoza* affirms, that two plants, which he denotes only by the Spanish names of Membrillo and Retama, of whose signification I am ignorant, are successfully used as counter poisons.

After having read those two passages, I was desirous to see what *Haller* says of the plant in his Historia stirpium indigenarum Helvetiæ; or rather, in the French translation, he has given of that part of Vicat which relates to the properties of plants.

If, says he, the poison of the veratrum accidentally penetrates to the blood-vessels, without loss of its strength, death is the immediate consequence, even though by a very slight wound. This was observed at the time when the ancient Portuguese used to poison their arrows with the juice of that plant. *Mathiolus* has confirmed this observation by his ex-

periments. When death is thus produced, the progress of putrefaction is so rapid that the flesh of the animal becomes soft as soon as it has ceased to breathe. *Guiluadinus* also mentions the poison the Spaniards prepared with this plant.

Two drams of the root of the veratrum, in decoction, injected into the veins of an animal, have excited immediate convulsions and vomiting, which were followed by death, annd soon afterwards by a state of flaccidity.

The spirituous infusion, according to *Haller*, has more effect than the aqueous infusion, and the latter more the decoction and extract. It is to be supposed then that the virtue of the plant resides in the volatile parts which boiling evaporates.

At the article of the black hellebore (helleborus viridis, L.) *Haller* also affirms, that that plant is used to poison arrows. He quotes *Monardus*, who mentions of a hen which died, after a fibre of black hellebore had been passed through her comb. It is difficult, however, to ascribe so deleterious an action to that hellebore; for ever since the time of *Columella* the root has been used to make setons for sheep, which they usually pass through the skin of the neck. It produces suppuration.

With regard to the aconites, I find in *Haller's* works, relative to that kind which *Linné* calls aconitum cammarum, that its juice having casually, and in a very small quantity, entered a wound, the accident was followed by cardialgia, fainting, swelling, and at length a gangrene.

It appears from these facts, that the three plants I have mentioned, particularly the veratrum, were used by the ancient inhabitants of Europe to poison their arrows, and that the use of fire-arms alone has abolished that of the poison, used by the Spaniards as late as the last century.

Account of the Theatre of Saguntum, translated from the Latin. Emmanuel Martini to the most Illustrious and Honourable Anthony Felix Zondadari, Archbishop of Damascus, and Pontifical Legate to the Catholic King.

When we lately conversed together upon various subjects, and one thing drawing out another as usual in conversation, mention happened to be made of the theatre at Saguntum; which, when I said I had in every particular described in a draught thereof taken by me, you expressed a desire of seeing it, together with certain short notes or observations added by me, not so much for the sake of shewing my learning, as explaining of a very obscure matter. Behold it, therefore, most honoured Sir, restored and brought to light from the darkness of oblivion, although in tattered and obsolete clothing. The true and pristine structure whereof, traced out by all its vestiges, I shall consecrate to late posterity in as brief a manner as I can.

The theatre of Saguntum is situate in a most fit and healthy place; for it opens itself against the north and the rising sun, adjacent to a most pleasant valley

which a river flows beside, and has the eastern sea in prospect. It is defended from southern and western blasts by the interposition of a mountain, by which it is surrounded, and, as it were, embraced in its bosom: wherefore it admits only the northern and eastern vital breezes to breathe upon it; the rest, that are hurtful to human health, being entirely excluded; which Vitruvius admonishes, in the first place, to be taken care of in building theatres: for when the minds of the spectators are overflowing there with the greatest pleasure, their bodies, being unmoved and captivated, and allured by delight, have gaping passages, and open pores, into which the surrounding winds easily enter, which, if they be noxious and unhealthy, or any ways infected, may bring destruction by their blast; therefore their force from the south is to be avoided: for when the sun fills the curvity of the theatre with its scorching heat, the air shut in the hemicycle, and having no power of getting out, grows hot with its continual turning, circumaction, and whirling rotation. From whence it comes to pass, that the bodies being exhausted of their natural moisture, are burnt up, and being overheated, fall into diseases. Moreover, our theatre is, by the disposition and nature of the place, prepared for sounding, which is very necessary therein; for the voice being collected by that curvity and embrace of the mountain, climbing with increase up the summit, strike stronger upon the ear with a distinct termination of words, which I myself experienced; for Emmanuel Mignana, a most worthy gentleman, and most near to me in all friendly offices, recited to me some verses of Asinius, out of the scene in Amphitryon, which I heard very well from the top gallery or cavea, which, as I live, filled me with incredible pleasure; for those rocks are vocal, nor that only, but five times sounding: and thus much for the position of the theatre. Now as to the structure—The ambit then of its hemicycle, which the Greeks calls Primetron, has 564 of our palms, or spans, or three quarters of a Roman foot; and, measuring its diameter, the line being drawn from each horn, it has 330 and a half of the like palms or spans. The height of the theatre, from the orchestra to the top gallery is 133 palms and an half; but, to the top of the remaining summit of the decayed party wall, 144 palms and a half: also the diameter of the orchestra hath 96 palms; from which it is certain the description of the whole theatre arises, as it were, from a centre; therefore the name orchestra was allotted by the Greeks, because in the Greek theatre it had been a place destined for dancing and gesticulations; yet among the Romans it had quite another use, at least from what C. Atilius Serranus and L. Scribonius Libodid; who, being the Curule Ædiles, following the sentence of the superior Africanus, assigned the orchestra for the seats of the senators: in that therefore, in the most honourable place, sat the prince or prætor in his stall, the vestiges whereof remain in the middle of the orchestra to the podium; afterwards were placed the ves-

tals, priests, ambassadors, senators; and, lest the prospect of the sage should be taken away by any objects standing before them, it was very carefully contrived to a nicety that the pavement of the orchestra, from the prince's stall, should arise gently and by degrees into an acclivity up to the lowest step of the equestrians, the pavement being lowered and cut away by degrees into a circle, in the manner of a belt, by placing and fixing the seats: a space being left between the orders of the seast a little more advanced that it might afford the coming in and going out, which I believe no one has hitherto taken notice of; and indeed it had slipped me, unless, having called for diggers, I had not bid them remove the earth with which the whole orchestra was buried. From the bottom of the orchestra the equestry broke forth, or fourteen steps set apart for the equestrian order, by the Roscian and Julian theatric laws, to the seventh of which steps two vomitories afford passage, which therefore is wider, lest by the straitness of the place the equestrian multitude should be pressed, but might pour themselves into their seats with free passage. And because this theatre is founded on the hardest stone, whose stubbornness deludes the attempts and industry of art, the equestry has only two doors in it, which, when they are not sufficient to admit the number of the knights, there are added from thence a double ladder, in the open and spreading place of which the bottom steps go under the arch in the proscene itself. A precinction or inclosure reserves the highest step of the equestrian order, by which name the ancients called the step that was doubly higher and broader than the rest, which as it were begirt and inclosed the rest that were smaller, which the Greeks called Diazomata, for they were a sort of transverse girdles, from whence they are by some called belts, that is, they are breaks and little beds of steps running circular; which are so inserted, that the distinctions of the senatorian, equestrian, and plebeian orders might appear manifest to the eyes by that division, nor any communication be between them; afterwards follow twelve steps of the populace in a higher and more remote place, in which sat spectators of the plebeian order, which they call the upper gallery or cavea. Into these seats very many passages lead, and thence to the inner arches or nest of chambers; also the upper portico, whose use was twofold, that it might have where the people might retire themselves if any sudden storm or shower should interrupt the plays; and that the theatre beneath might be defended from the injury of waters and filth. That portico hath eight fore doors, and as many back doors opposite, yet oblique, and which mutually face each other; that by the wind admitted through them the theatre might be refreshed, nor the air unmoved grow torpid and stagnant.—Into these doors a flight of seven steps afford ascent, breaking out from the lower step of the equestrians at the orchestra, not indeed intersected therefrom and varying, as in most amphitheatres, but in a direct leading and continuity; by which it comes to pass

that they form wedges very long, from the lowest seats to the top, very pleasant to the eyes of the spectators; and these stairs were ways between the wedges to ascend or descend; for whereas those degrees or steps of seats were higher than a man's step, and not without the greatest difficulty to be climbed, these stairs are contrived nicely for the purpose, by placing a third step between every two, unless where the precinctions or inclosures intervene, for there four are inserted.—The breadth of the highest of these is three palms and a half, and the height of the steps a palm and an inch, which twofold measure the degrees of seats exhibit. These stairs are so made that the multitude, so seated, might have an easy exit, and as it were at hand where to turn themselves, lest, being there inclosed, they might be driven to undergo the necessities of the body. Moreover, those that were shut out of the wedge, or excuneated, to use a theatric expression, beheld the shows standing.—There is that difference between the inner doors and outer, that the inner are square and open wider, and the outer are arched and less. There is besides an upper portico fifteen palms broad and a quarter, and twelve palms and a span high, therefore the breadth is greater than the height. Wherefore? For this reason, that lest while they are crowding in or going out, they should labour in the strait of the portico. Which portico does not reach to the angles of the theatre, but stands much before, cut off from both by an interval of thirty-five palms, which the quatern steps filled, separated by that only from the cavea or gallery placed under it, because the top of the popular or place of the common people exceeded the rest in breadth, and was, as it were, a certain boundary or little space distinguishing the superior order from the inferior: from whence it may be guessed the lictors, tipstaves, summoners, and other attendants of the magistrates, sat in that place, as well to be ready at call, as to deter the cavea or gallery beneath from contention and strife, and break off the insolence of quarrelsome fellows, which I find to have been the custom at Athens from the scholiast of Aristophanes's Eirenes, to which opinion I am the more inclined, because secret ladders lead from those very steps through hidden meanders into dungeons, one of which remains hitherto, and fetters or iron rings fixed in that wall to bind malefactors; add to this, that this very portico is broke in the middle, and a space left of twenty-two palms, in which both the quatern stairs reach out seven palms and a half, which I judge were built to the end that the officers might overlook the seats every where, and keep the peace. In the middle space of which some vestiges, although decaying and almost obliterated, informs us that there was a statue, for its base indicates as much; because even the ratio itself of the structure and the proper modulation of the work required it, to design the middle of the hemicycle. The sides of this base are six palms and a span. Upon the top step of the cavea or gallery, at each angle of the theatre, open six arched windows,

three in each. What to let in air? Truly I follow no one, if any one can tell me their use, I should be very much obliged to him. Upon the portico also four steps are placed. But to what order? Truly the senatorian sat in the orchestra, the equestrian in the fourteen, the plebeian in the cavea. What is left besides? When I revolve the steps in my mind, I am almost cast down from my step. Yet if in an affair so obscure I may conjecture, I shall have believed that the servants, freedmen, courtezans, and others of that sort of shameless vulgar rabble, were spectators from those distant steps, to the end that filth of that sort might not be joined with the more honest order of the plebeians. The structure of the upper degree helps my opinion, for it is the widest of all, although you bring in to the reckoning the precinctions themselves, which I think was done for this reason, that there might be a place in the plain for setting forms for the seat of the women: for, by the decree of Augustus, it was not lawful for them to be spectators but from the upper place, where also the most despicable men stood leaning upon the wall, and

> The rabble mob, in sordid vestments, stood
> Among the wenches' seats, and past-times viewed,

as Calpurnius says, from the lictors' seats into this top gradation, certain rises afford ascent as well to the two horns of the theatre, as in the middle, that by them the officers might run in time, if by chance their help should be wanted into those seats of the rabble. What ascent and what entrances were these? The best truly, and disposed with a certain proper design; for there are certain ladders behind the top portico thrown backward and forward, standing against the mountain, which lead to certain little arched doors in the wall's extremity, of which only one remains. In the back part of this mutilated wall certain of them are prominent, separate from one another by the space of ten palms and a half in a square form, two palms on every side. To the explanation of which you ought to know, that formerly umbrellas were wont to be superinduced as well to theatres as amphitheatres, for keeping off the heat and sun, which were bound to poles, set up under them extending transverse with ropes, that they might not flutter by hanging loose: therefore those poles being thrown across, through round holes excavated in the upper stones, or tied with ropes, for both used to be done, they were received by those stays, in the middle of which, for the sake of firmness, certain little grooves were dug, lest by the slipperiness of the stone, the cords slipping and unfirm should give way. The party wall rising over these steps is by the injury of time destroyed, and a very little part of it remaining, and that indeed without ridge or coping. The degrees of seats are higher than master workmen allow for a model; for they have two palms and a quarter, far otherwise than Vitruvius has prescribed. The breadth answers exactly to Vitruvius's rule, for it is of three palms and a quarter: you would wonder at such an effuse breadth, nothing

truly more of use to the sitters; to wit, lest the spectators in the next seat above should be troubled with the continual compression and retraction of their legs, or those beneath them be offended with their feet: perhaps also that the passage behind might open, if any should rise up or enter late. The height of the precinction or partition is twofold, according to prescription of art, for it is of four palms and a span. Also the breadth six palms and a quarter. Into these seats a passage opens through many doors, which the vulgar called vomitories; from whence men entering in a crowd, pour themselves into the seats as though they were vomited. Into these porticos two passages lead: one above and uncovered, of which we have said enough: the other beneath, creeping through the hidden bowels of the mountain, in the manner of a coney burrow, and receiving light from those very doors; unless you had rather call this a vault than a portico, which is nine palms and a quarter broad and twelve high; a preposterous structure, when indeed the breadth ought to exceed the height for that reason which we alleged when we treated of the dimension of the other portico: but what could the architect do, the mountain resisting? He was driven by a certain necessity of the place to that strait. For lest you should be ignorant, this work was wrought from the caved rock: from whence it runs not in equal breadth, but in bending form, and on both sides is by degrees narrowed and straitened. In each horn of the theatre there remain many vestiges, but which have suffered much by the injury of so many ages, but which abundantly testify the majesty of the work. In which various arches are to be seen, some half ruined, some still remaining, which sustained the co-operture of the scene, to make use of Vitruvius's expression, by a certain malignant fate destroyed, nor in any place appearing. The whole gradation of this theatre (at a moderate computation, not reckoning man by man and span by span, and excluding all the stairs and passages which were vacant for ascent and descent) was capable of containing seven thousand four hundred and twenty-six men; to which ought to be added those who sat in the upper degree over the portico, or in chairs placed there, or who were standing spectators leaning upon the party wall, which I judge to be about a thousand. Also there was very ample order in the orchestra, the ambit of the hemicycle whereof seemed to me to admit six hundred seats in its embrace, which, being collected together, renders the sum total of men nine thousand and twenty-six; and these particulars for explaining the aspect of the theatre at this day, I thought was proper for me to take notice of in the most brief and exact manner, passing by those things which seemed to pertain rather to ornament and show of learning than my purpose. Now then let us speak of the front of the theatre. In that is the proscene, stage, and scene: they call that space the proscene which is extended before the scene in which the stage was raised, whereon the actors of the play came forth. Nothing in our theatre is left of the stage, besides

the foundation of the wall, which is distant about twelve palms from the orchestra; the height of which wall, according to the architect rule, seems to have been only five feet or six palms of our * measure, and two-thirds; so that those who sat in the orchestra might see the gesture of the actors: therefore the stage was lower than the scene, which is also to be found in our theatre. They called all that by the way of scene which spread out from the bounds of the theatre between its two horns; the length whereof to the diameter of the orchestra was double, as appears by the writings of the ancients. That in our theatre is almost totally fallen, except only the running out party wall, which was the limit between the scene and the stage, and reached to the angles of the theatre. From the orchestra to the scene are 28 palms and a half, twelve of which were vacant for the proscene, the rest assigned to the stage: therefore the breadth of the stage was sixteen palms and a half, which space seemed convenient for the scenical actions. In the middle of this party wall, which respects the centre of the orchestra, remains a semicircular plain, from whose testudinary or convex bending arises a wall, which is hollowed in manner of a shell, that they called the royal valves from its ornament and amplitude; on both were several doors of the same form, but the lesser, which they called the strangers' doors, because they were destined for guests and strangers coming into the scene, certain vestiges of which are remaining in the scene; especially those on the left of it, as may be seen by its rotundity: that on the right has entirely perished; unless that the relics of each wall shews some marks at the angles of a lateral opening. In each of their little areas were placed triangular machines turning on axles, on the fronts of which were depicted occasionally the plays which they acted, to wit, a comic scene for comedies, a tragic for tragedies, a satiric for satire; which sorts of scenes were ornamented to a nicety by a different and various design; to wit, the tragic with columns, ensigns, head-pieces, and other things raised with royal magnificence; but the comic with private buildings and walls and windows, shewing the species of common houses; and the satiric had trees, caves, mountains, and other things of that rustic sort, drawn in arbour-work: therefore those machines were suddenly turned round for the argument of the play, and thereupon shewed another face of picture. From these machines the gods spoke. Behind the scene remain many walls half ruined, of which that which supports the little areas exhibit certain grooves or furrows, in which I judge were inserted ductile beams to be drawn upward to the scaffolds. In the rest of the party walls I judge were built those places from whence the gods appeared to speak from on high over the scene. There was a high turning machine like a watch tower, from whence Jupiter fulminated. Another place was behind the scene, in which with bladders filled with pebbles,

* Spanish.

and turned by the air, they imitated the breaking of thunders. Add to these the dressing rooms, in which there was chiefly need of room and space when they prepared for the chorusses, and there were kept the scenical dresses, and the rest of the instruments and furniture of the scene; for, from thence were brought forth all necessaries for the plays: even at this day we enjoy a remaining part of these dressing rooms at the left side of the scene; and the reason why this theatre is situated on the declivity of the mountain is, because it had streams of water running down, by the torrent and force of the fall whereof it would have grown old in a short time. There are walls placed higher, extending in the manner of wings, which to this edifice were as a bank, and, as I may say, hedged and defended it against the incursions of the waters, by the repulse of which the streams of water being broken and separated, were turned off with a harmless fall through the broken precipices of the mountain; but those waters which rained in showers, falling into the sewer of the orchestra, went under through the proscene stage, beneath what was their privy, which received all that flood, and remains still. The investigation whereof I willingly underwent, together with Vincentius Turresius, a most accomplished youth, and in strictest friendship with me, who also was my helper in measuring this work, and in bringing out the truth from its ruins and vestiges almost abolished.

These are what from my poor store you, worthy Sir, are welcome to for illustrating the vestiges of the theatre of Saguntum. In which I doubt not there may be many things which may little please your clear judgment, which I pray and beseech you earnestly you would render more correct; for I know how knowing your countrymen are of this sort of antiquities; neither am I ignorant how much you are bent upon those studies: from whence I have held the city and Italy to be the mistress of all things: Italy the nurse of literature and studies, the top column of learning, and the most fertile of all countries in the production of wits.—Farewell.

From my Study,
6th January, 1709.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

On the Duties of a faithful Hindu Widow. By Henry Colebrooke, Esq. From Asiatic Researches.

While the light which the labours of the *Asiatic Society* have thrown on the sciences and religion of the *Hindus*, has drawn the attention of the literary world to that subject, the hint thrown out by the President for rejecting the authority of every publication preceding the translation of the *Gitá*, does not appear to have made sufficient impression. Several late compilations in *Europe* betray great want of judgment in the selection of authorities; and their motley dress of true and false colonrs tends to perpetuate error; for this reason it seems necessary on every topic, to revert to original authorities for the purpose of cancelling error, or verifying facts already published; and this object will no way be more readily attained than by the communication of detached essays on each topic, as it may present itself to the Orientalist in the progress of his researches.

From this or any other motive for indulgence, should the following authorities from *Sanscrit* books be thought worthy of a place in the next volume of the Society's Transactions, I shall be rewarded for the pains taken in collecting them.

"Having first bathed, the widow, dressed in two clean garments, and holding some *cúsa* grass, sips water from the palm of her hand. Bearing *cúsa* and *tila* * on her hand, she looks towards the east or north while the *Bráhmana* utters the mystic word *Om*. Bowing to *Nerayana*, she next declares †: "On this month, so named in such a *Pascha*, on such a *tit'hi*, I (naming herself and her ‡ family) that I may meet Arund-

* Sesamum.

† This declaration is called the Sancalpa.

‡ Gótra, the family or race. Four great families of Bráhmanas, are now extant, and have branched into many distinct races. Since the memorable massacre of the Cshatriyàs, by Parasu Ràma, the Cshatriyàs describe themselves from the same Gótras as the Bráhmanas.

HATI' * and reside in *Swarga;* that the years of my stay may be numerous as the hairs on the human body; that I may enjoy with my husband the felicity of heaven, and sanctify my paternal and maternal progenitors, and the ancestry of my husband's father; that landed by the *Apsarases*, I may be happy with my lord, through the reigns of fourteen INDRAS; that expiation be made for my husband's offences, whether he has killed a *Bráhmana*, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend, thus I ascend my husband's burning pile. I call on you, ye guardians of the eight regions of the world! Sun and Moon! Air, Fire, Æther†, Earth, and Water! My own soul! *Yama!* Day, Night, and Twilight! And thou, Conscience, bear witness: I follow my husband's corpse on the funeral pile‡."

Having repeated the *Sancalpa*, she walks thrice round the pile; and the *Bráhmana* utters the following *Mantras:*

"Om! Let these women, not to be widowed, good wives, adorned with collyrium, holding clarified butter, consign themselves to the fire. Immortal, not childless, nor husbandless, excellent, let them pass into fire, whose original element is water.

From the *Rigvéda.*

"Om! Let these wives, pure, beautiful, commit themselves to the fire, with their husband's corpse. *A Pauránica Montra.*

"With this benediction, and uttering the mystic *Namó Namak*, she ascends the flaming pile."

While the prescribed ceremonies are performed by the widow, the son, or other near kinsman, of the deceased, applies the first torch, with the forms directed to funeral rites in the *Grihya* §; by which his tribe is governed.

The *Sancalpa* is evidently formed on the words of ANGIRAS';

"The wife who commits herself to the flames with her husband's corpse, shall equal ARUNDHATI', and reside in *Swarga*;

* Wife of Vasishtha.

† Acàsa.

‡ In several publications the woman has been described as placing herself on the pile before it be lighted; but the ritual quoted is conformable to the text of the Bhàgavata.

"When the corpse is about to be consumed in the Sahótaja*, the faithful wife who stood without, rushes on the fire." Náreda to Yudisht'hira.

§ Extracts or compilations from the sacred books, containing the particular forms for religious ceremonies, to be observed by the race or family for whom that portion of the sacred writings has been adopted, which composes their Grihya. We learn from the Bhágavata, that Vyása divided the Véda into four, (Rich, Yajush, Sáman, and At'harvan) or five, including the Itihàsas or other Puranas as one Véda. Pailla accepted the Rigvéda; Jaimeni and Cavi, or Sucra, the Sámavéda; Baisampayana learned the Rajurvéda; Samuntu, Daruna, and others of the family of Angiras, the At'harvavéda. "My father (Suc'ha, son of Vyása speaks) selected the Itihàsas and Puránas; then the several Rishis chose the Védas variously (parts of each.) Their pupils, the successors of their pupils, and the pupils of these, became followers of particular Sác'ha's."

* Cabin of grass or leaves, sometimes erected on the funeral pile. "The Shed on the funeral pile of a Muní is called Parn'ótaja and Sahótaja. See the vocabulary entitled Hárábalí.

" Accompanying her husband, she shall reside so long in *Swarga* as are the thirty-five millions of hairs on the human body.

" As the snake-catcher forcibly drags the serpent from his earth, so, bearing her husband from hell, with him she shall enjoy heavenly bliss.

" Dying with her husband, she sanctifies her maternal and paternal ancestors; and the ancestry of him to whom she gave her virginity.

" Such a wife, adoring her husband, in celestial felicity with him, greatest, most admired *, with him shall enjoy the delights of heaven while fourteen INDRAS reign.

" Though her husband had killed a *Bráhmana* †, broken the ties of gratitude, or murdered his friend, she expiates the crime."

ANGIRAS.

The *Mantras* are adopted on the authority of the BRAHME *Purana*.

" While the pile is preparing, tell the faithful wife of the greatest duty of woman, *she is loyal and pure who burns herself with her husband's corpse.* Hearing this, fortified (in her resolution) and full of affection, she completes the PITRÍMHEDA *Yaga* ‡, and ascends to *Swarga*."

BRAHME *Purana*.

It is held to be the duty of a widow to burn herself with her husband's corpse; but she has the alternative,

" On the death of her husband, to live as *Brahmachàrì*, or commit herself to the flames."

VISHNU.

The austerity intended consists in chastity, and in acts of piety and mortification.

The use of *Tambúla*, dress, and feeding off vessels of tutenague is forbidden to the *Yati* §, the *Brahmachàrì*, and the widow.

PRACHE'TAS.

" The widow shall never exceed one meal a day, nor sleep on a bed: if she do so, her husband falls from *Swarga*.

" She shall eat no other than simple food, and ‖ shall daily offer the *tarpana* of *cúsa tila*, and water ¶.

" In *Naisác'ha*, *Cártica*, and *Mágha* she shall exceed the usual duties of ablution, alms, and pilgrimage, and often use the name of God in prayer." The *Smríti*.

After undertaking the duty of a *Satí*, should the widow recede she incurs the penalties of defilement.

" If the woman, regretting life, recede from the pile, she is defiled; but may be purified by observing the fast called *Pràjàpatya* **." APASTAMBA.

* The word in the text is expounded " lauded by the choirs of heaven, Ganaharvas," &c.

† The commentators are at the pains of shewing that this expiation must refer to a crime committed in a former existence; for funeral rites are refused to the murderer of a Brahmána.

‡ Act of burning herself with her husband.

§ Sannyasì.

‖ If she has no male descendants. See Madana Parijáta.

¶ Oblations for the names of ancestors to the third degree, though not exclusively; for the prayer includes a general petition for remoter ancestors. Yet daily oblations (Vaisvédéva) are separately offered for ancestors beyond the third degree.

** It extends to twelve days; the first three, a spare meal may be taken once in each day; the next three, once in each night; the succeeding three days, nothing may be eaten but what is given unsolicited; and the last three days are a rigid fast.

Though an alternative be allowed, the *Hindus* legislators have shown themselves disposed to encourage widows to burn themselves with their husband's corpse.

Hárita thus defines a loyal wife: "She, whose sympathy feels the pains and joys of her husband, who mourns and pines in his absence, and dies when he dies, is a good and loyal wife.

Hárita.

"Always revere a loyal wife, as you venerate the *Dévatás;* for, by her virtues, the Prince's empire may extend over the three worlds." MATSYA *Puràna.*

"Though the husband died unhappy by the disobedience of his wife: if from motives of love, disgust of the world, fear of living unprotected, or sorrow, she commit herself to the flames, she is entitled to veneration."

Mahá Bhárata.

Obsequies for suicides are forbidden; but the *Rigvèda* expressly declares, "that the loyal wife who burns herself, shall not be deemed a suicide. When a mourning of three days has been completed, the *Sráddha* is to be performed*. This appears from the prayer for the occasion, directed in the *Rigvèda.*"

Regularly the chief mourner for the husband and for the wife, would, in many cases, be distinct persons: but the BHAVISHYA *Puràna* provides, *that*

"When the widow consigns herself to the same pile with the corpe of the deceased, whoever performs the *Criyá* for her husband, shall perform it for her."

"As to the ceremonies from the lighting of the funeral pile to the *Pinda*; whoever lights the pile, shall also offer the *Pinda.*"

VA'YU *Puràna.*

In certain circumstances the widow is disqualified for this act of a *Satí.*

"She who has an infant child, or is pregnant, or whose pregnancy is doubtful, or who is unclean, may not, O princess! ascend the funeral pile.

"So said Náreda to the mother of Sagara."

"The mother of an infant shall not relinquish the care of her child to ascend the pile; nor shall one who is unclean (from a periodical cause) or whose time for purification after child-birth is not passed, nor shall one who is pregnant, commit herself to the flames†. But the mother of an infant may, if the care of the child can otherwise be provided."

VRIHASPATI.

In the event of a *Bràhmana* dying in a distant country, his widow is not permitted to burn herself.

"A *Viprà* or *Bràhmana* may not ascend a second pile."

GO'TAMA.

But with other casts, this proof of fidelity is not precluded by the remote decease of the husband, and is called *Anugamana.*

"The widow, on the news of

* The shortness of the mourning is honourable; the longest mourning is for the lowest tribe.

† It has been erroneously asserted, that a wife, pregnant at the time of her husband's death, may burn herself after her delivery. Hindu authorities positively contradict it. In addition to the text it may be remarked, that it is a maxim. "What was prevented in its season, may not afterwards be resumed."

her husband's dying in a distant country, should expeditiously burn herself: so shall she obtain perfection." VYA'SA.

"Should the husband die on a journey, holding his *sandals* to her breast, let her pass into the flames." BRAHME *Puràna.*

The expression is not understood of *sandals* exclusively: for Usanas or Sucra.

"Except a *Viprà*, the widow may take any thing that belonged to her husband, and ascend the pile.

"But a *Viprà* may not ascend a second pile; this practice belongs to other tribes." SUCRA.

In two of the excepted cases, a latitude is allowed for a widow desirous of offering this token of loyalty, by postponing the obsequies of the deceased: for Vyása directs that, "If the loyal wife be distant less than the journey of a day, and desire to die with her husband, his corpse shall not be burnt until she arrive. And the *Bhavishya Puràna* permits that the corpse be kept one night, if the third day of her uncleanness had expired when her husband died."

With respect to a circumstance of time *, which might on some occasions be objected, the commentators obviate the difficulty, by arguing from several texts, "that to die with or after her husband, is for a widow *Naimittica* † and *Cámya* ‡, and consequently allowable in the intercalary month; for DACSHA teaches, that "whenever an act both *Naimittica* and *Cámya* is in hand, it is then to be performed without consulting season." They are at the trouble of removing another difficulty.

"Dhritaráshtra, in the state of *Samadhi*, quitted his terrestrial form to proceed to the Mucti, or beatitude, which awaited him. When the leaves and wood were lighted to consume the corpse, his wife, Gándhárí, was seen to pass into the flames. Now also, a husband dying at *Cási*, and attaining *Mucti*, it becomes his widow to follow the corpse in the flames."

It were superfluous to pursue commentators through all their frivolous distinctions and laborious illustrations on latent difficulties.

All the ceremonies essential to this awful rite are included in the instructions already quoted. But many practices have been introduced, though not sanctioned by any ritual. A widow who declares her resolution of burning herself with the corpse, is required to give a token of her fortitude: and it is acknowledged, that one who receded after the ceremony commenced, would be compelled by her relations to complete the sacrifice. This may explain circumstances described by some who have witnessed the melancholy scene.

Other ceremonies noticed in the relations of persons who have been present on such occasions, are directed in several rituals:

* Occasional observances are omitted on intercalary days.
† Eventual; incumbent when a certain event happens.
‡ Optional; done for its reward.

" Adorned with all jewels, decked with *minium* and other customary ornaments, with the box of *minium* in her hand, having made *púját*, or adoration to the *Dévátás*, thus reflecting that *this life is nought: my lord and master to me was all*,—she walks round the burning pile: she bestows jewels on the *Bráhmanas*, comforts her relations, and shows her friends the attentions of civility; while calling the Sun and elements to witness, she distributes *minium* at pleasure; and having repeated the *Sancalpa*, proceeds into the flames; there embracing the corpse, she abandons herself to the fire, calling *Satya! Satya! Satya!*"

The bye-standers throw on butter and wood; for this, they are taught, that they acquire merit exceeding ten million fold, the merit of an *Aswamèdha*, or other great sacrifice. Even those who join the procession from the house of the deceased to the funeral pile, for every step are rewarded as for an *Aswamèdha*. Such indulgences are promised by grave authors: they are quoted in this place only as they seem to authorize an inference, that happily the martyrs of this superstition have never been numerous. It is certain that the instances of the widow's sacrifices are now rare: on this it is only necessary to appeal to the recollection of every person residing in India, how few instances have actually occurred within his knowledge. And, had they ever been frequent, superstition would hardly have promised its indulgences to spectators.

Description of a Farm at the Cape of Good Hope. From the Universal Magazine.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, we came to the farm of Melk, which, at a distance, and indeed close by, appeared like a whole village. It lies among the mountains, upon the gentle declivity of a bigh ridge, and on the banks of an ever-running stream, which Melk has led, along his farm, between two brick walls, like a canal, and which turns a water-mill, for the purpose of grinding his corn.

His dwelling-house, which was of a considerable size, and four or five large and handsome rooms, all furnished in a neat, and even in a costly style, so that it more resembled a gentleman's villa than the mansion of a farmer.

Twenty-five or thirty paces from the corners of the house, he had four large barns, or warehouses, each one hundred and fifty feet long, in which he housed his corn and wine. Two of them were now empty; in the third were full one hundred and fifty leagers of wine; and in the fourth fifteen or sixteen hundred *muds* of corns, twenty-seven of which make a Holland last, and eighteen a last of the Cape: each mud being calculated at one hundred and eighty, or ninety pounds weight Amsterdam, according as the grain be heavy or light.

Between these he had a blacksmith's and carpenter's workshop, and a cartwright's manufactory, together with other work-people, necessary for so large and troublesome a concern. But few of

them were Europeans, the largest number were Oriental slaves, who had cost him a great deal of money. Among others, he showed me a slave, who understood smith's work, and making of tires on wheelbands, whom he had purchased for fifteen hundred rix-dollars, (upwards of 300*l.* sterling.)

A little higher up, stood a range of buildings, calculated for the slaves, of whom he had full two hundred: for he declared to me that he did not know the exact number. Every one had a separate brick dwelling to sleep in. Those that were married were kept apart from the others: and every possible precaution was taken to prevent accidents by fire.

A little farther were two *kraals*, or inclosures for cattle: they were surrounded by high stone walls, of eight or ten feet, and contained each about two hundred and fifty acres. The sheep, the horses, and the horned cattle, were confined at night in these, for security against the attacks of wild beasts, especially of wolves and tigers, who do not unfrequently make a great havoc here among the smaller sized cattle. He calculated the numbers of his sheep by thousands; and respecting his horned cattle, a small proof of the numerousness of his herds, was his informing me, in a careless manner, as if it were a circumstance of no consideration, that he had lost one hundred and twenty head of cattle, a few days before, by the disease called *klauuw* and *tonziekte*.

There were several other smaller out-houses and offices, for various purposes, relative to the economy of the farm. Besides this, he was owner of seven or eight other farms, upon which he had placed stewards, who managed them in his behalf, upon hire. Some of these produced corn, some wine, and some were simply destined for pasturage.

With all this, Melk could neither read nor write; but having a good memory, he had the whole in his head of what was necessary for the due management of his extensive concerns, for which any other would require a number of books, and a great deal of writing.

He was a native of Prussia, and had arrived at the Cape, many years ago, in a very low station. Understanding the burning of lime, the making of bricks, and something of agriculture, he had entered, as head servant, into the service of the former proprietor of this farm, but which, at that time, had not by far the same extent as at present. When his master died, he married the widow, (which does not unfrequently happen in this country) and extending his enterprizes from day to day, he at length obtained from the company, the exclusive farm for the sale of wine and spirituous liquors, by which he cleared one hundred thousand guilders, (about 9000*l.* sterling) in one year, chiefly by the arrival of the French fleet at the Cape. This enabled him still to undertake more important objects, so that he once bought up all the wine produced in the country, which amounted to some thousands of leagers. Though this did not conduce to the benefit of

the public, yet it sufficiently shows the spirit of enterprize which animated the man.

Two things in him excited, in particular, both my admiration and surprize. In the first place, his steady love for his king, of whom he always spoke with the deepest respect and affection; he decorated the chimney-pieces, and other parts of the house, with the arms of his sovereign, and cherished a fond attachment to his person. The other circumstance I allude to, was his gratitude towards his wife, by whose means, he invariably declared, he had become the man he was: he would not suffer her to be put to the least trouble in any thing, however trifling: and was anxious that she should live entirely at her ease, and take every diversion in her power: he even took upon himself the managing the houses, so that his wife had her time entirely to herself.

Finding that he spoke with much intelligence, respecting the situation of the country, as I, in fact, had been before informed was the case, I asked him his opinion of the plan at present in agitation of exporting the produce of the Cape to Holland *. He assured me that this would, in time, be of great benefit to the colony, and most probably also to the company; but that to effect this purpose, other means must be put in practice, and better arrangements made, than had hitherto taken place.

In the first place, he said that the company ought to erect store-houses in various parts, where the produce of the country could be received, from time to time, when the farmers had opportunities of conveying it from their farms, to those places, in the good season, or as soon as the harvest was got in, in January and February: for the rivers and roads were at that time the easiest passable: whereas the conveyance was otherwise both difficult and expensive: and that the corn would stand the company in much less, if this method were adopted. Further, that the tithes, which the company exacted of the corn grown, were of detriment, instead of producing an advantage for the farmers; who, for instance, though they grew five hundred muds of corn, only declared one hundred, which they sold at a high rate, while the other four hundred were disposed of at a much lower price under hand, by indirect means, in order to avoid payment of the tithes. That the servants of the company, at the Cape, to whom the purchase is confided, should act more disinterestedly, and not so arbitrarily toward the farmers, whom they, in fact, were even apt to defraud. That the overseers of these store-houses would be able to avail of the best opportunities for purchase, when the produce was at the cheapest; housing it in them, till the time of dispatching it to the Cape. That, especially, such storehouses ought to be erected at Mossel or Muscle, and Saldanha Bays, as the company could, in both places, fetch the produce, direct by their

* Our readers need not be told that the Cape is now in the possession of the English.

ships, instead of its being, as at present, first conveyed to the Cape by land-carriage, where their servants, who must all derive their emolument from it, receive, or reject it, at their own good pleasure. And, finally, that the land all around the above bays, was very fit for the production of corn: nay, better than in other parts; so that one mud sown, commonly yielded an increase of sixty or seventy, while, at most other places, between ten and twenty, and sometimes thirty muds was the usual harvest from one mud of seed. That the company would doubtless be able to purchase wheat at one rixdollar per mud; whereas they now paid eighteen, twenty, and sometimes twenty-four rixdollars per cart-load of ten muds, because the conveyance by wheel-carriage is so expensive to the farmers, that they could not do it at all, if they did not receive the above prices per cart-load.

Account of Sir Sidney Smith's Imprisonment and Escape. From "Secret Anecdotes of the Revolution of the 18th Fructidor."

"When I was taken at sea," said the gallant commodore, "I was accompanied by my secretary and Mr. de Tr***, a French gentleman, who had emigrated from his country, and who, it was agreed, was to pass for my servant, in the hope of saving his life by that disguise. Nor were our expectations frustrated; for John, (as I called him) was lucky enough to escape all suspicion.

"On my arrival in France, I was treated at first with unexampled rigour, and was told that I ought to be tried under a military commission and shot as a spy. The government, however, gave orders for my removal to Paris, where I was sent to the Abbaye, and, together with my two companions in misfortune, was kept a close prisoner.

"Meanwhile, the means of escape were the constant object on which we employed our minds. The window of our prison was towards the street, and from this circumstance we derived a hope sooner or later to affect our object. We already contrived to carry on a tacit and regular correspondence, by means of signs, with some women who could see us from their apartments, and who seemed to take the most lively interest in our fate. They proffered themselves to assist in facilitating my liberation, an offer which I accepted with great pleasure, and it is my duty to confess, that notwithstanding the enormous expences occasioned by their fruitless attempts, they have not less claims to my gratitude. Till the time of my departure, in which, however, they had no share, their whole employment was endeavouring to save me; and they had the address at all times to deceive the vigilence of my keepers. On both sides we used borrowed names, under which we corresponded, theirs being taken from the ancient mythology, so that I had now a direct communication with Thalia, Melpomene, and Clio.

"At length I was removed to temple, where my three the Muses soon contrived means of intelligence, and every day offered me

new schemes for effecting my escape. At first I eagerly accepted them all, though reflection soon destroyed the hopes to which the love of liberty had given birth. I was also resolved not to leave my secretary in prison, and still less poor John, whose safety was more dear to me than my own emancipation.

" In the temple, John was allowed a considerable degree of liberty; he was lightly dressed, like an English jockey, and knew how to assume the manners which corresponded with that character. Every one was fond of John, who drank and fraternised with the turnkeys, and made love to the keeper's daughter who was persuaded he would marry her; and as the little English jockey was not supposed to have received a very brilliant education, he had learnt, by means of study, sufficiently to mutilate his native tongue. John appeared very attentive and eager in my service, and always spoke to his master in a very respectful manner. I scolded him from time to time *with much gravity;* and he played his part so well, that I frequently surprised myself, forgetting the friend, and seriously giving orders to the valet. At length John's wife, Madame de Tr***, a very interesting lady, arrived at Paris, and made the most uncommon exertions to liberate us from our captivity. She dared not come, however, to the temple through fear of discovery; but from a neighbouring house she daily beheld her husband, who, as he walked to and fro, enjoyed alike in secret the pleasure of contemplating the friend of his bosom. Madame de Tr*** now communicated a plan for delivering us from prison, to a sensible and courageous young man of her acquaintance, who immediately acceded to it without the least hesitation. This Frenchman who was sincerely attached to his country, said to Madame de Tr***, " I will serve Sir Sidney Smith with pleasure, because I believe the English government intend to restore Louis XVIII. to the throne; but if the commodore is to fight against France, and not for the king of France, heaven forbid I should assist him!"

" Ch. L'Oiseau (for that was the name our young friend assumed,) was connected with the agents of the king, then confined in the temple, and for whom he was also contriving means of escape. It was intended we should all get off together. M. La Vilheurnois being condemned only to a year's imprisonment, was resolved not to leave his present situation; but Brothier and Duverne de Presle were to follow our example. Had our scheme succeeded, this Duverne would not perhaps have ceased to be an honest man; for till then he had conducted himself as such. His condition must now be truly deplorable; for I do not think him formed by nature for the commission of crimes.

" Every thing was now prepared for the execution of our project. The means proposed by Ch. L'Oiseau appeared practicable, and we resolved to adopt them. A hole, twelve feet long, was to be made in a cellar adjoining to the prison, and the apartments to which the cellar

belonged were at our disposal. Mademoiselle D*** rejecting every prudential consideration, generously came to reside there for a week, and being young, the other lodgers attributed to her alone the frequent visits of Ch. L'Oiseau. Thus every thing seemed to favour our wishes. No one in the house in question had any suspicions; and the amiable little child Madle D*** had with her, and who was only seven years old, was so far from betraying our secret, that she always beat a little drum, and made a noise, when the work was going on in the cellar.

"Meanwhile L'Oiseau had continued his labours a considerable time without any appearance of daylight, and he was apprehensive he had attempted the opening considerably too low. It was necessary therefore that the wall should be sounded; and for this purpose a mason was required; Madame de Tr*** recommended one, and L'Oiseau undertook to bring him and detain him in the cellar till we had escaped, which was to take place that very day. The worthy mason perceived the object was to save some of the victims of misfortune, and came without hesitation. He only said, "if I am arrested, take care of my poor children."

"But what a misfortune now frustrated all our hopes! Though the wall was sounded with the greatest precaution, the last stone fell out and rolled into the garden of the temple. The centinel perceived it; the alarm was given; the guard arrived; and all was discovered. Fortunately, however, our friends had time to make their escape, and none of them were taken.

"They had indeed taken their measures with the greatest care; and when the commissaries of the *Bureau Central* came to examine the cellar and apartment, they found only a few pieces of furniture, trunks filled with logs of wood and hay, and the hats with tricoloured cockades provided for our flight, as those we wore were black.

"This first attempt, though extremely well conducted, having failed, I wrote," continued Sir Sydney, "to Madame de Tr***, both to console her and our young friend, who was miserable at having foundered just as he was going into port. We were so far, however, from suffering ourselves to be discouraged, that we still continued to form new schemes for our deliverance. The keeper perceived it, and I was frequently so open as to acknowledge the fact. 'Commodore,' said he, 'your friends are desirous of liberating you, and they only discharge their duty. I also am doing mine in watching you still more narrowly.' Though this keeper was a man of unparalleled severity, yet he never departed from the rules of civility and politeness. He treated all the prisoners with kindness and even piqued himself on his generosity. Various proposals were made to him, but he rejected them all, watched us only the more closely, and preserved the profoundest silence. One day when I dined with him, he perceived that I fixed my attention upon a window then partly open, and which looked

into the street. I saw his uneasiness and it amused me; however to put an end to it, I said to him, laughing, 'I know what you are thinking of; but fear not; it is now three o'clock. I will make a truce with you till midnight; and I give you my word of honour, that till that time, even were the doors open I would not escape. When that hour is passed, my promise is at an end, and we are enemies again.'—'Sir,' replied he; 'your word is a safer bond than my bars and bolts; till midnight therefore I am perfectly easy.'

"When we arose from table, the keeper took me aside, and speaking with warmth, said, 'commodore, the Boulevard is not far. If you are inclined to take the air there I will conduct you.' My astonishment was extreme; nor could I conceive how this man, who appeared so severe, and so uneasy, should thus suddenly persuade himself to make me such a proposal. I accepted it, however, and in the evening we went out. From that time forward this confidence always continued. Whenever I was desirous to enjoy perfect liberty, I offered him a *suspension of arms* till a certain hour. This my generous enemy never refused; but when the armistice was at an end his vigilance was unbounded. Every post was examined; and if the government ordered that I should he kept close, the order was enforced with the greatest care. Thus I was again free to contrive and prepare for my escape, and he to treat me with the utmost rigour.

"This man had a very accurate idea of the obligations of honour. He often said to me, 'Were you even under sentence of death, I should permit you to go out on your parole, because I should be certain of your return. Many very honest prisoners, and I myself among the rest, would not return in the like case; but an officer, especially an officer of distinction, holds his honour dearer than his life. I know it to be a fact, commodore, and therefore I should be the less uneasy, if you desired the gates to be always open.'

"My keeper was right. While I enjoyed my liberty, I endeavoured even to lose sight of the idea of my escape; and I should have been averse to employ for that object, means that had occurred to my imagination during my hours of liberty. One day I received a letter containing matter of great importance, which I had the strongest desire immediately to read; but as its contents related to my intended deliverance, I asked to return to my room, and break off the truce. The keeper, however, refused, saying, with a laugh, that he wanted to have some sleep. Accordingly he lay down and I postponed the perusal of my letter till the evening.

"Meanwhile, no opportunity of flight offered; but, on the contrary, the Directory ordered me to be treated with rigour. The keeper punctually obeyed the orders he had received, and he who the preceding evening had granted me the greatest liberty, now doubled my guard, in order to exercise a more perfect vigilance.

"Among the prisoners was a man condemned for certain political offences to ten years confine-

ment, and whom all the other prisoners suspected of acting in the detestable capacity of a spy upon his companions. Their suspicions indeed appeared to have some foundation, and I felt the greatest anxiety on account of my friend John, I was, however, fortunate enough soon after to obtain his liberty. An exchange of prisoners being about to take place, I applied to have *my servant* included in the cartel; and though this request might easily have been refused, fortunately no difficulty arose, and it was granted.

"When the day of his departure arrived, my kind affectionate friend could scarcely be prevailed upon to leave me; till at length he yielded to my most earnest entreaties. We parted with tears in our eyes, which to me were tears of pleasure, because my friend was leaving a situation of the utmost danger. The amiable *jockey* was regretted by every one; our turnkeys drank a good journey to him, nor could the girl he had courted, help weeping for his departure; while her mother, who thought John a very *good youth*, hoped she should one day call him her son-in-law.

"I was soon informed of his arrival in London; and this circumstance rendered my own imprisonment less painful. I should have been happy also to have exchanged my secretary; but as he had no dangers to encounter but what were common to us both, he always rejected the idea, considering it as a violation of that friendship, of which he had given so many proofs.

"On the 4th September, (18th Fructidor) the rigour of my confinement was still further increased. The keeper, whose name was Lasne, was displaced; I was again kept close prisoner; and together with my liberty, lost the hopes of a peace, which I had thought was approaching, and which this event must contribute to postpone.

"At this time a proposal was made to me for my escape, which I adopted as my last resource. The plan was, to have forged orders drawn up for my removal to another prison, and thus to carry me off. A French gentleman, Phélipeaux, a man of equal intrepidity and generosity, offered to execute this enterprise. The order then, being accurately imitated, and by means of a bribe, the real stamp of the minister's signature procured, nothing remained but to find men bold enough to put the plan into execution. Phélipeaux and L'Oiseau would have eagerly undertaken it; but both being known and even notoriously at the temple, it was necessary to employ others. Messrs. B*** and L*** therefore, both men of tried courage, accepted the office with pleasure and alacrity.

"With this order then they came to the temple; Mr. B*** in the dress of an adjutant, and Mr. L*** as an officer. The keeper having perused the order, and attentively examined the minister's signature, went into another room, leaving my two deliverers for some time in the cruelest uncertainty and suspense. At length he returned accompanied by the Register (or Griffier) of

the prison, and ordered me to be called. When the Register informed me of the orders of the Directory, I pretended to be very much concerned at it; but the adjutant assured me in the most serious manner, 'that the government were very far from intending to aggravate my misfortunes, and that I should be very comfortable at the place whither he was ordered to conduct me.' I expressed my gratitude to all the servants employed about the prison, and, as you may imagine, was not very long in packing up my cloaths.

"At my return, the register observed that at least six men from the guard must accompany me; and the adjutant without being in the least confounded, acquiesced in the justice of the remark, and gave orders for them to be called out. But on *reflection*, and remembering, as it were, the laws of chivalry and of honour, he addressed me, saying, 'commodore, you are an officer; I am an officer also. Your parole will be enough; give me that, and I have no need of an escort.'—'Sir,' replied I, 'if that is sufficient, I swear upon the faith of an officer, to accompany you wherever you choose to conduct me.' Every one applauded this *noble action*, while I confess I had myself great difficulty to avoid smiling.

"The keeper now asked for a discharge, and the register gave the books to Mons. B***, who boldly signed it with a proper flourish, L. Oger, adjutant-general. Meanwhile I employed the attention of the turnkeys, and loaded them with favours, to prevent them from having time to reflect. Nor indeed did they seem to have any other thought than their own advantage. The register and keeper accompanied us as far as the second court; and at length the gate was opened, and we left them after a long interchange of ceremony and politeness.

"We instantly entered a hackney-coach, and the *adjutant* ordered the coachman to drive to the suburb of St. Germain. But the stupid fellow had not gone a hundred paces before he broke his wheel against a post and hurt an unfortunate passenger; and this unlucky accident brought a crowd around us, who were very angry at the injury the poor fellow sustained. We quitted the coach, took our portmanteau in our hands, and went off in an instant. Though the people observed us much, they did not say a word to *us*, only abusing the coachman; and, when our driver demanded his fare, Mr. L***, through an inadvertence that might have caused us to be arrested, gave him a double louis d'or.

"Having separated, when we quitted the carriage, I arrived at the appointed rendezvous with only my secretary and M. de Phélipeaux, who had joined us near the prison; and though I was very desirous of waiting for my two friends, to thank and take my leave of them, M. de Phélipeaux observed that there was not a moment to be lost. I therefore postponed to another opportunity the expression of my gratitude to my deliverers, and we immediately set off for Rouen, where M. R*** had made every preparation for our reception.

"At Rouen we were obliged to stay several days; and as our passports were perfectly regular, we did not take much care to conceal ourselves, but in the evening we walked about the town, or took the air on the banks of the Seine.

"At length every thing being ready for us to cross the channel, we quitted Rouen, and, without encountering any further dangers, I arrived in London, together with my secretary and my friend, M. de Phélipeaux, who could not prevail on himself to leave us." P. 159.

Narrative of the sufferings of Elizabeth Woodcock, who remained alive under the snow eight days and nights.

Elizabeth Woodcock, aged 42 years, went on horse-back from Impington to Cambridge, on Saturday the 2d of February, 1799. On her return home in the evening between 6 and 7 o'clock, being about half a mile from her own house, her horse started at a sudden light, which most probably proceeded from a meteor, a prodigy, which at that season of the year, not unfrequently happens. She was herself struck by the light, and exclaimed, "Good God, what can this be?"—It was a very inclement stormy night, a bleak wind blew boisterously from the N. E. The ground was covered by the great quantities of snow that had fallen during the day, but it was not spread uniformly over the surface. The deepest ditches were many of them completely filled up, whilst in the open fields there was but a thin covering; but in the roads and lanes, and many narrow and inclosed parts, it had accumulated to a considerable depth, although no-where so as to render the ways impassable, but still enough to retard and impede the traveller. The horse upon his starting ran backward, and approached the brink of a ditch, which the poor woman recollected, and fearing lest the animal should plunge into it in his fright, prudently dismounted with all expedition. Her intention was to walk, and lead the horse home; but he started again and broke from her, she repeated her attempt to take hold of his bridle; but the horse, still under the impression of fear, turned suddenly out of the road and directed his steps to the right over the common field; she followed, in hopes of quickly overtaking him, but, unfortunately, she lost one of her shoes in the snow. She was already wearied with the exertion she had made, and besides, had a heavy basket on her arm which contained several articles of domestic consumption which she had brought from market. By these means her pursuit of the horse was greatly impeded; she, however, persisted, and followed him through an opening in a hedge, a little beyond which she overtook him, (about a quarter of a mile from the place where she alighted) and, taking hold of his bridle, made another attempt to lead him home. But she had not retraced her steps farther than a thicket, which is contiguous to the above-mentioned hedge, when she found herself so much fatigued and exhausted, her hands and

feet, particularly her left foot, which was without a shoe, so very much benumbed, that she was unable to proceed farther. Sitting down thus upon the ground in this state, and letting go the bridle, "Tinker," said she, calling the horse by his name, "I am too much tired to go any farther, you must go home without me;" and exclaimed, "Lord have mercy upon me! What will become of me!" The ground on which she sat was upon a level with the common field, close under the thicket, on the south-west. She well knew the situation of it, and what was its distance, and bearing with respect to her own house. There was then but a small quantity of snow drifted near her; but it was beginning to accumulate, and did actually accumulate so rapidly, that when Chesterton bell rang at eight o'clock, she was completely enclosed, and hemmed in by it. The depth of the snow in which she was enveloped was about six feet, in a perpendicular direction, over her head, between two and three feet. Her imprisonment was now complete, for she was incapable of making any effectual attempt to extricate herself, and in addition to her fatigue and cold, her clothes were stiffened by the frost. Resigning herself therefore calmly to the necessity of her unfortunate situation, she sat awaiting the dawn of the following day. To the best of her recollection she slept very little during the first night, or indeed any of the succeeding nights and days, except Friday the 8th. Early the next morning she distinctly heard the ringing of a bell at one of the adjacent villages. Her mind was now naturally turned to the thoughts of her preservation, and busied itself in concerting expedients, by means of which any one who chanced to come near the place might discover her. On the first morning after her imprisonment, observing before her a circular hole in the snow, about two feet in length, and half a foot in diameter, running obliquely upwards through the mass, she broke off a branch of the bush which was close to her, and with it thrust her handkerchief through the hole and hung it as a signal of distress, upon one of the uppermost twigs that remained uncovered; an expedient which, as the sequel will show, led to her discovery. She bethought herself at the same time, that a change of the moon was near; and having an Almanack in her pocket, she took it out, though with great difficulty, and consulting it, found there would be a new moon the next day, February the 4th. This difficulty arose from the frozen state of her clothes before-mentioned. In this miserable state she continued for eight nights and days, retaining her senses throughout the whole time, and undergoing the pain of being constantly tantalized by hearing the sounds of life in every direction around her. She perfectly distinguished the alternations of day and night; heard the bells of her own village and other neighbouring villages several times, particularly those of Chesterton, which are rung night and morning every week day, and frequently listened to the sound of carriages, upon

the road, the bleating of sheep, and the barking of dogs. One day she actually heard the conversation of two gypsies respecting an ass they had lost. She afterwards specified that it was not their ass in general terms, but some particular one; and her precision in this respect has been confirmed by the gypsies themselves. She recollected having taken two pinches of snuff, but what is very strange she found she had lost all gratification from it, and therefore never repeated it. Common observation would have led to the conclusion that the snuff would have been peculiarly pleasant to her, and that being debarred from all other comforts, she would have solaced herself with this till the box was exhausted. Possibly, however, the cold she endured might have so far blunted her powers of sensation, that the snuff no longer became a stimulus. At another time finding her left hand beginning to swell, in consequence of her leaning for a considerable time on that arm, she took her two wedding rings, (having been twice married) from her finger, and put them with a little money she had in her pocket into a small box, "thinking," as she said, "that when her body was found this little property would be less likely to be overlooked." She frequently shouted out, but the snow so far prevented the transmission of sound that no one heard her. The gypsies, who passed nearer to her than any other persons, and whose attention she, of course, tried particularly to attract, were totally unconscious of such an attempt being made in their vicinity.

When the period of her imprisonment approached to a termination, and a thaw took place on Friday the 8th, she felt uncommonly faint and languid; her clothes were quite wet through with the melted snow; the aperture before-mentioned became considerably larger, and tempted her to make an effort to release herself; but, alas! it was a vain attempt; her strength was too much impaired, her feet and legs were no longer obedient to her will, and her clothes were become very much heavier by the water they had imbibed. And now, for the first time, she began to despair of ever being discovered and taken out alive, and declares, that all things considered, she could not have survived a continuation of her sufferings for twenty-four hours longer. It was now that the morning of her emancipation was arrived, her pains of mind and body increased; she sat with one of her hands spread over her face, and fetched the deepest sighs; her breath was short and difficult, and symptoms of approaching dissolution became every hour more apparent.

On Sunday the 10th of February, a young farmer, whose name is Joseph Muncey, in his way from Cambridge about half-past 12 o'clock, crossed over the open field, and passed very near the spot where the poor woman was. A coloured handkerchief hanging upon the tops of the twigs, where, as has been related, she had suspended it, caught his eye; he walked up to the place, and espied an opening in the snow. It was the very aperture which opened into the living grave of the

sufferer. He heard a sound issuing from it similar to that of a person breathing hard, and with difficulty. He looked in and saw a female figure whom he recognised at once to be the identical woman who had been so long missing. He did not speak to her then, but seeing at a little distance another young farmer and the shepherd, he communicated to them the discovery which he had made; upon which, though they scarcely gave any credit to the report, they went with him to the spot. The shepherd called out, "Are you there, Elizabeth Woodcock?" She replied in a faint and feeble tone, "Dear John Stittle, I know your voice, for God's sake help me out of this place." Every effort was immediately made for that purpose. Stittle forced his way through the snow till he was able to reach her; she eagerly grasped his hand, and conjured him not to leave her. "I have been here a long time," she observed; "Yes," answered the man, "ever since Saturday." "Aye, Saturday week," she replied; "I have heard the bells go for Church two Sundays:" an observation which proves how well aware she was of the duration of her confinement. Mr. Muncey and Mr. Merrington, junior, during this conversation, were gone to the village to inform the husband, and to procure proper means for conveying her home. They quickly returned in company with her husband, some of the neighbours, and the elder Merrington, who brought with him his horse and chaise-cart, blankets to wrap her in, and some refreshment which he took it for granted she would stand in peculiar need of. The snow being now a little more cleared away, he went up to her, and upon her entreaty gave her a piece of biscuit and a small quantity of brandy, from both of which she found herself greatly recruited. As he took her up to place her in the chaise, the stocking of the left leg adhering to the ground came off, and she fainted in his arms notwithstanding he moved her with all the caution in his power. But nature was nearly exhausted, and the motion, together with the agitation of first seeing her husband and neighbours, was too much for her strength and spirits. The fit, however, was but of short continuance, and when she recovered he laid her gently in the carriage, covered her well over with the blankets, and conveyed her without delay or interruption to her own house. Mr. Okes, a surgeon, first saw her in the cart as she was removing home. She spoke to him in a voice tolerably strong, but very hoarse; her hands and arms were sodden but not very cold; though her feet were in a great measure mortified. She was immediately put to bed, and weak broth given her occasionally. She became feverish and agitated, and Mr. Okes had little hope of her recovery. He opened the vesifications on her feet, and found that the cold had extended its violent effects, from the end of the toes to the middle of the instep, including more than an inch above the heels, and all the soles of the feet: by the 22d, several toes were so loose as to be removed

by the scissars. On the following day all the toes were separated from the feet, and the integuments from the bottom of one foot came away, except a piece at the heel, which was so long ere it loosened itself that the *os calcis* and *tendo achilles* had suffered. By the 27th all the mortified parts had been removed, but wherever mortification had taken place was one large sore, very tender, and when the sloughs came off the heels the bones were left bare in many places. Towards the end of March the sores were much diminished, and by the 17th of April they were in a decidedly healing state, and daily decreased in size; her appetite improved, and her general health began to amend; but notwithstanding these favourable symptoms, her life and sufferings terminated on the 13th of July. A too free indulgence in the use of spirituous liquors is said to have at least accelerated her death, if it was not the immediate cause of it. It is extraordinary that all feelings of hunger ceased after the first day of her misfortune, and she experienced no desire for food until after her deliverance, but had a constant desire for drink, which she had ample means of satisfying with the surrounding snow. The above account is abridged from a Pamphlet, published for the benefit of Elizabeth Woodcock, by Mr. Thomas Verney Okes, the surgeon by whom she was attended.

POETRY.

ODE FOR THE NEW YEAR, 1799.

By Henry James Pye, Esquire, Poet Laureat.

I.

Though the dun mist and driving rack
Awhile may hide the orb of day,
Aloft he keeps his radiant track,
Burning with undiminish'd ray;
And soon before his gorgeous fire
The evanescent clouds retire,
Then bursting forth, to mortal sight
His glories flash with keener blaze,
Dim with their force the dazzled gaze,
Sowing with flame divine the empyreal fields of light.

II.

So while the lowering clouds of fate
O'er Europe's torpid regions spread,
They seem'd enthron'd in gloomy state,
To hang o'er Albion's drooping head;
Supreme in glory yet she stood
Superior to the vapoury flood.
And soon, before her kindling eye,
The scatter'd clouds dispersing fly,
In awful glory while appear,
Red with vindictive flame, the terrors of her spear.

III.

Around her coast, fenc'd by her guardian main,
Around Ierne's kindred shores
Hark! loud invasion to her baffled train
In yells of desperation roars.

Along the hostile deep they vainly try
From Britain's thundering barks to fly;
Their fleets, the victor's trophy, captur'd ride,
In future battles doom'd to combat on our side.

IV.

Seas where deathless bards of yore,
Singing to the silver tide,
Wafted loud from shore to shore
Grecian art and Roman pride,
Say, when Carthage learn'd to vail,
To mightier foes her lofty sail;
Say when the man of Athens broke,
With daring prow the Median tyrant's yoke,
Saw ye so bold, so free a band,
As Nelson led by Nilus' strand;
What time, at George's high behest,
Dread in terrific vengeance dress'd,
Fierce as the whirlwind's stormy course
They pour'd on Gallia's guilty force;
And Egypt saw Britannia's flag unfurl'd,
Wave high its victor cross, deliverer of the world?

V.

See floating friendly in the wind,
The Russian eagle with the crescent join'd,
And shall on earth Rome's cowering eagle lie
With ruffled plumage and with languid eye?
Imperial Austria rouse! While Albion's fleet
Sweeps stern Oppression from the main,
Send forth thy legions on the embattled plain,
Till savage inroad turn to foul defeat;
Strike with united arm the blow,
Lay the gigantic boaster low;
O'er your astonish'd fields who trod,
Deforming nature, and defying God!
So shall returning peace again
Delight the renovated plain;
Peace, on the basis firm of faith restor'd,
Wrung from Oppression's arm by Valour's conquering sword.

ODE FOR HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, JUNE 4, 1799.

By Henry James Pye, Esq., Poet Laureat.

Still shall the brazen tongue of war
Drown every softer sound!
Still shall Ambition's iron car
Its crimson axles whirl around!

Shall the sweet lyre and flute no more
With gentle descant sooth the shore;
Pour in melodious strain the votive lay,
And hail, in notes of peace, our monarch's natal day?
O! seraph peace! to thee the eye
Looks onward with delighted gaze,
For thee, the nation breathes the sigh,
To thee their vows the virgins raise;
For thee the warrior cuts his course
Through armies rang'd in martial force.
Though distant far, thy holy form is seen,
And mountains rise, and oceans roll between;
Yet every sword that war unsheathes,
And every shout that conquest breathes,
Serve but to make thy blest return more sure,
Thy glorious form more bright, thy empire more secure.

When northward from his wintry gaol
Returns the radiant god of day,
And, climbing from th' antarctick pole,
Pours every hour a stronger ray;
Yet as he mounts through vernal signs,
Oft with diminished beams he shines,
Arm'd with the whirlwind's stormy force,
Rude March arrests his fiery course,
Sweeps o'er the bended wood, and roars
Infuriate round the wave-worn shores.
O'er the young bud while April pours
The pearly hail's ungenial show'rs,
Yet balmy gales and cloudless skies
Shall hence in bright succession rise.
Hence Maia's flowers the brow of Spring adorn,
Hence Summer's waving fields, and Autumn's plenteous horn.

From climes where Hyperborean rigours frown,
See his bold bands the warlike veteran bring,
Rous'd by the royal youth's renown,
Loud Austria's eagle claps his vigorous wing;
Mid fair Hesperia's ravag'd dales
The shouts of war the Gallic plunderers hear,
The avenging arm of justice learn to fear,
And low his crest the insulting despot veils.
While their collected navy's force
Spreads o'er the wave its desultory course,
From Britain's guardian fleet receding far,
Their proudest wreath to 'scape, nor meet the shock of war.

HORACE'S ODE TO THALIARCHUS.

By Anna Seward.

In dazzling whiteness, lo, Soracte towers,
As all the mountain were one heap of snow;
Rush from the loaded woods the glitt'ring show'rs—
The frost-bound waters can no longer flow!

Let plenteous billets on the glowing hearth
Dissolve the ice-dart ere it reach thy veins;
Bring mellow wines, to prompt convivial mirth—
Nor heed th' arrested streams or slipp'ry plains!

High heav'n, resistless in his varied sway,
Speaks!—The wild elements contend no more;
Nor then, from raging seas, the foamy spray
Climbs the dark rock, or curls upon the shore!

And peaceful then yon aged ash shall stand,
In breathless calm the dusky Cypress rise:
To-morrow's destiny the gods command;
To-day is thine—enjoy it, and be wise.

Youth's radiant tide too swiftly rolls away!—
Now, in its flow, let pleasures round thee bloom;
Join the gay dance, awake the melting lay
Ere hoary tresses blossom for the tomb!

Spears, and the steed, in busy camps impel;
And, when the early darkness veils the grove,
Amid the leafless boughs let whispers steal,
While frolic beauty seeks the near alcove.

Soft as thy tip-toe step the mazes rove:
A laugh half-smother'd thy pleas'd ear shall meet,
And sportive in the charming wiles of love,
Betray the artifice of coy retreat!

And then the ring, or from her snowy arm
The promis'd bracelet, may thy force employ:
Her feign'd reluctance, height'ning ev'ry charm,
Shall add new value to the ravish'd toy!

EXTRACT FROM THE PLEASURES OF HOPE, A POEM.

By Thomas Campbell.

Departed spirits of the mighty dead !
Ye that at Marathon and Leuctra bled !
Friends of the world ! restore your swords to man,
Fight in his sacred cause, and lead the van !
Yet for Sarmatia's tears of blood atone,
And make her arm puissant as your own :—
Oh ! once again to Freedom's cause return
The patriot Tell—the Bruce of Bannockburn !

Yes ! thy proud lords, unpitied land ! shall see
That man hath yet a soul—and dare be free !
A little while, along thy saddening plains,
The starless night of desolation reigns ;
Truth shall restore the light by nature giv'n,
And, like Prometheus, bring the fire of heav'n !
Prone to the dust oppression shall be hurl'd,
Her name, her nature, wither'd from the world !

Ye that the rising morn invidious mark,
And hate the light—because your deeds are dark ;
Ye that expanding truth invidious view,
And think, or wish the song of Hope untrue ;
Perhaps your little hands presume to span
The march of genius, and the pow'rs of man ;
Perhaps ye watch, at Pride's unhallow'd shrine,
Her victims, newly slain, and thus divine :—
" Here shall thy triumph, Genius, cease, and here
Truth, Science, Virtue, close your short career."

Tyrants ! in vain ye trace the wizard ring ;
In vain ye limit mind's unwearied spring :
What ! can ye lull the winged winds asleep,
Arrest the rolling world, or chain the deep ?
No :—the wild wave contemns your scepter'd hand ;—
It roll'd not back when Canute gave command !

Man ! can thy doom no brighter soil allow ?
Still must thou live a blot on Nature's brow ?
Shall War's polluted banner ne'er be furl'd ?
Shall crimes and tyrants cease but with the world ?
What ! are thy triumphs, sacred Truth, belied ?
Why then hath Plato liv'd—or Sydney died ?

Ye fond adorers of departed fame,
Who warm at Scipio's worth, or Tully's name!
Ye that, in fancied vision, can admire
The sword of Brutus, and the Theban lyre!
Wrapt in historic ardour, who adore
Each classic haunt and well-remember'd shore,
Where Valour tun'd, amid her chosen throng,
The Thracian trumpet and the Spartan song;
Or, wand'ring thence, behold the later charms
Of England's glory, and Helvetia's arms!
See Roman fire in Hampden's bosom swell,
And fate and freedom in the shaft of Tell!
Say, ye fond zealots to the worth of yore,
Hath Valour left the world—to live no more?
No more shall Brutus bid a tyrant die,
And sternly smile with vengeance in his eye?
Hampden no more, when suffering Freedom calls,
Encounter fate, and triumph as he falls?
Nor Tell disclose, through peril and alarm,
The might that slumbers in a peasant's arm?

Yes! in that generous cause, for ever strong,
The patriot's virtue and the poet's song
Still, as the tide of ages rolls away,
Shall charm the world, unconscious of decay!

Yes, there are hearts, prophetic hope may trust,
That slumber yet in uncreated dust,
Ordain'd to fire th' adoring sons of earth
With every charm of wisdom and of worth;
Ordain'd to light, with intellectual day,
The mazy wheels of nature as they play,
Or, warm with Fancy's energy, to glow,
And rival all but Shakspeare's name below!

THE HOPES OF LOVE.

From the same Poem.

Who that would ask a heart to dulness wed,
The waveless calm, the slumber of the dead?
No; the wild bliss of nature needs alloy,
And fear and sorrow fan the fire of joy!
And say, without our hopes, without our fears,
Without the home that plighted love endears,
Without the smile from partial beauty won,
Oh! what were man?—a world without a sun!

Till Hymen brought his love-delighted hour,
There dwelt no joy in Eden's rosy bow'r!
In vain the viewless seraph ling'ring there,
At starry midnight, charm'd the silent air;
In vain the wild-bird carol'd on the steep,
To hail the sun, slow-wheeling from the deep;
In vain, to soothe the solitary shade,
Aerial notes in mingling measure play'd;
The summer wind that shook the spangled tree,
The whispering wave, the murmur of the bee—
Still slowly pass'd the melancholy day,
And still the stranger wist not where to stray—
The world was sad!—the garden was a wild!—
And man, the hermit, sigh'd—till woman smil'd!

True! the sad power to generous hearts may bring
Delirious anguish on his fiery wing!
Barr'd from delight by Fate's untimely hand,
By wealthless lot, or pitiless command:
Or doom'd to gaze on beauties that adorn
The smile of triumph, or the frown of scorn;
While memory watches o'er the sad review
Of joys that faded like the morning dew;
Peace may depart—and life and nature seem
A barren path—a wildness, and a dream!

But, can the noble mind for ever brood,
The willing victim of a weary mood,
On heartless cares that squander life away,
And cloud young genius bright'ning into day!—
Shame to the coward thought that e'er betray'd
The noon of manhood to a myrtle shade!—
If hope's creative spirit cannot raise
One trophy sacred to thy future days,
Scorn the dull crowd that haunt the gloomy shrine
Of hopeless love, to murmur and repine!
But, should a sigh of milder mood express
Thy heart-warm wishes true to happiness,
Should heav'n's fair harbinger delight to pour
Her blissful visions on thy pensive hour,
No tear to blot thy memory's pictur'd page,
No fears but such as fancy can assuage;
Though thy wild heart some hapless hour may miss
The peaceful tenor of unvaried bliss,
(For love pursues an ever devious race,
True to the winding lineaments of grace);
Yet still may hope her talisman employ
To snatch from heaven anticipated joy,

And all her kindred energies impart
That burn the brightest in the purest heart!

ENERGETIC EFFECTS OF HOPE ON YOUTHFUL GENIUS.

From the same Poem.

Congenial Hope! thy passion-kindling power,
How bright, how strong, in youth's untroubled hour!
On yon proud height, with Genius hand in hand,
I see thee light, and wave thy golden wand.

"Go, Child of Heaven! (thy winged words proclaim)
'Tis thine to search the boundless fields of fame!
Lo! Newton, priest of Nature, shines afar,
Scans the wide world, and numbers ev'ry star!
Wilt thou, with him mysterious rites apply,
And watch the shrine with wonder-beaming eye?
Yes, thou shalt mark, with magic art profound,
The speed of light, the circling march of sound;
With Franklin grasp the lightning's fiery wing,
Or yield the lyre of Heav'n another string.

"The Swedish sage admires, in yonder bow'rs,
His winged insects, and his rosy flow'rs;
Calls from their woodland haunts the savage train
With sounding horn, and counts them on the plain—
So once, at Heaven's command, the wand'rers came
To Eden's shade, and heard their various name.

"Far from the world, in yon sequester'd clime,
Slow pass the sons of Wisdom, more sublime;
Calm as the fields of Heav'n, his sapient eye
The lov'd Athenian lifts to realms on high,
Admiring Plato on his spotless page,
Stamps the bright dictates of the Father sage:
'Shall Nature bound to earth's diurnal span
The fire of God, th' immortatal soul of man?'

"Turn, child of Heav'n, thy rapture-lighten'd eye
To Wisdom's walks, the sacred Nine are nigh:
Hark: from bright spires that gild the Delphian height,
From streams that wander in eternal light,
Ranged on their hill, Harmonia's daughters swell
The mingling tones of horn, and harp, and shell;

Deep from his vaults, the Loxian murmurs flow,
And Pythia's awful organ peals below.

" Belov'd of Heav'n ! the smiling muse shall shed
Her moonlight halo on thy beauteous head ;
Shall swell thy heart to rapture unconfin'd,
And breathe a holy madness o'er thy mind.
I see thee roam her guardian pow'r beneath ;
And talk with spirits on the midnight heath :
Inquire of guilty wand'rers whence they came,
And ask each blood-stained form his earthly name ;
Then weave in rapid verse the deeds they tell,
And read the trembling world the tales of hell.

" When Venus, thron'd in clouds of rosy hue,
Flings from her golden urn the vesper dew ;
And bids fond man her glimmering noon employ,
Sacred to love, and walks of tender joy ;
A milder mood the goddess shall recall,
And soft as dew thy tones of music fall ;
While Beauty's deeply-pictur'd smiles impart
A pang more dear than pleasure to the heart—
Warm as thy sighs shall flow the Lesbian strain,
And plead in Beauty's ear, nor plead in vain.

" Or wilt thou Orphean hymns more sacred deem,
And steep thy song in mercy's mellow stream ;
To pensive drops the radiant eye beguile—
For Beauty's tears are lovelier than her smile ;—
On Nature's throbbing anguish pour relief,
And teach impassion'd souls the joy of grief?

" Yes ; to thy tongue shall seraph words be giv'n,
And pow'r on earth to plead the cause of Heav'n ;
The proud, the cold untroubled heart of stone,
That never mus'd on sorrow but its own,
Unlocks a generous store at thy command,
Like Horeb's rocks beneath the prophet's hand.
The living lumber of his kindred earth,
Charm'd into soul, receives a second birth ;
Feels thy dread pow'r another heart afford,
Whose passion-touch'd harmonious strings accord
True as the circling spheres to Nature's plan ;
And man, the brother, lives the friend of man !

" Bright as the pillar rose at Heav'n's command,
When Israel march'd along the desert land,

Blaz'd through the night on lonely wilds afar
And told the path—a never-setting star:
So, heav'nly Genius, in thy course divine,
Hope is thy star, her light is ever thine."

THE ROSE.

From Poems by Robert Southey.

Nay Edith! spare the rose!—it lives—it lives,
It feels the noon-tide sun, and drinks refresh'd
The dews of night; let not thy gentle hand
Tear sunder its life-fibres and destroy
The sense of being!—why that infidel smile?
Come, I will bribe thee to be merciful,
And thou shalt have a tale of other times,
For I am skill'd in legendary lore,
So thou wilt let it live. There was a time
Ere this, the freshest sweetest flower that blooms,
Bedeck'd the bowers of earth. Thou hast not heard
How first by miracle its fragrance leaves
Spread to the sun their blushing loveliness.
There dwelt at Bethlehem a Jewish maid
And Zillah was her name, so passing fair
That all Judea spake the damsel's praise.
He who had seen her eyes' dark radiance
How quick it spake the soul, and what a soul
Beam'd in its mild effulgence, woe was he!
For not in solitude, for not in crowds,
Might he escape remembrance, or avoid
Her imaged form that followed every where,
And fill'd the heart, and fix'd the absent eye.
Woe was he, for her bosom own'd no love
Save the strong ardours of religious zeal,
For Zillah on her God had centered all
Her spirit's deep affections. So for her
Her tribes-men sigh'd in vain, yet reverenced
The obdurate virtue that destroyed their hopes.

One man there was, a vain and wretched man,
Who saw, desired, despair'd, and hated her.
His sensual eye had gloated on her cheek
Even till the flush of angry modesty
Gave it new charms, and made him gloat the more.
She loath'd the man, for Hamuel's eye was bold,
And the strong workings of brute selfishness

Had moulded his broad features; and she fear'd
The bitterness of wounded vanity
That with a fiendish hue would overcast
His faint and lying smile. Nor vain her fear,
For Hamuel vowed revenge and laid a plot
Against her virgin fame. He spread abroad
Whispers that travel fast, and ill reports
That soon obtain belief; that Zillah's eye
When in the temple heaven-ward it was rais'd
Did swim with rapturous zeal, but there were those
Who had beheld the enthusiast's melting glance
With other feelings fill'd; that 'twas a task
Of easy sort to play the saint by day
Before the public eye, but that all eyes
Were closed at night; that Zillah's life was foul,
Yea forfeit to the law.

Shame—shame to man
That he should trust so easily the tongue
That stabs another's fame! the ill report
Was heard, repeated, and believed,—and soon,
For Hamuel by most damned artifice
Produced such semblances of guilt, the Maid
Was judged to shameful death.

Without the walls
There was a barren field; a place abhorr'd,
For it was there where wretched criminals
Were done to die; and there they built the stake,
And piled the fuel round, that should consume
The accused Maid, abandon'd, as it seem'd,
By God and man. The assembled Bethlemites
Beheld the scene, and when they saw the Maid
Bound to the stake, with what calm holiness
She lifted up her patient looks to Heaven,
They doubted of her guilt. With other thoughts
Stood Hamuel near the pile, him savage joy
Led thitherward, but now within his heart
Unwonted feelings stirr'd, and the first pangs
Of wakening guilt, anticipating Hell.
The eye of Zillah as it glanced around
Fell on the murderer once, but not in wrath;
And therefore like a dagger it had fallen,
Had struck into his soul a cureless wound.
Conscience! thou God within us! not in the hour
Of triumph, dost thou spare the guilty wretch,
Not in the hour of infamy and death
Forsake the virtuous! they draw near the stake—
And lo! the torch! hold hold your erring hands!

Yet quench the rising flames!—they rise! they spread!
They reach the suffering maid! O God protect
The innocent one!
They rose, they spread, they raged—
The breath of God went forth; the ascending fire
Beneath its influence bent, and all its flames
In one long lightning flash collecting fierce,
Darted and blasted Hamuel—him alone.
Hark—what a fearful scream the multitude
Pour forth!—and yet more miracles! the stake
Buds out, and spreads its light green leaves and bowers
The innocent Maid, and roses bloom around,
Now first beheld since Paradise was lost,
And fill with Eden odours all the air.

LORD WILLIAM.

From the same.

No eye beheld when William plunged
Young Edmund in the stream,
No human ear but William's heard
Young Edmund's drowning scream.

Submissive all the vassals own'd
The murderer for their Lord,
And he, the rightful heir, possessed
The house of Erlingford.

The ancient house of Erlingford
Stood midst a fair domain,
And Severn's ample waters near
Roll'd through the fertile plain.

And often the way-faring man
Would love to linger there,
Forgetful of his onward road
To gaze on scenes so fair.

But never could Lord William dare
To gaze on Severn's stream;
In every wind that swept its waves
He heard young Edmund scream.

In vain at midnight's silent hour
Sleep closed the murderer's eyes,
In every dream the murderer saw
Young Edmund's form arise.

In vain by restless conscience driven
Lord William left his home,
Far from the scenes that saw his guilt,
In pilgrimage to roam.

To other climes the pilgrim fled,
But could not fly despair,
He sought his home again, but peace
Was still a stranger there.

Each hour was tedious long, yet swift
The months appear'd to roll;
And now the day return'd that shook
With terror William's soul.

A day that William never felt
Return without dismay,
For well had conscience calender'd
Young Edmund's dying day.

A fearful day was that! the rains
Fell fast, with tempest roar,
And the swoln tide of Severn spread
Far on the level shore.

In vain Lord William sought the feast
In vain he quaff'd the bowl,
And strove with noisy mirth to drown
The anguish of his soul.

The tempest as its sudden swell
In gusty howlings came,
With cold and death-like feelings seem'd
To thrill his shuddering frame.

Reluctant now, as night came on,
His lonely couch he prest,
And wearied out, he sunk to sleep,
To sleep but not to rest.

Beside that couch his brother's form
Lord Edmund seem'd to stand,
Such and so pale as when in death
He grasp'd his brother's hand;

Such and so pale his face as when
With faint and faltering tongue,
To William's care, a dying charge
He left his orphan son.

"I bade thee with a father's love
My orphan Edmund guard—
Well William hast thou kept thy charge!
Now take thy due reward."

He started up, each limb convuls'd
With agonising fear,
He only heard the storm of night—
Twas music to his ear.

When lo! the voice of loud alarm
His inmost soul appals,
What ho! Lord William rise in haste!
The water saps thy walls!

He rose in haste, beneath the walls
He saw the flood appear,
It hemm'd him round, 'twas midnight now,
No human aid was near.

He heard the shout of joy, for now
A boat approach'd the wall,
And eager to the welcome aid
They crowd for safety all.

My boat is small, the boatman cried,
This dangerous haste forbear!
Wait other aid, this little bark
But one from hence can bear.

Lord William leap'd into the boat,
Haste—haste to yonder shore!
And ample wealth shall well reward,
Ply swift and strong the oar.

The boatman plied the oar, the boat
Went light along the stream,
Sudden Lord William heard a cry
Like Edmund's drowning scream.

The boatman paus'd, methought I heard
A child's distressful cry!
'Twas but the howling wind of night
Lord William made reply.

Haste, haste—ply swift and strong the oar!
Haste haste across the stream!
Again Lord William heard a cry
Like Edmund's drowning scream.

I heard a child's distressful scream
The boatman cried again.
Nay hasten on—the night is dark—
And we should search in vain.

Oh God! Lord William dost thou know
How dreadful 'tis to die?
And can'st thou without pity hear
A child's expiring cry?

How horrible it is to sink
Beneath the chilly stream,
To stretch the powerless arms in vain,
In vain for help to scream?

The shriek again was heard. It came
More deep, more piercing loud,
That instant o'er the flood the moon
Shone through a broken cloud.

And near them they beheld a child,
Upon a crag he stood,
A little crag, and all around
Was spread the rising flood.

The boatman plied the oar, the boat
Approach'd his resting place,
The moon-beam shone upon the child
And show'd how pale his face.

Now reach thine hand! the boatman cried
Lord William reach and save!
The child stretch'd forth his little hands
To grasp the hand he gave.

Then William shriek'd; the hand he touch'd
Was cold and damp and dead!
He felt young Edmund in his arms.
A heavier weight than lead.

The boat sunk down, the murderer sunk
Beneath the avenging stream;
He rose, he scream'd, no human ear
Heard William's drowning scream.

REVIEW OF BOOKS.

Travels in the interior Districts of Africa, performed under the direction and patronage of the African Association, in the years 1795, 1796, *and* 1797. *By Mungo Park, Surgeon, 4to.*

An authentic account of Travels in countries, hitherto little explored, is seized with avidity by almost every one who reads at all. There are always rocks for the geologist, plants for the botanist, and new facts for the geographer; a mixture of the unknown and the marvellous which finds an echo in every bosom, and too commonly, a large portion of actual personal suffering and danger, which is of all subjects that which is productive of at once the most painful and fascinating interest. Difficult, indeed, would it be to produce a work more deeply imbued with the latter species of attraction, than the one at present under review. No one can follow Mr. Park over the pathless deserts which he traversed, or behold him during his melancholy captivity, suffering under every variety of insult and deprivation, without sentiments of the highest admiration and the deepest sympathy: here are no artfully wrought descriptions, not a sentence that can be suspected of exaggeration, nor an attempt to over-rate either his undertaking or its success; the tale is simple, the sufferings are real, and the effect produced far exceeds any thing that the most distinguished Romance writer has ever achieved.

Mr. Park was instructed by the African Association to proceed, upon his arrival in Africa, immediately to the river Niger, either by Bambouk, or any other route which he should find most convenient. He was directed to ascertain the course, and as far as might be found practicable, the rise and termination of that river; to visit, if possible, the principal cities and places of any note in its neighbourhood, particularly Tombouctoo and Houssa, and to return to Europe, as existing circumstances should point out.

Mr. Park commenced this stupendous undertaking in May 1795, and reached Pisania on the river Gambia, on the 5th of July. He remained there during the rainy season, under the hospitable roof of Dr. Laidsley, the superintend-

ant of the British factory at that place. He took advantage of this unavoidable delay to perfect himself in the Mandingo language, and he gives an interesting account of the various African tribes which came under his observation while at Pisania. Of the Mandingoes he speaks in favorable terms, as gentle, courteous, and amiable. Three-fourths of this people are in a state of slavery, in many instances, wholly unprotected by law, and at the mercy of their masters. The Feloops are courageous and faithful when attached, but of a gloomy and revengeful disposition. The Foulahs are a nation of shephords, remarkable chiefly for their long and silky hair. The Yalooffs are handsome, active, ingenious, and have attained to some excellence in their various manufactures. While at Pisania Mr. Park sickened of the fatal fever which almost invariably attacks Europeans on their first exposure to an African climate. He draws an affecting picture of his sufferings in that far distant land, at a period when the rain fell in ceaseless torrents, when the most suffocating heat oppressed him by day, and his fevered and sleepless nights were spent in listening to the croaking of innumerable frogs, the shrill cry of the jackall, and the deep howl of the hyena, mingled with the roaring of that tremendous thunder, of which, those who have only inhabited European countries can form no conception.

On the 3rd of December, 1795, Mr. Park began his anxious and perilous journey. He took with him a negro man and boy who were acquainted with the English, Mandingo, and Serawoolli languages, and was also accompanied by a Bushreen who was travelling in that direction; two slatees or slave merchants, and a free negro; making in all six attendants: all of whom had been taught to treat him with great respect and attention, and to consider their future welfare as dependent upon his preservation.

A pleasing description is given of the first part of their journey. The country rises in gentle acclivities, mostly covered with trees, and the soil is almost invariably fertile. The towns lie in the intermediate vallies and are surrounded by cultivation, and the negroes appear gentle and happy. Mr. Park was informed of a singular custom at Kolor.

"On the 7th I departed from Konjour, and slept at a village called Malla (or Mallaing;) and on the 8th, about noon, I arrived at Kolor, a considerable town; near the entrance into which I observed, hanging upon a tree, a sort of masquerade habit, made of the bark of trees, which I was told on enquiry belonged to Mumbo Jumbo. This is a strange bugbear, common to all the Mandingo towns, and much employed by the Pagan natives in keeping their women in subjection; for as the Kafirs are not restricted in the number of their wives, every one marries as many as he can conveniently maintain; and as it frequently happens that the ladies disagree among themselves, family quarrels sometimes rise to such a height, that the authority of the husband can no longer preserve peace in his household. In

such cases, the interposition of Mumbo Jumbo is called in, and is always decisive.

"This strange minister of justice (who is supposed to be either the husband himself, or some person instructed by him) disguised in the dress that has been mentioned, and armed with the rod of public authority, announces his coming (whenever his services are required) by loud and dismal screams in the woods near the town. He begins the pantomime at the approach of night; and as soon as it is dark, he enters the town, and proceeds to the Bentang, at which all the inhabitants immediately assemble.

"It may easily be supposed that this exhibition is not much relished by the women; for as the person in disguise is entirely unknown to them, every married female suspects that the visit may possibly be intended for herself; but they dare not refuse to appear when they are summoned; and the ceremony commences with songs and dances, which continue till midnight, about which time Mumbo fixes on the offender. This unfortunate victim being thereupon immediately seized, is stripped naked, tied to a post, and severely scourged with Mumbo's rod, amidst the shouts and derision of the whole assembly; and it is remarkable, that the rest of the women are the loudest in their exclamations on this occasion against their unhappy sister. Day-light puts an end to this indecent and unmanly revel."

While at Wolli Mr. Park was treated with kindness and attention, but at Bondou he was plundered with little ceremony. The king of Bondou, however, acted a friendly part towards him upon every occasion; and although he must have connived at the depredations of his subjects, he did not attempt to share in them until the day preceding Mr. Park's departure; he then suddenly commenced a strain of the highest panegyric upon the blue coat of the unfortunate traveller which happened to be the only tolerable one in his possession. It would have been useless to state this circumstance in opposition to the torrent of royal admiration with which the devoted coat, its colour, capes, and buttons, was honoured, and this curious scene was terminated by Mr. Park's taking it off, and laying it at the feet of his Majesty.

The following little narrative of our unfortunate countryman, Major Houghton, is too interesting to be passed over.

"At day-break on the 18th, we resumed our journey, and at eight o'clock passed *Simbing*, the frontier village of Ludamar, situated in a narrow pass between two rocky hills, and surrounded with a high wall. From this village Major Houghton (being deserted by his Negro servants, who refused to follow him into the Moorish country) wrote his last letter with a pencil to Dr. Laidley. This brave but unfortunate man, having surmounted many difficulties, had taken a northerly direction, and endeavoured to pass through the kingdom of Ludamar, where I afterwards learned the following particulars concerning his meladcholy fate. On his arrival at Jarra, he got acquainted with certain Moorish merchants

who were travelling to Tisheet (a place near the salt pits in the great desert, ten days' journey to the northward) to purchase salt; and the Major, at the expence of a musket and some tobacco, engaged them to convey him thither. It is impossible to form any other opinion on this determination, than that the Moors intentionally deceived him, either with regard to the route that he wished to pursue, or the state of the intermediate country between Jarra and Tombuctoo. Their intention probably was to rob and leave him in the desert. At the end of two days he suspected their treachery, and insisted on returning to Jarra. Finding him persist in this determination, the Moors robbed him of every thing he possessed, and went off with their camels; the poor Major being thus deserted, returned on foot to a watering place in possession of the Moors, called Tarra. He had been some days without food, and the unfeeling Moors refusing to give him any, he sunk at last under his distresses. Whether he actually perished of hunger, or was murdered outright by the savage Mahomedans, is not certainly known; his body was dragged into the woods, and I was shewn at a distance, the spot where his remains were left to perish."

Not many days after listening to this melancholy history, Mr. Park must have considered himself destined to a similar fate, having been treacherously detained prisoner by Ali, a Moorish sovereign, who had previously given him a positive permission to pass through his dominions. The period of his captivity was wretched indeed—subject to the malignant spirit of a suspicious and barbarous tyrant he had in addition to hunger, thirst, and every species of privation, to endure the most wanton and degrading insolence from all classes of society: he speaks of this as the bitterest of his trials. While he was suffering under sickness and fever, without receiving the commonest offices of humanity, he was frequently disturbed from his sleep, and made to move from place to place, at the whim, or for the amusement, of the most menial of the negroes. At length this state of misery came to a termination: Mr. Park effected his escape, but it was under circumstances of imminent peril, and in a state of actual beggary. The inhuman Ali had deprived him of his faithful boy, and his Interpreter had deserted him. Various occurrences had previously separated him from his other companions; he did, indeed, possess a single change of linen, and had contrived to recover his horse, but he had not a bead, or one article of real or local value to purchase provender for that, or food for himself. We annex the following passage from this part of the work:—

"It is impossible to describe the joy that arose in my mind, when I looked around and concluded that I was out of danger. I felt like one recovered from sickness; I breathed freer; I found unusual lightness in my limbs; even the desert looked pleasant; and I dreaded nothing so much as falling in with some wandering parties of Moors, who

might convey me back to the land of thieves and murderers, from which I had just escaped.

"I soon became sensible, however, that my situation was very deplorable; for I had no means of procuring food, nor prospect of finding water. About 10 o'clock, perceiving a herd of goats feeding close to the road, I took a circuitous route to avoid being seen; and continued travelling through the Wilderness, directing my course, by compass, nearly east-south-east, in order to reach, as soon as possible, some town or village of the kingdom of Bambarra.

"A little after noon, when the burning heat of the sun was reflected with double violence from the hot sand, and the distant ridges of the hills, seen through the ascending vapour, seemed to wave and fluctuate like the unsettled sea, I became faint with thirst, and climbed a tree in hopes of seeing distant smoke, or some other appearance of a human habitation; but in vain: nothing appeared all around but thick underwood, and hillocks of white sand.

"About four o'clock, I came suddenly upon a large herd of goats, and pulling my horse into a bush, I watched to observe if the keepers were Moors or Negroes. In a little time I perceived two Moorish boys, and with some difficulty persuaded them to approach me. They informed me that the herds belonged to Ali, and that they were going to Deena, where the water was more plentiful, and where they intended to stay, until the rain had filled the pools in the Desert. They shewed me their empty water-skins, and told me that they had seen no water in the woods. This account afforded me but little consolation; however, it was in vain to repine, and I pushed on as fast as possible, in hopes of reaching some watering-place in the course of the night. My thirst was by this time become insufferable; my mouth was parched and inflamed; a sudden dimness would frequently come over my eyes, with other symptoms of fainting; and my horse being very much fatigued, I began seriously to apprehend that I should perish of thirst. To relieve the burning pain in my mouth and throat, I chewed the leaves of different shrubs, but found them all bitter, and of no service to me.

"A little before sunset, having reached the top of a gentle rising, I climbed a high tree, from the topmost branches of which I cast a melancholy look over the barren Wilderness, but without discovering the most distant trace of a human dwelling. The same dismal uniformity of shrubs and sand every where presented itself, and the horizon was as level and uninterrupted as that of the sea.

"Descending from the tree, I found my horse devouring the stubble and brushwood with great avidity; and as I was now too faint to attempt walking, and my horse too much fatigued to carry me, I thought it but an act of humanity, and perhaps the last I should ever have it in my power to perform, to take off his bridle, and let him shift for himself; in doing which I was suddenly affected with sickness and giddiness; and falling upon the sand,

felt as if the hour of death was fast approaching. 'Here then,' thought I, after a short but ineffectual struggle, 'terminate all my hopes of being useful in my day and generation: here must the short span of my life come to an end.'—I cast (as I believed) a last look on the surrounding scene, and whilst I reflected on the awful change that was about to take place, this world with its enjoyments seemed to vanish from my recollection. Nature, however, at length resumed its functions; and on recovering my senses, I found myself stretched upon the sand, with the bridle still in my hand, and the sun just sinking behind the trees. I now summoned all my resolution, and determined to make another effort to prolong my existence. And as the evening was somewhat cool, I resolved to travel as far as my limbs would carry me, in hopes of reaching (my only resource) a watering-place. With this view, I put the bridle on my horse, and driving him before me, went slowly along for about an hour, when I perceived some lightning from the north-east; a most delightful sight; for it promised rain. The darkness and lightning increased very rapidly; and in less than an hour I heard the wind roaring among the bushes. I had already opened my mouth to receive the refreshing drops which I expected; but I was instantly covered with a cloud of sand, driven with such force by the wind as to give a very disagreeable sensation to my face and arms; and I was obliged to mount my horse, and stop under a bush, to prevent being suffocated. The sand continued to fly in amazing quantities for near an hour, after which I again set forward, and travelled with difficulty, until ten o'clock. About this time I was agreeably surprised by some very vivid flashes of lightning, followed by a few heavy drops of rain. In a little time the sand ceased to fly, and I alighted, and spread out all my clean clothes to collect the rain, which at length I saw would certainly fall. For more than an hour it rained plentifully, and I quenched my thirst, by wringing and sucking my clothes.

"There being no moon, it was remarkably dark, so that I was obliged to lead my horse, and direct my way by the compass, which the lightning enabled me to observe. In this manner I travelled, with tolerable expedition, until past midnight; when, the lightning becoming more distant, I was under the necessity of groping along, to the no small danger of my hands and eyes. About two o'clock my horse started at something, and looking round, I was not a little surprised to see a light at a short distance among the trees, and supposing it to be a town, I groped along the sand in hopes of finding corn-stalks, cotton, or other appearances of cultivation, but found none. As I approached, I perceived a number of other lights in different places, and began to suspect that I had fallen upon a party of Moors. However, in my present situation, I was resolved to see who they were, if I could do it with safety. I accordingly led my horse cautiously towards the light, and heard by the lowing of the cattle,

and the clamorous tongues of the herdsmen, that it was a watering-place, and most likely belonged to the Moors. Delightful as the sound of the human voice was to me, I resolved once more to strike into the woods, and rather run the risk of perishing of hunger, than trust myself again in their hands; but being still thirsty, and dreading the approach of the burning day, I thought it prudent to search for the wells, which I expected to find at no great distance. In this pursuit, I inadvertently approached so near to one of the tents, as to be perceived by a woman, who immediately screamed out. Two people came running to her assistance from some of the neighbouring tents, and passed so very near to me, that I thought I was discovered; and hastened again into the woods.

"About a mile from this place, I heard a loud and confused noise somewhere to the right of my course, and in a short time was happy to find it was the croaking of frogs, which was heavenly music to my ears. I followed the sound, and at day-break arrived at some shallow muddy pools, so full of frogs, that it was difficult to discern the water. The noise they made frightened my horse, and I was obliged to keep them quiet, by beating the water with a branch until he had drank. Having here quenched my thirst, I ascended a tree. and the morning being calm, I soon perceived the smoke of the watering-place which I had passed in the night; and observed another pillar of smoke east-south-east, distant 12 or 14 miles. Towards this I directed my route, and reach the cultivated ground a little before 11 o'clock; where seeing a number of Negroes at work planting corn, I inquired the name of the town; and was informed that it was a Foulah village, belonging to Ali, called Shrilla. I had now some doubts about entering it; but my horse very much fatigued, and the day growing hot, not to mention the pangs of hunger which began to assail me, I resolved to venture; and accordingly rode up to the Dooty's house, where I was unfortunately denied admittance, and could not obtain even a handful of corn, either for myself or horse. Turning from this inhospitable door, I rode slowly out of the town, and perceiving some low scattered huts without the walls, I directed my route towards them; knowing that in Africa, as well as in Europe, hospitality does not always prefer the highest dwellings. At the door of one of these huts, an old motherly-looking woman sat, spinning cotton; I made signs to her that I was hungry, and inquired if she had any victuals with her in the hut. She immediately laid down her distaff, and desired me, in Arabic, to come in. When I had seated myself upon the floor, she set before me a dish of kouskous, that had been left the preceding night, of which I made a tolerable meal; and in return for this kindness I gave her one of my pocket-handkerchiefs; begging at the same time, a little corn for my horse, which she readily brought me.

"Overcome with joy at so unexpected a deliverance, I lifted up my eyes to heaven, and whilst

my heart swelled with gratitude, I returned thanks to that gracious and bountiful Being, whose power had supported me under so many dangers, and had now spread for me a table in the Wilderness."

Our limits will not permit us to pursue Mr. Park through all his dangers and difficulties step by step on his adventurous course; we can only give a rough outline, and make a few interesting extracts, but we do most earnestly recommend the whole work to the perusal of our readers. On the 25th of July, he at length beheld "the great object of his mission; the long sought-for majestic Niger, glittering in the morning sun, as broad as the Thames at Westminster, and flowing slowly to the eastward." After reaching Silla, a large town on the right bank of the Niger, he determined to return to the Gambia. His reasons for this determination are consistent with the clear and sober judgment which distinguishes his conduct throughout the whole of his arduous undertaking. He had already compassed much, and added considerably to our scanty knowledge of the interior of Africa: had he attempted more, it is most probable that his own life would have been sacrificed, and consequently the entire fruit of his labours lost for ever. But his own words will explain his reasons far better than any thing which we can urge in his defence.

"With a great deal of entreaty, the Dooty allowed me to come into his baloon, to avoid the rain; but the place was very damp, and I had a smart paroxysm of fever, during the night. Worn down by sickness, exhausted with hunger and fatigue; half naked, and without any article of value, by which I might procure provisions, clothes, or lodging; I began to reflect seriously on my situation. I was now convinced, by painful experience, that the obstacles to my further progress were insurmountable. The tropical rains were already set in, with all their violence; the rice grounds and swamps, were every where overflowed; and, in a few days more, travelling of every kind, unless by water, would be completely obstructed. The Kowries which remained of the King of Bambarra's present, were not sufficient to enable me to hire a canoe for any great distance; and I had but little hopes of subsisting by charity, in a country where the Moors have such influence. But above all, I perceived that I was advancing, more and more, within the power of those merciless fanatics; and from my reception both at Sego and Sansanding, I was apprehensive that, in attempting to reach even Jenné (unless under the protection of some man of consequence amongst them, which I had no means of obtaining) I should sacrifice my life to no purpose; for my discoveries would perish with me. The prospect either way was gloomy. In returning to the Gambia, a journey on foot of many hundred miles, presented itself to my contemplation, through regions and countries unknown. Nevertheless, this seemed to be the only alternative; for I saw inevitable destruction in attempting to proceed to the eastward.

With this conviction on my mind, I hope my readers will acknowledge, that I did right in going no farther. I had made every effort to execute my mission in its fullest extent, which prudence could justify. Had there been the most distant prospect of a successful termination, neither the unavoidable hardships of the journey, nor the dangers of a second captivity, should have forced me to desist. This, however, necessity compelled me to do; and whatever may be the opinion of my general readers on this point, it affords me inexpressible satisfaction, that my honourable employers have been pleased, since my return, to express their full approbation of my conduct."

We cannot conclude without quoting one more of our Author's "hair-breadth 'scapes."

"I departed from Kooma, accompanied by two shepherds, who were going towards Sibidooloo. The road was very steep and rocky, and as my horse had hurt his feet much in coming from Bammakoo, he travelled slowly and with great difficulty; for in many places the ascent was so sharp, and the declivities so great, that if he had made one false step, he must inevitably have been dashed to pieces. The shepherds being anxious to proceed, gave themselve little trouble about me or my horse, and kept walking on at a considerable distance. It was about eleven o'clock, as I stopped to drink a little water at a rivulet, (my companions being near a quarter of a mile before me) that I heard some people calling to each other, and presently a loud screaming, as from a person in great distress. I immediately conjectured that a lion had taken one of the shepherds, and mounted my horse to have a better view of what had happened. The noise, however, ceased; and I rode slowly towards the place from whence I thought it had proceeded, calling out; but without receiving any answer. In a little time, however, I perceived one of the shepherds lying among the long grass near the road; and though I could see no blood upon him, I concluded he was dead. But when I came close to him, he whispered to me to stop; telling me that a party of armed men had seized upon his companion, and shot two arrows at himself, as he was making his escape. I stopped to consider what course to take, and looking round, saw at a little distance a man sitting upon the stump of a tree: I distinguished also the heads of six or seven more, sitting among the grass, with muskets in their hands. I had now no hopes of escaping, and therefore determined to ride forward towards them. As I approached them, I was in hopes they were elephant hunters; and by way of opening the conversation, inquired if they had shot any thing; but without returning an answer, one of them ordered me to dismount; and then, as if recollecting himself, waved with his hand for me to proceed. I accordingly rode past, and had with some difficulty crossed a deep rivulet, when I heard somebody holloa; and looking behind, saw those I had taken for elephant hunters, running after me, and calling out to me to turn back. I stopped till they were

all come up; when they informed me, that the King of the Foulahs had sent them on purpose to bring me, my horse, and every thing that belonged to me, to Fooladoo; and that therefore I must turn back, and go along with them. Without hesitating a moment, I turned round and followed them, and we travelled together near a quarter of a mile without exchanging a word; when coming to a dark place in the wood, one of them said, in the Mandingo language, 'this place will do;' and immediately snatched my hat from my head. Though I was by no means free of apprehension, yet I resolved to shew as few signs of fear as possible, and therefore told them, that unless my hat was returned to me, I should proceed no further. But before I had time to receive an answer, another drew his knife, and seizing upon a metal button which remained upon my waistcoat, cut it off, and put it into his pocket. Their intentions were now obvious; and I thought that the easier they were permitted to rob me of every thing, the less I had to fear. I therefore allowed them to search my pockets without resistance, and examine every part of my apparel, which they did with the most scrupulous exactness. But observing that I had one waistcoat under another, they insisted that I should cast them both off; and at last, to make sure work, they stripped me quite naked. Even my half boots (though the sole of one of them was tied on to my foot with a broken bridle-rein) were minutely inspected. Whilst they were examining the plunder, I begged them, with great earnestness, to return my pocket compass; but when I pointed it out to them, as it was lying on the ground, one of the banditti, thinking I was about to take it up, cocked his musket and swore that he would lay me dead upon the spot, if I presumed to put my hand upon it. After this, some of them went away with my horse, and the remainder stood considering whether they should leave me quite naked, or allow me something to shelter me from the sun. Humanity at last prevailed: they returned me the worst of the two shirts, and a pair of trowsers; and, as they went away, one of them threw back my hat, in the crown of which I kept my memorandums; and this was probably the reason they did not wish to keep it. After they were gone, I sat for some time, looking around me with amazement and terror. Which ever way I turned, nothing appeared but danger and difficulty. I saw myself in the midst of a vast wilderness, in the depth of the rainy season; naked and alone; surrounded by savage animals, and men still more savage. I was five hundred miles from the nearest European settlement. All these circumstances crowded at once on my recollection; and I confess that my spirits began to fail me. I considered my fate as certain, and that I had no alternative, but to lie down and perish. The influence of religion, however, aided and supported me. I reflected that no human prudence or foresight, could possibly have averted my present sufferings. I was indeed a stranger in a strange land, yet I was still

under the protecting eye of that Providence who has condescended to call himself the stranger's friend. At this moment, painful as my reflections were, the extraordinary beauty of a small moss, in fructification, irresistibly caught my eye. I mention this to shew from what trifling circumstances the mind will sometimes derive consolation; for though the whole plant was not larger than the top of one of my fingers, I could not contemplate the delicate conformation of its roots, leaves, and capsula, without admiration. Can that Being, (thought I) who planted, watered, and brought to perfection, in this obscure part of the world, a thing which appears of so small importance, look with unconcern upon the situation and sufferings of creatures formed after his own image?—surely not! Reflections like these, would not allow me to despair. I started up, and disregarding both hunger and fatigue, travelled forwards, assured that relief was at hand; and I was not disappointed. In a short time I came to a small village, at the entrance of which I overtook the two shepherds who had come with me from Kooma. They were much surprised to see me; for they said, they never doubted that the Foulahs, when they had robbed, had murdered me. Departing from this village, we travelled over several rocky ridges, and at sunset, arrived at Sibidooloo; the frontier town of the kingdom of Manding."

We take our leave of Mr. Park with sentiments of the highest admiration for his unwearied patience, his extraordinary fortitude, and his unaffected piety. Although, strictly speaking, he has explored but a small part of the vast Continent of Africa, yet when we consider the obstacles which opposed, and the perils which encompassed him, in his progress through a barbarous land from which no enlightened traveller has ever yet returned, far from wondering that he has not done more, our surprise is every moment excited that he should have achieved so much—his mission, though not wholly successful, has been productive of highly interesting results, and will always furnish experience of the greatest utility to the future traveller, and we believe we may venture to assert, that the geography of these dark and unknown regions has received more important additions from the researches of Mr. Park, than have accrued to it since the days of the Father of History.

View of the Russian Empire, during the Reign of Catharine the Second, and to the Close of the present Century. By William Tooke, F. R. S. Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, and of the Free Economical Society at St. Petersburgh.

The vast continent of Russia, until within a few years, was, comparatively speaking, a land unknown, even to its northern neighbours, and of little weight in the political scale of Europe. It has been, however, for some time gradually augmenting in power and importance, and begins to force itself upon our notice with a visibly increasing momentum, to which, perhaps, it may be

one day necessary to oppose some check.

One of the principal measures to which this rapid improvement may be attributed, was the wise and salutary project of Catharine the second, in 1767; that of deputing certain academicians of St. Petersburgh to explore her enormous territories, and carefully collect every species of information relative to their moral and physical condition. Her choice fell upon men whose names have now become a part of the history of science and philosophy. Those of Gmelin, Pallas, and Georgi, are too celebrated to require introduction from us, and Mr. Tooke expresses himself of their coadjutors in terms highly creditable to their scientific research, and acute investigation.

The present publication is avowedly a superstructure upon the foundations laid by these travellers: it has also received every advantage which the author's intimate acquaintance with them could afford, combined with an unlimited access to the libraries of the academy, and a long course of actual personal enquiry and observation, during a residence of many years in Russia itself.

In an Introduction prefixed to the first volume, a concise but exact memoir is given of the travels of each of these deputies, with a brief notice of the permanent results of their enquiries; but as this is done only to establish the unquestionable nature of the authorities on which the work is compiled, and is, in fact, but a meagre abridgment of that which is afterwards detailed by Mr. Tooke in a far more satisfactory manner, we shall pass on to the book itself, without any farther preliminary observations. It is divided into twelve parts, comprising as many heads of general information, viz.:—I. The Natural State of the Empire. II. A Historical View of the Nations which inhabit the Russian Dominions. III. The Physical State of the Inhabitants. IV. Of the several Ranks and Classes of the Subjects. V. Of the Government of the Empire. VI. The Naval and Military Forces. VII. The Revenues. VIII. The Imperial Colleges, including a short Survey of the Laws, and the Political Condition of the Subjects. IX. On the Viceroyalties. X. Productive Industry. XI. Manufactures and Trade. XII. Commerce.

The first book contains a variety of curious and interesting matter, but it is for the most part of so general a nature, and so closely connected together, that it is not easy to select any specimens for extraction. We subjoin, however, the following account of the extreme cold, and of those remarkable tracts of country which are denominated steppes.

"The cold and its effects are here very remarkable. There are annually from 150 to 190 days of frost, the severity and continuance of which freeze the ground every winter from two to two and a half, and sometimes even three feet deep. The ice of the Neva is from twenty-four to thirty-six, but generally twenty-eight inches thick. It is curious to observe, that, though this thickness of the

ice is formed by the sheets of ice lying horizontally on one another, yet the huge blocks of it that are cut out for filling the ice-cellars, on being left exposed to the sun, fall to pieces in perpendicular spiculæ, each of the thickness of one's little finger. So likewise in the spring, by pressing on a walking-stick, while the ice is still of its primitive thickness, the stick will go through, because it pushes down one or more of these spiculæ from their connection with the rest.

"The covering of the Neva with ice, and the breaking up of it, are remarkable phænomena. When the ice is setting-in, as it is called, small detached flakes of ice are seen floating down the current, which soon grow into large fields, and acquire so great a momentum, that the bridges must be hastily taken asunder, to prevent their being carried away by the ice, a disaster which has happened more than once. These large plains of ice continue for a day or two passing with the current, while the boats are seen rowing between them; till all at once the floating ice stops, either by the gulf being already closed below, or the flakes of ice freezing together: when immediately foot-passengers, who have been waiting on the shores for this happy moment, go over in all safety. Nothing is more common than to see boats crossing the river, and, in two hours afterwards, to behold hundreds of people going over on foot.

"No less rapid is the departure of the ice. In the spring, the first indication of this approaching event, is the standing of the snow-water on the ice; then the ice becomes more porous, or divides into spiculæ, lets the water through, and becomes of a blackish colour. At length it parts, while the roads that have been well trod during the winter still remain; so that often foot-passengers are seen on these roads, and between them and the floating sheets of ice, boats in great numbers passing and repassing. By the force of the current, and shocks received from the floating ice, at length the roads give way; the ice continues to fall down with the stream for a day or two to the gulf, and the whole river is clear. A week or a fortnight after this, the ice of the Ladoga comes down; which, according as the wind may happen to be, continues a couple or more days, sometimes as many weeks, and renders the atmosphere uncommonly chill.

"The ice and the cold are of service to the inhabitants in various ways. Distances are much shortened by their means, inasmuch as people, horses, and carriages of all sorts, and of ever so great burden, can cross the Neva, and the other rivers, lakes, and canals, in all places and directions: and the Cronstadt gulf supplies, in some measure, the want of navigation during the winter, by the transport of commodities of every denomination over the ice. As ice-cellars here are a necessary of life, for keeping provisions of all kinds during the summer, so every house in every quarter of the town is provided with one of them, to be filled with large blocks cut out of the river. This

operation generally takes place about the beginning of February. The ice also promotes the pleasure of the inhabitants, by giving them an opportunity for the diversion of sledge and horse-racing, and for that of the ice-hills so much admired by the populace, and of which I shall speak more at large hereafter. The weight of these ice-hills, together with that of a multitude, sometimes of 5000 or 6000 persons, standing about them on holidays, give the spectator a surprising idea of the strength and solidity of the ice.

"What may be executed in ice was shewn by the Ice Palace, which the empress Anna caused to be built on the bank of the Neva, in 1740. It was constructed of huge quadrats of ice hewn in the manner of free-stone. The edifice was 52 feet in length, 16 in breadth, and 20 in height. The walls were three feet thick. In the several apartments were tables, chairs, beds, and all kinds of household furniture of ice. In front of the palace, besides pyramids and statues, stood six cannons, carrying balls of six pounds weight, and two mortars, of ice. From one of the former, as a trial, an iron ball, with only a quarter of a pound of powder, was fired off. The ball went through a two-inch board, at 60 paces from the mouth of the cannon; and the piece of ice artillery, with its lavette, remained uninjured by the explosion. The illumination of the ice palace at night had an astonishingly grand effect."

"On the breaking up of the ice, when the river is so far open as to be navigable for boats, the event is announced to the town by the firing of three cannons from the fortress. Upon this the surveyor of the city-wharfs goes in a barge with the city-flag, accompanied by a number of other barges, to the fortress, and salutes it with seven guns, on which the fortress returns the salute with five. From the fortress he then proceeds to the imperial winter-palace, where, on being come near the shore, he again makes another discharge of cannon, which is followed by three cheers from the crew, repeated by the companies of the numerous barges. This done, they all return in procession to the place from whence they came. Previous to this ceremony, no boat may dare to shew itself on the Neva; but from that moment any one may pass upon it that will: and so long as the Neva continues open, the rising and setting of the sun are noticed by a gun from the fortress. But this is discontinued during all the time that the Neva is covered with ice.

"The severe cold here has not that violent benumbing effect, either on man or beast, as people in southern climates might imagine. This seems to be principally founded on the dry quality of the air during the frost, and perhaps in some measure may be owing to habit, by which both men and the inferior animals are hardened to the climate. However this be, from the dryness of the atmosphere, foreigners, according to the universal testimony of them all, suffer much less from the cold than they do from less degrees of it in other countries. The drivers and their horses, from being seasoned to

the cold, feel little or no inconvenience in pursuing their employment through the streets of the town, and along the roads, though the beards of the former, and the muzzles of the latter, are covered with hoar-frost and little icicles from the congelation of their breath; and in the severest colds they travel all day without receiving any detriment. Nay, even in from 20 to 24 degrees of Reaumur, women will stand rinсing the linen through holes in the ice, four, five, or six hours together, often barefoot, with their hands dipping in the water all the while, and their draggled petticoats stiff with ice."

"*Steppes.*" This term does not properly denote low and watery places, or morasses, but dry, elevated, extensive, and for the most part uninhabited plains. Some of them being destitute of wood and water, are therefore uninhabitable; others have shrubs growing on them, and are watered by streams, at least have springs or wells, though they are void of inhabitants; yet in these nomadic people wander about with their herds and flocks, and thus make them, if not their constant, yet their summer residence. In many of them are seen villages. Some occupy a very large space: thus, it is calculated that the steppe between Samara and the town of Uralsk* amounts in length to upwards of 700 versts; but, as every twenty or thirty vests we come to a lake or river, the Uralkozaks traverse them when they fetch their meal from Samara. Probably hereafter several of these steppes, at least in some places, will be cultivated, if they wish to raise forests upon them.

"In regard to the soil, an extreme variety prevails, either being very fruitful and proper for agriculture or for meadow-land, or indiscriminately for both. Accordingly in the steppe, about the Don, the kozaks of those parts employ themselves in agriculture, as well as in the breeding of cattle. Some of them furnish excellent pasture by their fine herbage, as the southern tract of the Isetskoi province, and the steppe of the middle horde of the Kirghistzi. Or the soil is unfruitful: whether it be the sand, the salt, or the stone it contains, that is the cause of it. Among these are to be reckoned the sandy steppe on the Irtish near Omsk; in general we find about the mountains up the Irtish pure arid steppes, and therefore no villages. Also the Krasno-ufimskoi, between the rivers Belaia, Kama, and Tchussovaia, towards the Ural-chain, is mostly sandy; and that on the Argoun, towards the borders of China, is of a still worse soil, consisting of rocky particles and flint. The whole of the steppe along the river Kushum, towards the town of Uralsk, is described by Professor Pallas as dry, poor, saline, and unfit for any kind of agriculture, for the breed of cattle, and even for permanent inhabitants; there is not even a solitary shrub to be seen, much less any wood. In general, saline spots are not unfrequent in the steppes; and here and there we also meet with salt-lakes: however, such districts may invite to camel-pasture.

"Most of the steppes are of a

* Formerly Yaik.

changing soil. So Pallas calls the extensive Baraba, from the Irtish to the Oby, a beautiful country, blessed with game and fish; for though one part of it is saline, yet it contains a great many lakes, as well as large tracts, very well adapted to agriculture. So likewise is the vast steppe of Kuman in many places sandy, dry, and destitute of water; yet its flats, which border on the river Kuma, seem formerly to have been well peopled, and at present very favourable to that end.

"The steppes are frequently fired, either by the negligence of travellers, or on purpose by the herdsmen, in order to forward the crops of grass; or, it may be, out of malice, as some years since the kozaks of the Yaik did; when, having risen in rebellion, a small corps of Russian troops advancing against them, they saw themselves all at once almost entirely surrounded by the high grass on fire. Such a catastrophe often occasions great mischief; the flames spread themselves far and wide, put the dwellings of the inhabitants in imminent danger, consume the corn on the ground, and even seize on the forests. Many prohibitions under severe penalties have accordingly been issued against this practice, but they seldom have any effect. All the steppes may be considered as a sort of common land."

Mr. Tooke now proceeds to the historical view of the Russian empire. He characterizes the various nations which inhabit it, and gives a general account of their customs and manners. This division is extremely entertaining, and affords much important information. We shall make several extracts from this part of the work.

"It appears, then, from the concurrent testimonies of history, language, and physiognomy, that the Russians are of slavonian origin, and consequently are related to the Poles, the Bohemians, the Slavonians, and other nations of the north. At the time of the great emigrations from the east, in the fifth century of the vulgar æra, being disturbed in their abode on the Danube by the Bulgarians and Valakhians, they dispersed themselves various ways; some marching to the Dnieper, where they built Kief, others bending their course to the Volkhof that flows into the Ladoga lake, and there laid the foundations of Novgorod. The latter colony fell under the sway of the Varages; by whom they were named Russi, and their country Russia or Rossia, which appellation they adopted themselves. Both the Slavonian colonies were democracies; but their regent Rurik, in the year 862, made them a monarchy, which soon extended its limits far and wide. Towards the close of the tenth century, Vladimir introduced the ceremonies of the Greek religion, to which he made those of the Pagan give place. The subsequent partition of the empire among several princes was favourable to the incursions of the Tartars; and the thirteenth century saw Russia in subjection to Baaty, the khan of the Golden Horde, and his descendants, and Kief submissive to the yoke of the Poles. In the latter half of

the fifteenth century, the grand duke Ivan Vassillievitch the first, very much curbed the Tartars; and about the middle of the sixteenth century Ivan Vassillievitch the second overturned the Tartarian empire, and made its kingdoms of Kasan and Astrakhan tributary to his sceptre. He extended the boundaries of his dominion to the foot of the caucasean mountains. In the year 1578, the conquest of Siberia was begun under the auspices of the grand duke Feodor Ivanovitch, by the don-kosak Yermak Timofyef, which was continued during the following reigns, in the seventeenth century, to the shores of the eastern ocean, and the banks of the Amoor.

"With the commencement of the present century, Peter the great began to reform the political and moral condition of his empire, made discoveries in the northern and eastern oceans, by which he enlarged his dominion almost to Japan and the American shores, and extended the boundaries of the empire towards Sweden and Persia. It was reserved for Catharine the second to prosecute the plans of Peter; to extend the limits of the empire towards Poland; to give efficacy to the moral improvement, the prosperity and the happiness of the people; and, by wholesome laws, by the institution of seminaries of learning, to transmit the energy and the glory of her reign to future generations.

"We have already seen the prodigious extent of the empire. But notwithstanding the great dispersion, and the consequent diversity of countries, climates, and situations, the people have far more resemblance in point of person and manners than those of different nations in smaller states. Russians, about Novgorod, Astrakhan, Archangel, Tobolsk, Yakutsk, are not so different as Germans from the various circles of that less extensive empire. The uniform, simple, natural mode of life, a mind exempt from care, and a sameness of religion, particularly from their influence on the diet, seem to be the principal causes of this little alteration.

"The Russian language is an improved dialect of the Slavonian, which, with its characters, is still in use in the offices of religion. The Russian alphabet has forty-one letters, whereof some are only notes of accent in pronunciation. The language is rich in words, soft, expressive, and requires great pliancy in the organs of utterance. Seminaries have been founded of old in the episcopal seats; gymnasiums and the universities of Kief and Mosco are foundations of great antiquity. There was however, a deficiency in schools; and therefore the late empress was constantly adding to their number. Besides these, here are institutions for the education of the military and the nobility, and for young ladies of quality; an academy also of sciences, and another for the study of the arts, which were entirely re-erected on a magnificent plan by Catharine II., to whose munificence likewise the nation is indebted for the establishment of an academy for the improvement of rural economy, and a society for the cultivation of the Russian language. In all the several in-

stitutions for the purposes of education throughout the empire, the pupils are found in every necessary article, such as board, lodging, food, raiment, washing, &c. and are dependent on the foundation. Accordingly the entrance into these schools is accounted a service rendered to the country; and in reckoning the years of service in order to promotion in rank, the years of attendance at school are always included.

"The native Russians are of different stature: some are very tall, but few much below the usual height; several of them are remarkably strong limbed; in general they are lean, but well built. Those deformities which in other parts of Europe are mostly owing to the refinements of luxury introduced into education, are here but rarely seen: their mouth and eyes are small, the lips thin, the teeth even and beautiful, the nose, as every where, various, in general not large nor very aquiline; the forehead frequently low, and their aspect rather grave: the beard is strong and bushy, their hair lank, brown, flaxen, or red, seldom or never entirely black: in sight and hearing they are uncommonly acute: the organs of feeling, smell, and taste, are hardened, like all the rest of their body, by the rudeness of climate, and their manner of life. They are mostly of a sanguine, choleric temperament, and *vice versa*, with a greater or less mixture of the melancholic, seldom of the phlegmatic, still seldomer merely melancholic or phlegmatic: in gait and action they are brisk, lively, and agile.

"The complexion of the females is brunette, with a fine skin; many of them extremely handsome. As not any restraint is put upon their growth, their breasts and feet are large: the former far more full than those of the Tartar women. Girls generally arrive early at maturity, numbers in their twelfth or thirteenth year; but many of them lose all their beauty after being married but a couple of years. The frequent use of the hot-bath promotes an early developement, and as early a decay; and the hideous practice of painting spoils the skin. As the women among the lower stations in general are kept on harder fare, and more accustomed to work than the girls, they are also more negligent of their persons.

"The general disposition of the people is gay, careless even to levity, much addicted to sensuality, quick in comprehending whatever is proposed, and not less prompt in its execution; ingenious in finding out means of abridging their work; in all their occupations ready, alert, and dexterous. Violent in their passions, they easily mistake the golden mean, and not unfrequently rush into the contrary extreme. They are attentive, resolute, bold, and enterprising. To trade and barter they have an irresistible impulse. They are hospitable and liberal, frequently to their own impoverishment. Anxious solicitudes about the future here cause but few grey pates. In their intercourse with others, they are friendly, jovial, complaisant, very ready to oblige, not envious, slanderous, or censorious, and much given to secrecy. From their natural and simple way of life their wants are few,

and those easily satisfied, leaving them leisure for recreations and repose; and the constant cheerfulness of their temper frees them from troublesome projects, procures them satisfaction in all situations, keeps them healthy and strong, and brings them to an undisquieted, contented, brisk, sometimes a very advanced ald age.

"The nation chiefly consists of the nobility and peasantry; but we may also admit the burgesses, a class which was constantly more and more raised and encouraged by the late sovereign; to which may be added the kozaks as another order. The nobility is composed of princes, noblemen, or boyars; and, in later times, of princes of the Roman empire, counts, and barons. The nobles may be proprietors of land and people, and hold the highest offices in the civil and military departments. The Dvorianini are in a manner city-nobles, though not properly to be compared with the patricians of the cities of Germany. Odnodvortzi are the lowest class of noblesse, somewhat similar to the body-guards in Poland.

"The burgher state, yeomanry, or commonalty, to give it somewhat of an English term, though neither of them will properly express it, is composed of the Possatski and Rasnotshintzi, who live in towns and villages, governed by their proper magistrates, whether as merchants or tradesmen. They are excluded from offices and posts of service or honour; furnish head-money and recruits; but cannot be vassals. By the uncontroulled freedom of trade that is enjoyed in this country, whereby any man may follow one calling and then another, and not constantly adhere to either, merchants and handicraftsmen oftentimes live by agriculture alone, while boors subsist by trade and business. It is not usual for the latter to employ journeymen and apprentices, but only workmen and labourers. However, this class is so totally dissimilar from any order of men in our own or other countries, that a more circumstantial account of it is not here to be expected, but will more properly find a place in the following book.

"By an edict of the year 1775, the merchants pay annually at the rate of one per cent. on their capital, in lieu of the capitation tax, and are also allowed to pay money instead of the recruits they are bound to furnish; by which this rank has been greatly raised.

"Of the peasantry, such as belong to the crown and the monasteries, pay taxes according to the laws of the land, and are liable to the other duties imposed by the same authority; but they may be made over to particulars as donatives from the crown. Noble boors, as they are called, are the vassals of their lord, on whose arbitrary disposal they entirely depend; and according to the temper and disposition of whom they are either treated with harshness or humanity; such as are happy enough to belong to kind and generous masters, generally live comfortably enough, and some of them frequently get rich. From all of them such as are fit to be made soldiers are taken by lot as recruits. The peasantry are not bound to follow agriculture, the

breeding of cattle, and the other employments of husbandry, but may strike into trade, and pursue it either alone or in conjunction with their rural concerns, as they find it most beneficial or convenient.

"The Kozaks form a particular class originating from the peasantry. They live, exempt from taxes, in villages, forts, and petty towns, on the produce of their fields and pastures, or the labour of their hands, furnish no recruits, are not given away as serfs, and enjoy other privileges. But they all serve as light horsemen, as early and as long as they are fit for it, providing themselves with horses, clothes, and accoutrements, and only receive pay when they are in actual service; of them, however, I shall speak more at large hereafter.

"The trades carried on by the Russians are in general the same as are exercised in the other parts of Europe.

"The inland commerce seems but small, as it is mostly conducted by shopkeepers and monopolizers, and the chief transport of goods by land is in caravans; it is, nevertheless, of great importance, by giving employment and sustenance to an innumerable body of people, by the great vent it procures for the products of nature and art, and by keeping the specie of the country in a constant and quick circulation. The petty merchants carry on their business by travelling from place to place about the country; and, therefore, on all occasions make speedy and frequent returns of their money. By their frugal manner of living, and by the hospitality of the boors which every where prevails, the consumption even on long journies is but small; and thus it frequently happens that an apparently insignificant, unproductive traffic maintains and often enriches a number of families. Formerly all traffic was confined to the annual fairs. The merchants attended them with the commodities they had to dispose of, and bought with the money they had got for them, or bartered them against, the products of those parts. For a long time past, every city, every town*, and many great villages, has its regular market, retaining at the same time its annual fairs. The market-places throughout the empire are, in their mode of construction uniformly the same: a quadrangular building of timber or brick, divided into shops, with a piazza before them for the conveniency of customers in all kinds of weather. This frequently spacious and handsome structure, which, on account of the foreigners that sometimes hire shops in them, are called guest-courts †; and in regard to its uses, the buying or bartering-place, and where alone, and not in private houses, articles of trade may be sold, is usually built by the government or the magistracy of the place. At Irbit in Siberia, at Ekatarinenburg, and above all in the monastery of Makarief on the banks of the Volga, near Nishney-Novgorod, yearly fairs are held, which, for the amount of the turns and

* Sloboda.

† Gostinoi dvor.

returns, may vie with the most noted in Europe.

"The foreign commerce, till about the close of the fifteenth century, was but trifling, and almost wholly confined to Novgorod, which belonged to the hanseatic league. The Russians were unacquainted with their own products; and, living as they did, in the native simplicity of the children of nature, they had little occasion for articles from abroad. By imperceptible degrees the products of the country were understood and explored; and the introduction of a more refined mode of living occasioned a demand for foreign commodities. Under Peter the Great, manufactories got up; the working of mines and all kinds of trade went on in a thriving state; and commercial regulations, duties, &c. gave commerce a proper direction, and secured the balance in their favour. It is a general practice with the merchants of Russia to be paid half of the price before-hand of the inland commodities which they buy up and deliver to foreigners, according to contract, for exportation; but to take foreign goods upon a year's credit. Foreigners therefore only gain when all goes right; but the Russians always, let matters take what course they will. For which reason they willingly resign to foreigners the profits accruing from the transport, and have themselves but few ships at sea. The most considerable maritime commerce, as we have already seen, is at St. Petersburg and Riga, by way of the Baltic; at Archangel, on the northern ocean, &c. at Taganrok, on the Euxine; at Astrakhan on the Caspian, and at Kamtshatka, on the Eastern ocean. The principal seats of the foreign commerce by land are the Ukraine, whence the Russian merchants visit the markets of Poland and the fairs of Germany; Orenburg, where a considerable trade is carried on with several Asiatic nations; and Kiachta in Dauria, where a great mercantile intercourse is held with China.

"Manufactories of wool, cotton, silk, flax, metals, &c. paper-mills, wax-bleacheries, saltpetre, and glass-houses, tapestry, and porcelain fabrics, with many other establishments of a like nature, partly belonging to the crown, but mostly to private persons, and especially the working of mines, employ an immense number of people, as well as artists and tradesmen, both in town and country. The products of these manufactories yield in no respect to the best of other countries; which, however, cannot always be affirmed of the works of the Russian artizans.

"As the free countrymen pay a tax not only for their fields, but also for their heads, they follow husbandry with that licence I mentioned before; and many of them neglect it entirely in order to devote themselves to trade and business. The vassal-boors are employed, at the pleasure of their lord, either in country or city occupations, in manufactories and fabrics, the handicraft trades, or the mines. Agriculture, therefore, is not so generally the business of the peasantry in Russia as in other countries. However, on the whole, it is carried on to so great an extent, as not only to

furnish the nations of the empire that eat bread with that article, and the prodigious quantities of corn, at a very moderate price, consumed by the brandy-distilleries; but also can export a great superfluity to foreign countries. Even from the 55th to the 60th deg. of north lat. in Siberia, are large tracts of arable land, mostly fertile, good crops of hay, and spacious forests. More to the north, cultivation is less to be depended on, and the whole system of rural œconomy is very liable to failures, and attended with great difficulties. Throughout Russia every village has its proper territory, and every estate its allotted inclosures and commons *. In the less cultivated plains of Siberia, every man takes as much ground from the open steppes as he can manage. When such a portion of ground is exhausted, the countryman lets it lie fallow for a year or two, goes and turns up another piece, and so proceeds. Frequently these little strips of ground lie scattered at 20, 50, and even 80 versts distance from the village. The size of these fields is measured eastwards †, each of which being 60 fathoms long and 40 wide; but in some parts, and all over the Ukraine, they are 80 fathom in length, and 40 in breadth.

"In the article of dress they adhere as faithfully, in the country towns and villages, to the manners of their fathers, as they do in food and lodging. The noblesse, all the officers in the civil department; and, besides the light troops, the soldiery all over the empire, the merchants of the chief towns and those who trade with them, the mine-owners, and almost all the people of quality throughout the empire, dress after the German fashion; and the ladies, even in the remotest and most retired parts of the country, appear more modishly attired than would easily be imagined. The burghers and mercantile class, however, generally speaking, stick close to the national dress, no less than the peasantry. Of this I shall speak a little more particularly.

"The men let their beards grow, which are commonly long and bushy: the hair is cut and combed: their shirt ‡ is short, without any sort of collar, and made of white, blue, or red linen. Their trowsers § are loose, and tied below the knees. The shirt usually hangs over the trowsers, and is girt round the waist with a string. Stockings ‖ are not so commonly worn by the lower class of people, as leg-wrappers ¶, which they tie about their feet and legs with pack-thread, so as to make them look very thick. Shoes ** are worn by the better sort, and mat-slippers †† by the common people; but half-boots ‡‡ are in very general use. Over the shirt they wear a short breast-cloth §§, or a vest furnished with buttons. The coat ‖‖ is made so big as to allow of one side lapping over the other before, with little buttons, close sleeves, and a collar. The skirt is made with ga-

* Tiaglo. † Desettini. ‡ Rubashka. § Stanni.
‖ Tshulki. ¶ Onutshi. ** Bashmaki. †† Lapki.
‡‡ Sapagi. §§ Fufeika. ‖‖ Sipoun.

thers at the hips, and reaches below the calves of the legs, and the garment is girt round with a sash that passes twice round the body. At the sash * commonly hangs a long-bladed knife, in a sheath. The covering for the head is either a flat fur-cap, with a narrow brim; or, in other places, a cap which forms a bag of a span in depth, in which they keep their handkerchief on their head. In summer they go with flapped high-crowned Dutch hats, ornamented with a narrow ribband of some gaudy colour. The materials of the dress vary according to the rank and circumstances of the wearer; the rich wear fine broad cloth, sometimes decorating the edges with gold cording, and little silver buttons for fastenings; common people clothe themselves in homespun cloth, and the summer in linen, made likewise at home. A well-dressed Russsian makes a very good figure. In winter the common people wear sheep-skins, with the woolly side turned inwards; the better sort put on furs of a higher price.

"The habits of the clergy, as well in their every-day wear, as when officiating at the altar, are in the oriental style; the latter of different colours, often in brocade, mostly very rich. The monks are always clad in black, and are also distinguishable by their high pasteboard caps, wound about with crape.

"The women wear stockings or leg-wrappers, and shoes like the men, sometimes likewise picked-pointed slippers. The lower class frequently go bare-foot, or simply in slippers on their naked feet: their shifts are white; but in Dauria the female peasants put on silk-coloured shifts of gauze or cotton: they fasten about the neck with a collar, and are decorated with fancied ornaments of needle-work: the vest † is close about the neck without sleeves, and sits tight to the body down to the hips; from the hips it spreads without gathers, and reaches down to the shoes; on the facing it is garnished with a thick row of little buttons from the top to the very bottom; it is, however, girt with a sash, to which the bunch of keys is suspended. The quality of the saraphan is various according to circumstances: of glazed linen kaitaka, silks, frequently edged with fur, or lined with it throughout. The dress of the lower sort of females in winter is more complete, consisting of coarse cloth, or sheep skin, with sleeves. Another dress is the usual woman's gown, and a contusha without sleeves ‡. The dushagrek is also worn on the saraphan, without a gown. In the winter they wear furs made after the manner used in Poland, with pointed sleeves. As this is usually a present made by the bridegroom, and the best piece of dress, the common people, in order to make a show of it, go, the whole summer through, to church, to make visits, &c. in the pelisse. They also wear necklaces of corals, pearls, or golden chains, earrings of precious stones, and decorate their fingers and wrists with rings and bracelets.

"The head-dress is somewhat different in different districts. The girls in general wear their

* Kushak. † Saraphan. ‡ Dushagrek.

hair uncovered more than the women; the former plait it in three plaits, with ribbands and beads tied to the points of them. In Tver, Novgorod, &c. they wear a band across the forehead, bedizoned with pearls and beads of various colours, which gives the appearance of a tiara or open coronet. At Voronetz and the parts adjacent, both women and girls wear coifs made to fit the head, with cheek-pieces and tresses. About the Oka, at Murom, and the country round, the caps are in the form of an upright crescent. In the governments of Mosco, Yarokaf, Kaluga, and the circumjacent parts, the coif has a stiff flap before, like a jockey-cap, which is decorated with tresses, pearls, and various coloured stones. On this they hang, in the Tartarian fashion, a veil; but which they usually keep thrown back. The veil is generally of silk, set off with gold or silver lace. In their ordinary dress, they tie on the veil over the hair, without any cap. In western Russia, caps are in use that are a kind of fillet, with tresses, pearls, and stones. Numbers wear caps having a stiff rim one or two inches broad, like a small screen or a flapped hat. Persons of consequence, in towns, wind pieces of silk about their heads in such manner to let the hair hang down in ringlets from under it; and these head-dresses have very much the resemblance of a high turban. A complete woman's attire is very dear, but remarkably handsome.

"The Russians are a race much hardened by climate, education, and habits of life, having their own peculiar usages, which have a greater affinity with the Asiatic than the European, only without the effeminacy. They sleep on the floor, the hard benches, or the boards placed shelf-wise for that purpose; in the summer contentedly lying down in the open air, in the field, or the yard of the house, as they do in the winter on the top of the oven, without beds, or merely on a piece of felt, sometimes with and often without any pillow, either under a thin covering or in their clothes. After performing their evening devotions, accompanied with frequent prostrations and crossings, before the sacred figures of the saints, they betake themselves early to rest, and rise again betimes in the morning, wash themselves, renew their pious orisons, and proceed with alacrity to business. Into the houses of the great and opulent, even at a distance from chief towns, feather-beds and late hours, with other luxuries, have long since found their way.

"Whenever acquaintance meet together, their term of greeting is, Zdravstvui *! or sometimes, Rdarouvi †! accompanied with shaking of hands, taking off the cap, bowing, and often with kissing, which is much in practice with both sexes. Even the lowest of the people greet one another with great civility. Inferiors kiss their superiors on the breast, and of people still more elevated

* Which may be rendered, All hail! or God save thee! or good betide thee!—Salve! Sit saluti!

† Health!—Sospes! Sanus!

above them they kiss the border of the garment; and, when the difference is very great, they fall down and strike their forehead upon the shoe of the great man. When they have any thing to request, they assume a tone and gesture, as if they were imploring mercy. It is indecorous to speak loud in the presence of superiors; and if any one happen to do so, he is presently chid by the bystanders, with *, Do not bawl! When a man designs to honour his guests, he lets his wife and daughters appear, full-dressed, who kiss the guests, and hand them what they want at the entertainment. They seem to vie with one another in the profusions of hospitality. Old age is universally honoured. On the breaking up of the company, they depart, saying, Proshai †! never omitting the valedictory kiss. On the slightest interruption or alteration to the ordinary course of whatever they are about, at eating, drinking, sneezing, at a sudden start, at the sight of a particular place, of a church, &c. they make the sign of the cross with the fingers, on the forehead, the stomach, and the two shoulders, bowing several times, and adding, with a deep-fetched sigh: The Lord have mercy ‡!

"They have usually two meals in the day; in the forenoon about nine o'clock, and in the afternoon at three. The family at these times eat all together; and, when it is numerous, first the males and afterwards those of the other sex. They allow themselves but a short time at table, and are easy and cheerful. Even among the inferior people the table-linen, platters, and vessels, are kept in great cleanliness. If strangers sit down with them there are very copious potations. Intoxication is not disgraceful, and even among people of good condition, if a lady be overtaken in liquor, it is no subject of reproach. They are never quarrelsome or scurrilous in their cups, but friendly, jovial, courteous, speak in praise of the absent, and boast of their friendship; and those that are not able to stand, find ready assistance from those that can. On journies, merchants and others take their food with remarkably few formalities. In towns and great village stations, women sit in the street, near public-houses, with tables having roast and boiled meat, fish, piroggees, cabbage-soup, cucumbers, bread, and quas, consequently a superb and every where a cheap repast, which is taken standing, and always accompanied with a glass or two of brandy.

"Holidays § are kept in idleness and wanton jollity. No one neglects to keep his birth and name's day, and those of his family. The day is opened by devout attendance on mass; then the person whose festival it is gives an entertainment of the best he can provide to his friends, who to shew their attention to him, present themselves uninvited at his house. The poor make their masters and patrons a present of a loaf of bread, a few apples, or some trifle of that sort, in order to get a return in money to ena-

* Nekritshi. † Farewell. ‡ Gospodi pomilui! § Prasniki.

ble them to entertain their friends, which they faithfully employ to that purpose, and generally finish the day with a hearty drunken bout.

"To hot and cold bathing they are so habituated from their earliest infancy that the practice is indispensable. They usually go into the hot-bath once a week, besides other frequent occasions, such as, after a slight indisposition, hard work, on returning from a journey, and the like. They use the bath very hot, heating the room with large stones made glowing red, and raising a vapour by repeatedly throwing water upon them; the room all the while being so tight that no particles of heat or vapour can transpire. The bather lies extended naked upon a mat thrown on one of the shelves of the scaffold already described, which the higher he ascends the greater the heat he feels. When he has thus lain perspiring for some time, the waiter of the bath, generally a female, comes and washes his body all over with hot water, scourges and rubs him with bunches of leafy birch, wipes him with cloths, and then leaves him to lie and sweat as long as he chooses. Numbers of them run from the hot bath into the cold water flowing by, and in winter roll themselves in the snow, without deriving any bad consequences from it.

"Oaths and curses are but little in use: by God*! is their commonest observation. Obscene and ambiguous, abusive and ludicrous expressions, are very usual among them. Flattering terms are in great use; for instance, to an elderly man, Batushka, good father; to an older man, Dedushka, good grand-papa; to a matronly woman, Matushka, good mother! which term is even used to the empress; to a girl, Dushinka! my little soul! to a boy, Golubtschick! my little dove! &c. Good brother† is mostly used towards inferiors. Perhaps it may be better made in English, by Good friend! or honest fellow!".

There is also a long and curious account of the wide-spreading tribes of Kozaks, which, by the advance of the Russian armies to the south, at the present moment, is rendered particularly attractive, but is not of a nature to admit of separation, and we are consequently deterred from attempting to make any extracts. Mr. Tooke divides the whole Russian people into four general heads, i. e. Slavonians, Fius, Mongoles, and Tartars; with some few tribes of minor note, and some others of uncertain origin. It would be endless to endeavour to follow him in his descriptive account of the various ramifications into which these original stocks have branched, but we subjoin his very sensible and comprehensive conclusion, which sums up the whole in a clear and comprehensive manner.

"From this contracted view, in which some few other petty tribes are entirely overlooked, it appears that the inhabitants of the Russian empire form at least eighty distinct nations, as well in their lineage as in their manners and their

* Ye Bog!

† Bratętz.

language essentially different from each other *.

"To see so extraordinary a multitude of nations and tribes united in one body-politic is certainly a curious phenomenon, of which we should look in vain for another example in the history of the world. This mingled mass of people, so extremely numerous, presents a spectacle which must be highly interesting to every reflecting observer. Its physical, civil, and moral state forms a grand and instructive picture, in which are seen all the modifications whereof this state, by the most various causes and operations, is susceptible: a commentary on the history of mankind, illustrative of the gradual developement of civilization by the most lively and striking example. On the whole scale of human nature, from the rude and brutal condition to the summit of sensible and intellectual refinement, there is scarcely a remarkable transition which may not be matched from the foregoing list. Here are seen nations of hunters and fishers, roaming about their forests, without permanent habitations, defying all dangers, and indifferent to the accommodations of life, who have scarcely any notion of property, who feed upon raw flesh and unprepared fruits, and wrap themselves in the skins of the beasts with which they contend for their existence, and by which they preserve their lives. Near to these we find pastoral nations, obtaining their nourishment, their clothing, and even a sort of affluence solely from their flocks and herds; living with them in moveable tents on everlasting perambulations, and passing their days in a patriarchal simplicity of manners, generally without the art of writing, and without the knowledge and use of money. Again we behold nations who devote themselves to the labours of agiculture, carrying on their various occupations, one while incomplete and directed to single objects; at another on a general scale, and with ingenuity and industry. We observe the progress of culture, in regions where the virgin earth, the first time for thousands of years, opens her bosom to the strange hand of the countryman; and where, instead of temporary huts of felt, houses and villages arise to our view. With equal surprise we see villages changed into towns, and houses into palaces, where productive industry has erected her manufactories, and where diligence collects the products of the distant parts of the world for traffic.

"As all the gradations of living are found among the inhabitants of the Russian empire, so we see also examples of all the modifications of civil constitution. Among the Tschuktsches and the inhabitants of the eastern isles we scarcely find an idea of social connexion; among other nations in the east of Siberia we perceive among the Laplanders, in the family government of fathers and elders, the first rude sketch of monarchy; but far more considerable is the number of those

* In this enumeration, the collateral branches of the Russians, Kalmuks, and Tartars, as well as the relative tribes of the Ostiaks of the Yenissey, are not included.

who divide themselves into stems and hordes, which are again parted into races. A pure democracy is discernible in the generality of the branches of Kozaks; while the Kalmuks and Kirghises have a mixed republican monarchy. Not less numerous are the corruptions of these several forms of government, which all at last dissolve into the elements of unlimited monarchy.—Some nations have a family nobility hereditary in their offspring; while others have only a personal nobility, founded on the respectability of age, on the influence of wealth, or on the brilliancy of personal talents.—Of all the modifications of civil constitution, none is perhaps so singular as the military democracy of the Kozaks, the essence and aim of which is war, and even of which we have been witnesses of a corruption, in its denying the other half of the human race all civil and domestic community.

"Not less edifying and diversified is the view of the religious ideas and forms of worship which these nations have adopted for the service and honour of the Supreme Being. We find in the Russian empire not only the generality of the known parties and sects of the Christian faith, but the Jewish, the Mohammedan, the Lama, and the Schamane religions have here their numerous votaries.—From the most monstrous polytheism to the total unacquaintance with any idea of a Supreme Intelligence, there are innumerable turnings in which the human intellect may stray, and the religious opinions of the savage and half-savage tribes of the Russian empire present us with no inconsiderable supplement to the history of these aberrations.

"Great as the difference is between the modes of life, constitutions, and religions of the inhabitants of the Russian empire, so motley and various is also the picture of their physical condition, their manners, customs, dresses, dwellings, utensils, and weapons. What a contrast between the flat, broad, beardless physiognomy and the yellow figure-painted skin of the East Siberian nations, and between the European form and complexion of the genuine Russian stems! What a distance from the earth-holes of the Samoyedes to the palaces of the residence, from the needle-work of fish-bones and sinews to the weaving of tapestry; from the sling and arrow to the fire-arms of the modern art of war in Europe!—If the view of such a great and striking diversity in the concerns of all mankind, and in all the displays of their activity, afford instructive and entertaining matter for reflection, our astonishment is not less excited by the consideration, that this prodigious mass of people can be kept in the most unconditional submission to the unlimited will of one ruler, and the confluence of all forms of government, however great their diversity, maintained in the general form of one state. The key to this singular phenomenon is to be drawn from the political and religious toleration which marks the spirit of the Russian monarchy. In no state of the world is there a completer uniformity aad unity of administration; but no where is the physical and moral variety greater than here. Forbearance in all re-

gards, which do not oppose the being and aim of the government, the omnipotence of the unlimited will is only shewn where the direction of all the energies is necessary to one end. Thus, the individuals of mankind have a sphere in which they may range, till, by the gradual approach to civilization, from the several stems of this extensive state shall be formed one great and happy nation; a period which the philosopher expects, and which Catharine, the legislatrix, has accelerated by more than a century."

The third Book treats of the population of Russia, and includes a particular account of all the charitable institutions in the empire.

We cannot dismiss this subject without expressing our high admiration of the regulations of the Foundling and Lying-in Hospitals at Mosco and St. Petersburgh. At the former, infants are admitted at any hour of the day or night, without a question being asked, or a difficulty started. At the latter, females are instantly received, upon a mere application for admission, and are permitted to use any precautions they may choose to preserve themselves from recognition; even to wearing a mask the whole time they are within the walls. By these two simple and easy regulations it is probable that many lives are annually preserved to the state, and it is a fact that the crime of infanticide is almost unknown in Russia. The internal administration of these hospitals, and of the education-houses, is plain, sensible, and humane, and must be materially beneficial to the mental and bodily health of those who are the objects of their charity.

The fourth Book is devoted to the several ranks and classes of Russian subjects. Their lot, from Mr. Tooke's description, appears to be far from an unhappy one. Even the boors have the power of becoming comparatively rich; and if they seem to us to be deficient in the comforts of life, it is from choice and habitual hardiness, not from any want of the ability to procure greater luxuries.

An historical view of the government of the empire is contained in Book the fifth. No power can be more despotic than that of the monarch. An imperial decree is final and irresistible: there is neither diet, nor national assembly nor parliament, nor, in short, any institution which recognizes the right of the people to interfere with the will of the monarch, or which can offer the slightest opposition to its execution. The senate is the supreme court of the empire, and it appears at first sight to be vested with authority as well as dignity; but it is, in point of fact, the medium through which the imperial decrees are issued; and its power extends only to the execution of those decrees. The Russian senate is in a state of entire dependence upon the sovereign; and far from daring to oppose his will, it does not even venture an attempt to influence or evade it. A note at the end of this book gives a few curious particulars of the expenses of the Russian Court.

"The waste at court was carried to an inexpressible height. The houses or apartments which

the Empress caused to be fitted up for the persons to whom she gave quarters, contained frequently in furniture more than three times their value. Twelve hundred candles were every day delivered out to the guard, who never consumed one hundred. The dinner for the officer on guard cost seventy rubles; that it was worth nothing was not the fault of the Empress. Every officer about the palace asked for what he would in glasses, decanters, and things of that nature: nothing ever came back; and this happened every day. The quantity of china-ware that was broke is incredible. Who ever broke any was obliged to show the fragments; but the fragments of four or five pieces would very well serve for a dozen, as he was never required to fit them together. They whose business it was to clean the silver made rapid fortunes. They had a certain substance, which, by rubbing, brought off much of the metal; the diminution was apparent to every attentive observer. For the four months which the Empress passed at Tzarskoe-Selo, twenty-five English miles from town, the Neva water for her own table (as she would take no other) cost her ten thousand rubles annually."

The remainder of the second volume is occupied by the sixth, seventh, and eighth books, which treat separately of the land and sea forces, the revenues of the Russian empire, and the imperial colleges. To these we must refer our readers for much profitable information, which is given clearly and concisely, and accompanied by constant references to unquestionable authorities. From the tenth Book we shall take some entertaining passages. It is on the "Productive Industry" of the Russians, and embraces "the Chace" and "the Fishery."

"The wild animals which are pursued for the sake of their skins are found in the greatest plenty in the most northern and eastern parts of Russia, principally on the islands between Kamtshatka and America, the discovery whereof is become of vast importance to the fur-trade. Next to these, the governments of Tobolsk, Perme, Usa, Viatka, Archangel, Olonetz, Vologda, and some others, are most abundant in beasts of the chace.

"But precisely where the chace is the most lucrative there it is a very difficult, toilsome, and perilous business; accordingly it is made a principal employment only by the most uncultivated nations, as, the Ostiaks, Samoyedes, Vogules, Tunguses, Tschuktsches, Kamtshadales, Yakutes, the eastern islanders, and the majority of the Siberian Tartars. With several of these nations the chace is the sole means of profit by which they are enabled to procure food, clothes, and other necessaries; and these pay their taxes to government, or their tribute, in furs. In defiance of all the hardships attending the chace of large beasts of prey in the monstrous forests and wildernesses of the arctic region, this trade is not only the principal, but also the favourite employment of most of its inhabitants. It is by no means unusual for single hunters of these savage tribes to engage in duels with bears, wolves, and other ferocious animals, in which they are so sure

of their artifice or their aim, that they seldom or never fall in the combat. Some nations, as the Ostiaks of the Oby, never go to the chace but in small companies, when they beat about the forests for four or six weeks together in quest of prey, taking with them no other provisions than frozen fish in little hand-sledges. Whereas the Tunguses and others roam singly about their wilds which are covered with mountains, fragments of rocks, and large rivers, and where they often fall a sacrifice to their fondness for this sport. When one of these hunters has the misfortune to break an arm or a leg, or to be wedged between two pieces of rock, in this helpless situation he must either perish with hunger or die of his wounds, or fall a prey to some savage beast.

"The manner in which the sables of Kamtshatka are taken is extremely simple. The Kamtshadales follow the track of this animal in snow shoes, till they have detected his covert, which is generally a burrow in the earth. As soon as the little creature is aware of his pursuer, he escapes into a hollow tree, which the hunter surrounds with a net, and then either cuts it entirely down, or forces the sable by fire and smoke to abandon his retreat, when he falls into the net and is killed *. In other parts, where these animals are rare, the contrivances to take them are more artificial. Of this kind is the sable-trap of the Vogules, which is used in several parts of Siberia. A place is sought out where two young trees stand not far asunder, which are immediately stripped of their branches about the bottom. At one of these trees a post is stuck in the ground, and on it is placed a beam horizontally, fastened in such manner to both trees that one end of it lies between the post and the tree. Over this beam another is laid, as a trap-fall, at the end whereof a thin support is put, which, when the trap-fall is up, stands over the notched end of the post; at the extremity of the support is a mat-string, and another at the lower transverse beam tied very short. Both are brought together, and a bit of stick put through them, having at its longer extremity a piece of flesh or wild fowl attached, which by its preponderance keeps the stick down, and thus holds the two strings together. The sable creeps cautiously along the lower beam till he can reach the bait and pull it to him; this lets go the stick to which the bait is tied and by which the strings were held together; the stay loses its hold, and consequently the upper beam falls upon the shoulders of the animal and holds him fast.

"The most usual way of killing the bear is with fire-arms and with arrows. The Laplanders knock them down with clubs, as they can easily overtake them in running with their snow-shoes; but they are generally first shot and then dispatched with spears. In some parts of Siberia the hunters erect a scaffold of several balks laid on each other, which fall altogether and crush the bear, on his stepping on the trap placed

* Steller's Beschreibung von Kamtschatka, p. 119.

under it. Another method is, to dig pits, in which a smooth, solid, and very sharp-pointed post is fixed into the ground, rising about a foot above the bottom. The pit is carefully covered over with sods; and across the track of the bear a thin rope with an elastic bug-bear is placed. As soon as the beast touches the rope, the wooden bug-bear starts loose, and the scared animal, endeavouring to save himself by flight, falls violently into the pit, and is killed by the pointed post. If he escape this snare, at a small distance, perhaps, several caltrops* and other instruments of annoyance await him, amongst which a similar terrific log is erected, and where the persecuted beast, the more he strives to get free, fixes himself faster to the spot, where the blood-thirsty hunter lies in ambush for him. Yet not only beneath and upon the earth, but even in the air has man's inventive genius contrived to lay snares for his liberty and his life. The Koriaks to this end look out for a crooked tree, grown into the form of a gibbet, at the bowed summit of which they attach a noose, hanging with it a bait. The hungry bear is so tempted by this object, that he eagerly climbs up the tree, and is infallibly the victim of his greediness; for, on his moving the branch, the noose draws together, and the bear remains suspended to the tree, which violently springs back into its former direction. But more singular and ingenious is the method adopted by the inhabitants of the mountainous parts of Siberia to make this ferocious animal kill himself. They fasten a very heavy block to a rope, terminating at the other end with a loop. This is laid near a steep precipice in the path which the bear is wont to take. On having his neck in the noose, and finding that he cannot proceed for the clog, he takes it up in a rage, and, to free himself from it, throws it down the precipice, which naturally pulls him after it, and he is commonly killed by the fall. Should this accidentally not be the case, he drags the block again up the mountain and reiterates his efforts, till with increasing fury he either sinks nerveless to the ground, or puts an end to his life by a decisive plunge."

"The people who go out to catch the morse are hired for that purpose by a master or ship-owner, who not only furnishes them with the necessary vessels but fits them out with provisions, stores, and whatever they are likely to want the voyage, but either agrees to give them a share of what they take, or pays them certain wages. The latter, however, seldom exceed five or ten rubles for the summer: a trifling sum when we consider the hardships, toils, and dangers, attending this profession. The morse-catchers usually take with them a year's provisions, as they are often obliged to pass the winter on board their ships. Every vessel has an oven for baking bread and cooking their victuals, for the supply of which they take

* Irons with four spikes, so made, that which ever way they fall, one point always lies upwards, generally thrown in breaches or on bridges, to annoy an enemy's horse; also an instrument with three iron spikes used in hunting the wolf.

the needful stock of wood. The only drink they carry out with them is water, with which when they go ashore they prepare quas. The time of departure varies according to circumstances; some set out at the beginning of summer, when the White-sea is free from ice, others not till autumn, especially if they intend to winter on the voyage. The greatest peril to which they are exposed at sea, is that of being hemmed in by the driving masses of ice; in this case the ice by its force beats in the sides of the vessel, and the morse-catchers are then reduced to the dreadful alternative either of being buried in the waves on the spot, or of getting on the fields of ice, floating at the mercy of the winds, till cold and hunger put an end to their sufferings. And yet it happened, though very rarely, that some of these poor fellows have been brought alive to land on their flakes of ice.

"When the morse-catchers are happily arrived at the place of their destination, the first thing they do is to conduct their vessels to some safe anchorage, where they generally find several little huts that have been constructed by their predecessors in this hazardous warfare, and then commit themselves to the small boats, of which every vessel takes with it one or two to proceed to the conflict with the beasts of the ocean. This is usually done on the first fine day, because then the morses delight in going on the land or the ice to repose; and besides, they are at times stimulated to leave their native element for a length of time for the purpose of copulation, which business lasts with these monsters for a month or two, or to cast their young, or to rescue themselves from the bites of the sea-lice, by which the morse in summer is perpetually tormented, and from which they have no other means of escaping than by fleeing into an element which deprives these insects of life. All these causes together collect them frequently on the beach or fields of ice in prodigious numbers. When the captors discover one of these multitudes, they must have the precaution to approach them against the wind, because these animals have so fine a smell, that they perceive the approach of men with the wind at a great distance, and then immediately take to the water; whereas, in the contrary case, they continue lying undisturbed, though they even see the boat advancing to them. Besides, the morse-catchers by this means have the advantage of discovering sooner the place where their prey has couched; for these fat animals, especially in summer, emit far round them a horrid stench.

"When the captors have reached this formidable encampment, they immediately quit their karbasses or boats, armed with nothing but their pikes, cut off the way to the sea from the morses, and then pierce those animals which come first to save themselves in the water. As it is the way with the morses to scramble over one another in their attempts to escape, from the numbers of the slain there soon arises a bulwark which effectually choaks up the passage to the living, and then the captors proceed with the

slaughter till they have left not one alive. It sometimes happens that after such an engagement so great are the heaps of the dead, that the vessels can only contain the heads or the teeth, and the people are obliged to leave the fat or blubber, and the skins behind.

"But, easy as it is for the captors to conquer the morse by land, so dangerous is the conflict with these animals in their own element. We have only to recollect that the morse is commonly of the size of a large ox, and that, besides their sharp teeth, they are provided with two long stout tusks, for judging how a sea fight of this kind is likely to terminate. When any of the morses escape into the water before they can all be killed, the captors leap upon the ice and fall upon the animals with harpoons, which they strive to strike into their breasts or their belly, and to each of which is fastened a long cord. This done, they drive a stake into the ice, wind the other end of the long harpoon-string round it, and are now drawn about, on the piece of ice on which they stand, by the animal till he has lost his strength, when they draw him upon the ice by the cord, and kill him ontright. But when the morses lie so near to the water, that they can leap in ere the attack begins, then the captors fasten the cord, when they have thrown the harpoon, only to the head of the boat, which is then drawn by the huge animal so deep into the water that the sailors must all run immediately astern. The morse having fruitlessly endeavoured to get loose from the cord, rises erect upon the surface of the water, and makes a furious attack on his persecutors. In this he is sometimes so successful as to shatter the boat with his tusks, or to throw himself suddenly by a proportionate leap into the midships. Then nothing is left to the crew but to jump overboard and to hold by the gunnel, till other morse-hunters come to their assistance in this desperate situation. To mitigate the danger of these misfortunes the captors not only previously take all proper measures, but it is even laid down by laws and regulations what conduct every one is to observe during the voyage, and in the actual encounter with the morses. Each of these companies consists generally of a master or pilot, two harpooners, two barrelling people, a steersman, and several rowers, each of whom has his appointed duty.

"The sea-bear appears in troops in the Eastern ocean, principally between the Kurilly and the Aleutan islands. The largest of these animals are 90 English inches in length, and weigh 18 or 20 pood. They resemble no land-animal more than the bear, excepting only the feet, and the hinder part of the body which terminates in a grotesque figure. What is more singular in the structure of these animals is their finny feet, having not only joints and toes, by which they are enabled to go on shore, to sit on their breech like the dog, and to use their paws in various ways, but likewise of the web between their toes, to swim with equal ease.—The manners of these ani-

mals are so peculiar and extraordinary, that the account of them would be deemed a fiction, were it not accredited by the testimony of a sagacious and learned observer. The affection of the mother for her young is exceedingly great; and they in return endeavour to divert her by various kinds of frolicsome play. On seeing these gambols, it seems as if they were exercising feats of wrestling; one striving to give the other a fall; and if the father comes up growling, he drives the wrestlers asunder, coaxes the conqueror, and even tries himself to throw him to the ground: the greater the resistance shewn by the latter, the more he gains the love of the parents, to whom, on the other hand, their slothful or timid children, appear to give but little joy. Though polygamy prevails among the sea-bears, and some of them have as many as fifty wives, yet every one watches over his offspring with uncommon jealousy, and is excessively furious if a stranger come too near them. Even when they lie by thousands on the beach, they are always divided family-wise into companies, and in like manner they swim together in the ocean. The aged, who no longer have any wives, live solitary, and are of all the most grim; these frequently pass a whole month on the shore in sleep, without taking any food; but whatever approaches them, whether man or beast, they fall upon with the most outrageous fury. The sea-bears at times wage bloody wars together, the usual ground of hostility being either the females or a good couching place. When two are contending against one, others come up to assist the weaker party, and during the combat, the swimming spectators raise their heads above the water, and calmly look on for a length of time, till they also find a motive for mingling in the fight. Sometimes these conflicting armies cover a tract on the shore of two or three versts, and all the air resounds with their dreadful yells and growlings. It often happens that the combatants make an armistice for an hour to recreate their forces, during which they lie beside one another without any danger; then both parties suddenly rise up, each takes its place, and the battle begins anew with redoubled fury. This goes so far, that they pursue one another into the sea, when those of the victorious party drag their enemies back to land, and put them to the torture of their bites so long till at length they lie faint and exhausted, and finally perish by the talons and beaks of the ravenous birds of prey that are hovering round. The authority with which the husbands rule over their wives and children, is frequently displayed in a very tyrannical manner. When the wives, on being attacked by the hunters, abandon their cubs from affright, and these are carried off, the husbands immediately cease from pursuing the common foe, and turn upon the mother, as if to demand an account of what is become of them. Then seizing them with their teeth, dash them with violence against the rocks; the wives, stunned with the blows, creep and crouch at the feet of their despots, and, caressing them,

shed abundance of tears. While the husband continues to feel his vexation, he goes growling to and fro, and rolling his eye-balls, just as the land-bears are wont to do; but when his rage is abated, he then begins also bitterly to weep for the loss of his young.

"From June till the middle of August, the sea-bears come ashore, in order, like the land-bears in winter, by three months of sleep and fasting to disburden themselves of their superfluous fat. This is the hunting season for them. The full grown and aged are not easily frightened, but go boldly up to the men to fight them; yet whole droves of them will plunge all at once into the sea from fear, as if seized by a panic, on any sudden occasion of alarm. On land they run with great swiftness, a man therefore who is pursued by them has no means of escape but by climbing up a steep mountain, where they cannot follow him so fast. The capture of these animals about Kamtshatka is prosecuted mostly at sea with the javelins furnished with hooks above described, which quit their shafts. The wounded beast strikes with the speed of an arrow through the water, drawing after him the canoe, and rages till he has bled to death. The skins of the sea-bears are of no great value; as their hair is black, thick, and rugged, and the hide very thick and harsh, they are only used like seal-skins for covering trunks and boxes. Below the long hair, close to the hide, lies, as with the beavers, a fine wool of a black glossy colour. The skin of the young that are cut out of their dam, are far more beautiful, and among the Siberiaks are of great worth, as they make their whole dress of them."

The division upon "Productive Industry," of course includes so many and such various subjects, that it is necessarily of great length. It is followed by a book upon what Mr. Tooke terms "Improving Industry;" *i. e.* Manufactures and Trade. The twelfth and last Book is on the Commerce of Russia, including a list of the Imports and Exports for the years 1796 and 1797; A Statement of the Duties imposed upon Foreign Merchandize taken from the Tariffs published at St. Petersburgh, in the above years, and a list of coins, weights and measures. The work is concluded by a very short tract upon the Russ language, which, brief as it is, appears sufficient to deter any foreigner from attempting the almost impossible task of either pronouncing or understanding it.

To conclude, we can safely recommend this laborious compilation to our readers. Our extracts have been chiefly selected from the parts most likely to be productive of interest and amusement, ample stores of which still remain, together with a great variety of solid information upon every point connected with, or which can be brought to bear upon, the main subject. We believe it would be difficult to detect an omission, and equally so to produce an inaccurate or superficial description. Some minor criticism might be occasionally

exercised upon the language, and a revision of the order of the sections into which the books are divided, might be desirable in some few instances; but those who can properly appreciate the vast mass of information which is here collected, will be more disposed to wonder that so inconsiderable a number of errors occur than to search for, or censure them.

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